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UN PALÉOLOGUE INCONNU DE LA RÉGION DE SERRES (*)

Au cours de recherches entreprises aux Archives de la Présidence du Conseil à Istanbul, en feuilletant un registre du règne de Meḥmed II (1451-1481), nous avons trouvé un texte qui intéresse non seulement les spécialistes en histoire ottomane, mais également les byzantinistes. Il s'agit du registre de cadastre *n° 3* conservé dans le *fonds Tapu ve Tahrir* qui date — d'après le catalogue des archives — de l'année 869 (3 sept. 1464-23 août 1465). Il concerne une partie de la Macédoine orientale et contient une énumération détaillée des timars (1), des biens de pleine propriété

(*) *Liste des abréviations* :

GÖKBILGİN = M. T. GÖKBILGİN, *XV-XVI asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livası, vakıflar-mülkler-mukataalar* [Andrinople et le *livā'* du pacha aux XVe et XVIe siècles, les legs pieux, propriétés et fermages], Istanbul, 1952.

TT 3 = *Registre de cadastre de la Macédoine orientale, 869/1464-1465*, Başvekalet arşivi, Istanbul, fonds Tapu ve Tahrir n° 3.

TT 7 = *Registre de cadastre de la Macédoine orientale, 883/1478-1479*, Başvekalet arşivi, Istanbul, fonds Tapu ve Tahrir n° 7.

(1) L'État ottoman connaît deux genres de timars : des *timars militaires* et des *timars civils*. Dans la majorité des cas, le timariot détenteur d'un timar militaire devait assurer le service militaire en personne. Ses obligations variaient suivant le revenu du timar concédé par le Grand Seigneur : sa suite devait comprendre un ou plusieurs soldats portant cuirasse (*ǧebelü*) et un ou plusieurs valets (*ġulām*). De plus, il devait fournir des tentes, et, dans certains cas, même des provisions alimentaires et un atelier de sellerie. Le timar était une dotation domaniale qui n'était pas la propriété du détenteur. Il se composait de deux parties distinctes : d'une tenure personnelle (*ḫāṣṣ čiftlik* ou *qıllıǰ yeri*) et des tenures de raïas. La source principale de ses revenus était constituée par les droits qui lui étaient versés par les raïas (*rusūm-i ra'āyā*). Le détenteur d'un timar n'était pas tenu de verser des droits pour la tenure personnelle (N. BELDICEANU, Irène BELDICEANU-STEINHERR, *Recherches sur la*

(*mülk*) (1) et des fondations pieuses (*vaqf*) (2). On y trouve, en particulier, des informations sur quelques grands centres urbains

province de Qaraman au XVIe siècle. Étude et actes, Leyde, 1968, pp. 17-18, 19-20, 94-95 ; cf. N. BELDICEANU, *Code de lois coutumières de Meḥmed II : Kitāb-i qavānīn-i 'örfiyye-i 'oṣmānī*, Wiesbaden, 1967, fol. 9v°-10r°). Le timar civil était concédé par la Porte dans le but de rémunérer les diverses charges non militaires. Leur détenteur n'avait aucune obligation d'ordre militaire. Les registres font mention de timars accordés à des *imām* (TT 3, p. 74 ;*Registre concernant la Morée du règne de Meḥmed II*, Başvekalet arşivi, Istanbul, Maliyeden Müdevver, n° 10, fol. 276v° ; *Registre concernant Qïrčova et Prilep, fin du règne de Murād II*, Başvekalet arşivi, Istanbul, Maliyeden Müdevver, n° 303, p. 81 ; *Registre concernant la région de Vidin, 859/1454-1455*, Belediye kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Muallim Cevdet 0 90, p. 104), à des *qādī* (N. TODOROV, B. NEDKOV, *Fontes turcici historiae Bulgaricae* t. XIII, Sofia, 1966, p. 394 ; *Registre de la Thrace orientale, 860-870/1455-1466*, Başvekalet arşivi, Istanbul, fonds Tapu ve Tahrir, n° 12, p. 21 ; *Registre concernant Qïrčova et Prilep, fin du règne de Murād II*, Başvekalet arşivi, Istanbul, Maliyeden Müdevver, n° 303, p. 13, 60 ; *Registre concernant Alağaḥiṣār et Niš, règne de Murād II* — consulté d'après microfilm — Belediye kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Muallim Cevdet, 0 117/5 [p. 40]) et à des *šeyḫ* (*Registre de la région d'Aydïn, règne de Meḥmed II*, Başvekalet arşivi, Istanbul, fonds Tapu ve Tahrir, n° 1/1 M, p. 237 ; Registre concernant la région *de Toqat et de Sivas, evā'il Reǧeb 859/17-26 juin 1454*, Başvekalet arşivi, Istanbul, fonds Tapu ve Tahrir n° 2, p. 165, 169). En conclusion, il faut retenir que le timar ottoman qui, dans la majorité des cas, est un timar militaire, peut quelquefois être accordé à titre civil.

(1) *Mülk*, vocable d'origine arabe exprimant le rapport qui existe entre un homme et une chose qui se trouve sous sa dépendance directe et exclusive. Le propriétaire d'un bien *mülk* a le droit d'en jouir et d'en disposer d'une manière absolue. Il peut en disposer librement, le vendre, le mettre en gage, le donner, le constituer en donation pieuse (*vaqf*). Le *mülk* réunit donc les trois traits caractéristiques suivants : la maîtrise de la chose, la détention ou la possession et l'entière disposition de la chose. Dans la catégorie des biens *mülk* entrent les domaines de la Maison impériale : cf. N. BELDICEANU, Irène BELDICEANU-STEINHERR, *Recherches sur la province de Qaraman au XVIe siècle*, Leyde, 1968, p. 15, 90.

(2) *Vaqf*, institution courante dans l'Empire ottoman. Le *vaqf* est une aliénation consentie au profit d'une œuvre religieuse ou d'utilité publique. Il s'agit d'une donation d'usufruit faite à perpétuité qui entraîne l'indisponibilité du bien érigé en *vaqf*. Il est inaliénable, aussi bien entre les mains du fondateur du legs pieux, titulaire de la nue propriété, que du bénéficiaire, titulaire de l'usufruit.

tels que Serres (Siroz), Drama, Zichna (Ziḫne) et Kala Dendra (Qaladendra) (1). Ce qui rend ce registre particulièrement précieux, c'est le fait que le recenseur énumère non seulement les titres de propriété présentés par les détenteurs ou les propriétaires, mais donne aussi, dans de nombreux cas, le nom du souverain qui les avait émis.

La reliure du registre, en carton noir, avec dos en cuir, est de date récente. Le registre mesure 30 cm sur 11,5 et compte 490 pages. Il est en assez bon état de conservation ; toutefois, il faut déplorer la perte d'un certain nombre de feuillets. Ceci est d'autant plus regrettable qu'il était de règle d'inscrire sur les premiers feuillets le titre du registre, le nom du recenseur et de son secrétaire, de même que celui du sultan ayant ordonné le recensement, la date de l'achèvement du registre et, en dernier lieu, la table des matières (2).

Le texte dont nous donnons la reproduction et la traduction (3), concerne un certain Paléologue (Paloloġ), fils de

Longtemps, le monde islamique discuta le caractère licite de la constitution du *vaqf*. Les *vaqf* comprennent, dans les villes, les revenus produits par leurs biens et, à la campagne, les dîmes et les droits en rapport avec l'exploitation de la terre ou l'élevage : cf. *op. cit.*, p. 96. Sur les plus anciens actes de legs pieux ottomans : Irène BELDICEANU-STEINHERR, *Recherches sur les actes des règnes des sultans Osman, Orkhan et Murad I*, München, 1967, pp. 78-82, 85-89, 94-99, 113-114, 127-148, 171-176, 193-195, 213-218, 244-247.

(1) TT 3, pp. 156-183, 300-307, 422-432, 484-489. Au sujet de l'emplacement de Serres, Drama et Zichna : Ö. L. BARKAN, *894 (1488-1489) yîlî cizyesinin tahsilâtîna âit muhasebe bilânçolarî* [Bilans concernant le recouvrement de la ğizye pour l'année 894, 1488-1489], dans *Belgeler*, t. I/1, Ankara, 1964, carte C3 ; pour Kala Dendra située environ 10 km à l'Ouest de Serres : A. GUILLOU, *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome sur le mont Ménécée*, Paris, 1955, p. 7, 25 et note 1. Aujourd'hui Kalendra : *Carte de la Macédoine 1/200.000*, Vienne, k.u.k. Militärgeographisches Institut, 1904-1906, feuille Saloniki.

(2) Par exemple : *Registre de la province de Qaraman, Selîm Ier*, Başvekalet arşivi, Istanbul, fonds Tapu ve Tahrir, nº 63, p. 1, 3, 5 ; *Registre de la province de Qaraman, Bâyezîd II*, Beyazit, Belediye kütüphanesi, fonds Muallim Cevdet 0 116/1, fol. 1rº-vº, 2vº ; *Registre de la province de Qayṣeri, Bâyazîd II*, Başvekalet arşivi, Istanbul, Maliyeden Müdevver, nº 20, fol. 2rº-vº.

(3) TT3, pp. 207-208. Voir *infra*, traduction et facsimilés.

Dīmitrī, qui était lui-même fils — ou descendant — de Laskarī. Il possédait dans la région de Serres le village de Verzani en toute propriété, de même que deux tenures (*čiftlik*) (1) dans le village d'E k s e l m e. A cela s'ajoutait une madrague (*ṭalyan*) (2), une échelle (*iskele*), deux moulins dont l'un se trouvait à E k s e l m e et le second à Serres, ce dernier étant en ruine, six ateliers de pantoufles à E k s e l m e et enfin un jardin et un jardin potager à Serres. Le revenu des biens s'élevait à 6022 aspres (*aqče*) (3).

En ce qui concerne le village de Verzani, ce Paléologue

(1) Le vocable *čiftlik* est composé du persan *ǧuft* plus le suffixe turc-*lik*. A l'origine, surface d'une terre que l'on pouvait labourer avec une paire de bœufs. Le *čift* ou *čiftlik* avait une surface de 6 à 15 hectares suivant la fertilité du sol. Le *čiftlik* ne comprend pas le moulin, le vignoble, le jardin potager et la maison, mais uniquement la tenure. Soulignons qu'un raïa de l'Empire ottoman n'est pas propriétaire de la tenure et qu'il devait au timariot un certain nombre de droits en nature ou en espèces, de même que certaines corvées : N. BELDICEANU, Irène BELDICEANU-STEINHERR, *Recherches sur la province de Qaraman*, p. 18, 21-24, 86.

(2) *Ṭalyan*, vocable d'origine grecque : *ἁλιάνειον* : H. et R. KAHANE, A. TIETZE, *The lingua Franca in the Levant. Turkish Nautical Terms of Italian and Greek Origin*, Urbana, 1958, pp. 477-481. Sur les divers types de madragues (*ṭalyan*) : D. G. ANTIPA, *Pescăria şi pescuitul în România* [La pêcherie et la pêche en Roumanie], Bucarest, 1910, pp. 417-424 ; K. DEVEDJIAN, *Pêche et pêcherie en Turquie*, Constantinople, 1926, pp. 302-318. La présence de madragues dans la région de Serres ne doit pas surprendre, car au Moyen Âge le Strymon formait un grand lac, le lac Takhyno, cf. *Carte de la Macédoine*, 1/200.000, feuille Saloniki. Sur cette carte nous avons retrouvé un certain nombre de villages qui possédaient des madragues à la fin du XVe siècle (GÖKBILGIN, p. 140), mais nous n'avons pas pu identifier le village de Verzani.

(3) Aspre : pièce d'argent ottomane ('ĀLI, *Le prime monete ed i primi aspri dell' Impero ottomano*, dans *Rivista italiana di numismatica*, t. XXXIX, Milan, 1921, pp. 77-93 ; H. BOWEN, *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, t. I (2e éd.), pp. 328-329). A l'époque du recensement effectué en 1464/65, le poids de l'aspre était d'environ 0,95 gr : 'ĀLI, *Fātiḥ zamanında aqče ne idi*? [Quelle était la valeur de l'aspre sous la règne du Conquérant?], dans *Ta'rīḫ-i 'oṣmānī enǧümeni meǧmu'asi*, VII-VIII année, n°s 49-62, Istanbul,1923, p. 59 ; CEVRIYE et I. ARTUK, *Fatih'in sikke ve madalyaları* [Monnaies et médailles du Conquérant], Istanbul, 1946, p. 17 ; cf. N. BELDICEANU, *Les actes des premiers sultans*, t. I, Paris-La Haye, 1960, pp. 173-174.

produisit au moment du recensement un acte de Bāyezīd Ier (1389-1402) et un autre de l'Émīr Süleymān (1403-1411), de même qu'un bérat délivré par Murād II. Le registre antérieur corroborait également le fait que le village était sa pleine propriété. Pour les deux tenures, situées dans le village d'E k s e l m e, le bien-fondé des titres de propriété était confirmé par un registre. En contrepartie de la faveur accordée par la Porte, ce Paléologue devait, en cas de guerre, se présenter en personne vêtu d'une broigne (1). Quelques

(1) *Bürüme* : ce terme n'apparaît pas souvent dans les textes littéraires ; par contre, il est fréquent dans les registres de cadastre. Il est inclus dans la liste des obligations de certains timariots ; voir H. Inalcik, *Hicrî 835 tarihli sûret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid* [Copie du registre du sanǧaq d'Albanie de l'année 835 H.], Ankara, 1954, index : *kendü bürüme* ; H. Šabanović, *Krajišta Isa-Bega Ishakovića zbirni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine* [Copie du registre de cadastre de l'année 1455 concernant la région d'Isa beğ Ishaković], Sarajevo, 1964, p. 121 ; N. Todorov, B. Nedkov, *Fontes turcici historiae Bulgaricae*, series XV-XVI, t. XIII, Sofia, 1966, index des termes turcs sous *bürüme*. Enfin, il apparaît également dans le code de lois coutumières de Meḥmed II : N. Beldiceanu, *Code de lois coutumières de Meḥmed II : Kitāb-i qavānīn-i 'örfiyye-i 'oṣmānī*, Wiesbaden, 1967, fol. 9v°-10r°. Malgré l'emploi fréquent du vocable, une explication satisfaisante de son sens fait défaut. Meḥmed 'Ārif l'explique par « couvre-chef », sans donner de références (M. Ārif, *Qānūnnāme-i al-i 'Oṣmān* [Règlements de la Maison de 'O mān], dans *Ta'rīḫ-i 'oṣmānī enǧümeni meǧmu'asi*, fasc. 15, Istanbul, 1912, p. 11, note 1) et un dictionnaire turc suppose qu'il s'agit d'un vêtement de protection (*Tarama sözlüğü* [Dictionnaire de la langue turque comprenant des références], t. I, Ankara, 1963, p. 743). C'est le code coutumier de Meḥmed II qui éclaire sa signification. Il précise que pour un revenu annuel de 1.000 à 2.000 aspres (*aqče*), le timariot devait se présenter à l'armée en *ǧebe* et à partir d'un revenu de 3.000 aspres en *bürüme*. Il en résulte que le *ǧebe* était un équipement moins cher que le *bürüme*. Or nous savons que *ǧebe* signifie cuirasse ; il n'y a donc aucun doute que le *bürüme* était un genre de cuirasse plus importante que le *ǧebe*. Nous avons traduit *bürüme* par broigne, parce que ce vocable couvre le mieux son sens. On notera une certaine ressemblance phonétique qui n'est, peut-être, pas due au hasard. L'origine du terme *broigne* est assez obscure. Le mot serait passé de l'allemand en français : F. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française*, Paris, 1880, t. I, p. 740 (reproduction photographique, 1961) ; P. Robert, *Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue française*, t. I, Casablanca-Paris, 1953, p. 566 ; M. Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, t. I, Leipzig, 1872,

années plus tard, la famille perdit le village de Verzani et, sans doute, aussi le reste de ses biens, car à l'occasion du recensement de 883 (4 avril 1478-24 mars 1479), le village fut enregistré comme timar de 'Isā et Yaqub (1). Les deux timariots (2) — ils disposaient également du revenu de la madrague (3) — faisaient très probablement partie de la clientèle de Fāiq *paša*. Cela ne ressort pas de **TT 7**, mais d'un registre de fermage, le Kamil Kepecioğlu nº 4988/1. A la page 509 (4), en effet, il est noté que les madragues des environs de Serres avaient appartenu avant 884 (25 mars 1479-12 mars 1480), date de leur transformation en *ḫāṣṣ* (5), à Fāiq *paša* et aux timariots qui dépendaient de lui. Chose curieuse, une partie du revenu était réservée à une nommée Despina *ḫatun* (6). Nous ignorons qui elle était et à quel titre elle en touchait une part. Quant à Fāiq *paša*, il s'agit d'un dignitaire de l'époque de Meḥmed II qui reçut, au mois de Rama-

p. 366 : *brünne, brünje.* Le vocable, avec le sens de cuirasse, existe dans l'ancien allemand de même que dans toutes les langues slaves, telles que l'ancien russe (*br'nja*), l'ancien bulgare (*brĕnje*), l'ancien polonais (*brnia*), etc. : M. VASMER, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, t. I, Heidelberg, 1950, p. 126. Il n'est pas dans notre intention de chercher ici l'origine du terme, mais il est possible que l'étymon du vocable français et du vocable turc soit le même. Précisons que la broigne remplaçait à elle seule le gambison (voir M. VIOLLET-LE-DUC, *Dictionnaire raisonné du mobilier français de l'époque carolingienne à la renaissance*, t. V, Paris, 1874, pp. 437-439) et la cotte de maille (*op. cit.*, t. V, p. 238). Il s'agit d'une cuirasse faite d'une peau ou d'une épaisseur de plusieurs toiles sur lesquelles on fixait des anneaux de fer cousus très près les uns des autres : *op. cit.*, pp. 241-244.

(1) TT 7, p. 315.

(2) Voir *supra*, p. 5, note 1.

(3) Voir *supra*, p. 8, note 2.

(4) Cf. GÖKBILGIN, p. 140.

(5) *Ḫāṣṣ* : domaines appartenant au sultan, à un prince de la famille impériale, à un *beglerbeğ* ou à un *sanǧaqbeğ* : Pour plus de détails : N. BELDICEANU, *Les actes des premiers sultans* ..., t. I, Paris-La Haye, 1960, p. 164 : t. II, Paris-La Haye, 1964, pp. 86-88 ; N. BELDICEANU, Irène BELDICEANU-STEINHERR, *Recherches sur la province de Qaraman au XVIe siècle*, Leyde, 1968, p. 60.

(6) En 1488/89 Despina *ḫatun* possédait en Macédoine orientale 163 feux : Ö. L. BARKAN, *894 (1488-1489) yîlî cizyesinin tahsilâtîna âit muhasebe bilânçolarî*, dans *Belgeler*, t. I/1, p. 46.

zān 883 (26 nov.-25 déc. 1478), les revenus de nombreuses terres sises en Macédoine orientale au titre de *ḫāṣṣ* ou de timar. Parmi ses revenus figurent aussi ceux provenant de quatre villages du *vilāyet* de Kešišlik (1).

Le village de Verzani ne resta pas longtemps aux mains de 'Isā et de Yaqūb. En 884, Meḥmed II leur enleva la jouissance de la madrague en vertu d'une décision qui ordonnait la transformation de toutes les madragues de la région de Serres en domaine du sultan (2). Trois années plus tard, le 23 Rabī II 887 (11 juin 1483), le village fut accordé par le sultan Bāyezīd II (1481-1512) à Sinān *beg* au titre de bien de pleine propriété, comme l'indique une note en marge du registre **TT 7** (3). Seule la madrague ne fut pas rendue. Une fois entrée dans le domaine impérial, elle continua d'être donnée à ferme (4).

Que faut-il penser de ces changements de statut? Nous inclinons à croire qu'il s'agit des conséquences de la réforme foncière de Meḥmed II (5), car il y a un accord parfait au point de vue chronologique. Vers 881 (26 avril 1476-14 avril 1477), les mesures de confiscation de Meḥmed II se généralisent, le village est donc pris à son propriétaire, le Paléologue en question ou son descendant, et confié à des

(1) GÖKBILGIN, p. 44, note 35 ; cf. TT 7, p. 160, 163. En 1464/65, les quatre villages appartenaient au *subašī* 'Alī, fils de Bedr ed-Dīn : TT 3, p. 332. Kešišlik, région située aux environs de Serres, comprenant les villages dépendant des monastères de la contrée. En 1488/89, le *vilāyet-i Kešišlik* comptait 1583 feux chrétiens : Ö. L. BARKAN, *op. cit.*, p. 46. Il est permis de supposer que le *vilāyet-i Kešišlik* couvre la région qui dépendait à l'époque byzantine du monastère St.-Jean-Prodrome. A l'époque ottomane, les revenus du *vilāyet i-Kešišlik* furent affectés à des timariots. Nous connaissons leur chef en 1478/79, un nommé Hamza *čelebi* : TT 7, p. 164. Le monastère Saint-Jean-Prodrome lui-même, qui porte le nom de Marġarit dans les registres ottomans, ne possédait en 883 (1478/79) qu'un moulin, un jardin potager et un vignoble. Sur ses revenus, il devait annuellement 500 aspres aux timariots 'Alī et Yaqūb : TT 7, p. 270, cf. p. 266.

(2) GÖKBILGIN, p. 140.

(3) TT 7, p. 315 marge droite.

(4) GÖKBILGIN, p. 140.

(5) N. BELDICEANU, *Recherches sur la réforme foncière de Meḥmed II*, dans *Acta historica (Societas Academica Dacoromana)*, t. IV, Munich, 1965, pp. 27-39 ; cf. *Recueil de lois*, ms. Bibl. de l'Université de Leyde, Cod. Or. 305, fol. 30r°-v°.

timariots. Dans un second temps, la madrague de Verzani est détachée à jamais du village et entre dans le domaine du sultan. A la mort de Meḥmed II (1451-1481), Bāyezīd II (1481-1512) revient sur les mesures de son père. Les timars redeviennent des legs pieux ou biens de pleine propriété et sont rendus à leurs anciens possesseurs (1). Il n'y a donc rien d'étonnant à ce que le village de Verzani reprenne son ancien statut à l'exclusion de la madrague qui fait désormais partie du domaine du sultan. Mais qui est Sinān *beg̃* (2) ? Un descendant de ce Paléologue devenu musulman, un parent par alliance ou bien le Paléologue lui-même ayant changé de religion ? Cette identification nous paraît la plus plausible, si les changements de statut que nous avons relevés sont — comme nous le supposons — en rapport avec la réforme foncière et ses conséquences, car dans ce cas précis les terres n'ont pu être rendues qu'à un membre de la famille.

L'enseignement que nous pouvons tirer de la documentation ottomane est la suivante : un descendant d'un certain Paléologue — peut-être le Laskaris en question — entra en tant que chrétien au service de Bāyezīd Ier (1389-1402). Nous ne connaissons pas la date exacte, mais rien ne s'oppose à ce que cela ait eu lieu au moment où Bāyezīd Ier réunit dans la région de Serres plusieurs membres de la famille impériale et des dignitaires de l'Empire byzantin (3). Par rapport au timariot, ce Paléologue était avantagé sur plusieurs points. Le bien lui appartenait en pleine propriété ; il pouvait en jouir même s'il devenait inapte au service pour cause d'infirmité ou de vieillesse et il pouvait le transmettre à ses enfants. D'autre part, ses obligations envers la Porte, compte tenu du montant, étaient moins importantes que celles d'un timariot. Le revenu de tous ses biens s'élevant à 6.022 aspres, ce Paléologue ne devait se procurer qu'une broigne pour se présenter à l'armée. Un timariot, disposant d'un revenu

(1) Voir note précédente.

(2) TT 7, p. 315 marge droite.

(3) Sur la réunion de Serres qui aurait eu lieu au cours de l'hiver 1393-1394, voir : J. W. Barker, *Manuel II Paleologus (1391-1425). A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship*, New Brunswick-New Jersey, 1969, p. xxiv, 100 note 25, pp. 118-121 notes 46-47, p. 123.

variant entre 5.500 et 6.000 aspres, était non seulement astreint à se présenter en broigne, mais d'emmener aussi deux soldats portant cuirasse (*ǧebelü*) et de fournir une petite tente (1). Il faut, par conséquent, considérer cette donation comme une marque de faveur. La fidélité de la famille a dû être sans faille, car les successeurs de Bāyezīd Ier confirmèrent la donation. Un changement n'intervint qu'à la fin du règne de Meḥmed II.

Une question se pose. Ce Paléologue dont nous ignorons le prénom, appartenait-il à la famille impériale? Cela nous paraît difficile à déterminer. L'histoire ottomane connaît plusieurs membres de la famille au service des sultans dont quelques-uns avaient des biens en Macédoine orientale. Certains d'entre eux s'étaient convertis à l'islam, mais d'autres étaient restés chrétiens. Il y avait d'abord Mesīḥ *paša* (2), le frère de Ḫāṣṣ Murād *paša*, qui possédait, en 883 (4 avril 1478-24 mars 1479), les villes de Qaladendra et Temürḥiṣār au titre de *ḫāṣṣ*. A cela s'ajoutaient des villages situés dans

(1) N. Beldiceanu, *Code de lois coutumières de Meḥmed II*, fol. 9v°-10r°.

(2) Mesīḥ *paša* est un personnage bien connu sous Meḥmed II et Bāyezīd II. Il est le frère de Ḫāṣṣ Murād *paša* de la maison impériale des Paléologues. Sous le règne du conquérant de Constantinople. Mesīḥ *paša* occupe la charge de *beğlerbeğ* d'Anatolie et ensuite celle d'amiral en chef (*qapudan paša*). Après la défaite subie devant Rhodes (1480), il perd sa charge et tombe en disgrâce. Sous Bāyezīd II, sa fortune connaît un renouveau. Il reçoit la charge de *beğlerbeğ* de Roumélie et, quelques années plus tard, il devient grand vizir (M. Süreyya, *Siğill-i 'oṯmānīyye* [Dict. biographique ottoman], t. IV, Istanbul, 1311 H., p. 368 ; E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*, Bad Pyrmont, 1955, p. 162 ; 'Oṯmānzade Ṭa'ib Aḥmed, *Ḥadīqat ül-vüzerā* (*Der Garten der Wesire*), 2e éd., éd. D. Robischon, Freiburg, 1969, pp. 19-20 ; F. Babinger, *Maometto il Conquistatore*, Turin, 1957, pp. 537, 567, 589, 591-593 ; F. Babinger, *Eine Verfügung des Paläologen Châss Murâd Paša*, dans *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante*, t. I, Munich, 1962, pp. 344-354. Mentionnons, enfin, qu'il participe à la campagne de 1484 contre la Moldavie. C'est lui qui demande aux défenseurs de Kilia de déposer les armes, avant que les Ottomans ne déclenchent l'attaque : S. Tansel, *Sultan II. Bayezit'in siyast hayatl* [La politique de Bāyezid II], Istanbul, 1966, p. 73.

la même région (1). Un frère resté chrétien détenait en 1491, au titre de *zi'āmet*, le village Qîrlîqova situé dans la région de Serres (2). Ḫāṣṣ Murād *paša* (3) avait légué le village de Maroniye dans la circonscription judiciaire de Gümülğine à une mosquée de Constantinople qui porte encore aujourd'hui son nom (4). Les sources ottomanes de la fin du règne de Meḥmed II et du début du règne de Bāyezīd II, citent d'autres Paléologues sans que nous sachions quoi que ce soit sur leur origine. Un Palologoz avait la ferme des bêtes égarées et des biens vacants dans la région de Drama (5). Un Qomnenoz ibn

(1) TT 7, pp. 329-341, 400 ; cf. GÖKBILGIN, pp. 138-139. En 888 (1483), il a créé une fondation pieuse à Eksamil, dans la Chersonèse de Thrace, en faveur d'une mosquée sise à Gallipoli : cf. N. BELDICEANU, *Kilia et Cetatea-Albă à travers les documents ottomans*, dans *Revue des études islamiques*, t. XXXVI/2, Paris, 1968, p. 219 ; cf. GÖKBILGIN, pp. 439-440.

(2) N. TODOROV, B. NEDKOV, *Fontes turcici historiae Bulgariae, series XV-XVI*, t. XIII, Sofia, 1966, 476. *Zi'āmet* : domaine obtenu dans les mêmes conditions que le timar (voir *supra* p. 5, n. 1), comportant un revenu minimum de 20.000 aspres : J. DENY, *Enc. de l'Islam*, t. IV[1], p. 810.

(3) Ḫāṣṣ Murād *paša*, frère de Mesīḥ *paša* (cf. *supra*, p. 13, n. 2) occupe diverses charges et meurt en se noyant dans l'Euphrate durant la campagne de Meḥmed II contre Uzun Ḥasan (1473) : F. BABINGER, *Eine Verfügung des Paläologen* ..., p. 349 ; Marianne SCHMIDT-DUMONT, *Turkmenische Herrscher des 15. Jahrhunderts in Persien und Mesopotamien nach dem Tarih al-Ġiyāṯī*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1970, p. 79 ; cf. F. GIESE, *Die altosmanische Chronik des 'Āšiḳpašazāde*, Leipzig, 1929, pp. 171-172. A Andrinople, où il a fait construire une mosquée, une école supérieure (*medrese*) et un hospice pour les pauvres, il existe également un quartier portant son nom : GÖKBILGIN, p. 62, 335-337. En Morée, il possédait un grand domaine sur lequel se trouvait deux monastères, l'un de religieuses, l'autre de moines : *Registre de cadastre concernant la Morée, règne de Meḥmed II*, Başvekalet arşivi, Istanbul, Tapu ve Tahrir n° 10, pp. 47-74. Le registre ne porte pas de date dans le catalogue des Archives, mais la mention Ḫāṣṣ Murād *paša* indique qu'il doit être antérieur à 1473, année de la mort de ce dignitaire.

(4) Ö. L. BARKAN, E. H. AYVERDI, *Istanbul vakîflarî tahrir defteri 935 (1546) tarihli* [Registre de cadastre de l'année 935/1546 concernant les legs pieux d'Istanbul], Istanbul, 1970, p. 307.

(5) GÖKBILGIN, p. 89, note 8. En ce qui concerne la législation à ce sujet : N. BELDICEANU, *Les actes des premiers sultans...*, t. I, pp. 89-91, 142-144.

Palologos prit tour à tour la ferme des impôts provenant des chrétiens dispersés, habitant les régions de Serres, Demürḥiṣār (Temürḥiṣār), Thessalonique et Qara Ferya, et celle des salines de Gümülğine et Qara Ṣu (1). Un certain Yorgi ibn Palologos, originaire de Morée, avait pris à ferme les salines de Thessalonique et de Čitroz (2). Enfin, la ferme de la douane et du courtage de plusieurs échelles importantes telles que Constantinople, Galata, Gallipoli, etc., était détenue en 880 (7 mai 1475-25 avril 1476) par Manol Palologos et Palologoz Qandroz (3). Ainsi les sources ottomanes révèlent des Paléologues, pour la plupart non identifiés, qui viennent grossir la liste de ceux connus par les sources byzantines. Dans l'ouvrage de Papadopulos figure un Konstantinos Laskaris Paleologos qui vécut à l'époque de Bāyezīd Ier (4) ; serait-il l'aïeul de notre Paléologue ? Nous laissons aux byzantinistes le soin de répondre à cette question.

Traduction

[Il se présente au service] en personne, [portant] broigne (*bürüme*). Bien de pleine propriété (*mülk*) de Paloloğ, fils de Dīmitrī, qui est [lui-même] fils de Laskarī (5).

Village de Verzani : il est détenu comme bien de pleine propriété (*mülkiyet üzere*) (6). Il (7) possède des ordres impériaux délivrés par le souverain feu Bāyezīd (8) et par feu Emīr Süleymān *beğ*. Dans l'ancien registre (*eski defter*), on a inscrit également que [le village] est son bien (*mülk*). Il possède [aussi] un bérat délivré par le souverain décédé (9).

(1) Gökbilgin, p. 151.
(2) Gökbilgin, p. 89, note 8.
(3) N. Beldiceanu, *op. cit.*, t. I, pp. 113, 146.
(4) A. Th. Papadopulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen, 1259-1453*, IIe éd. Amsterdam, 1962, pp. 77, no 123.
(5) On peut traduire aussi « descendant de Laskarī ».
(6) Cf. *supra*, p. 6, n. 1.
(7) Il s'agit de Paloloğ.
(8) Bāyezīd Ier (1389-1402).
(9) Le registre étant de Meḥmed II, le souverain « décédé » est Murād II.

Revenu de la madrague (*talyan*) et de l'échelle. Revenu : 1.200 [*aspres*] (1).

(noms de dix-huit villageois chrétiens) (2).

Froment, 25 *kile* (3) : 875 [aspres] ; orge, 7 *kile*: 105 [aspres] ; avoine, 12 *kile* : 150 [aspres] ; vesce, [1 *kile*] (4) : 15 [aspres] ; lin : 30 [*aspres*] ; ruches : 50 [*aspres*] ; [droit de] mariage (5) : 30 [aspres] ; droit sur les filets de pêche (*resm-i iġrib*) (6) : 150 [aspres] ; *monopoliye* (7) : 100 [aspres] ; *corbeilles* [*qalaṣuta*] (8) :

(1) Cf. *supra*, p. 8, n. 3.

(2) Parmi les villageois, il y en a un dont le père porte un nom slave, Boġdan ; les autres noms sont d'origine grecque. Suivant le témoignage de Belon du Mans, les paysans parlaient le grec et le « servien » : Belon DU MANS, *Les observations de plusieurs singularitez et choses mémorables trouvées en Grèce, Asie, Judée, Égypte, Arabie et autres pays*, Paris, 1588, p. 125.

(3) Le *kile* ottoman de Constantinople était de 25,656 kg : W. HINZ, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, Leyde, 1955, pp. 41-42.

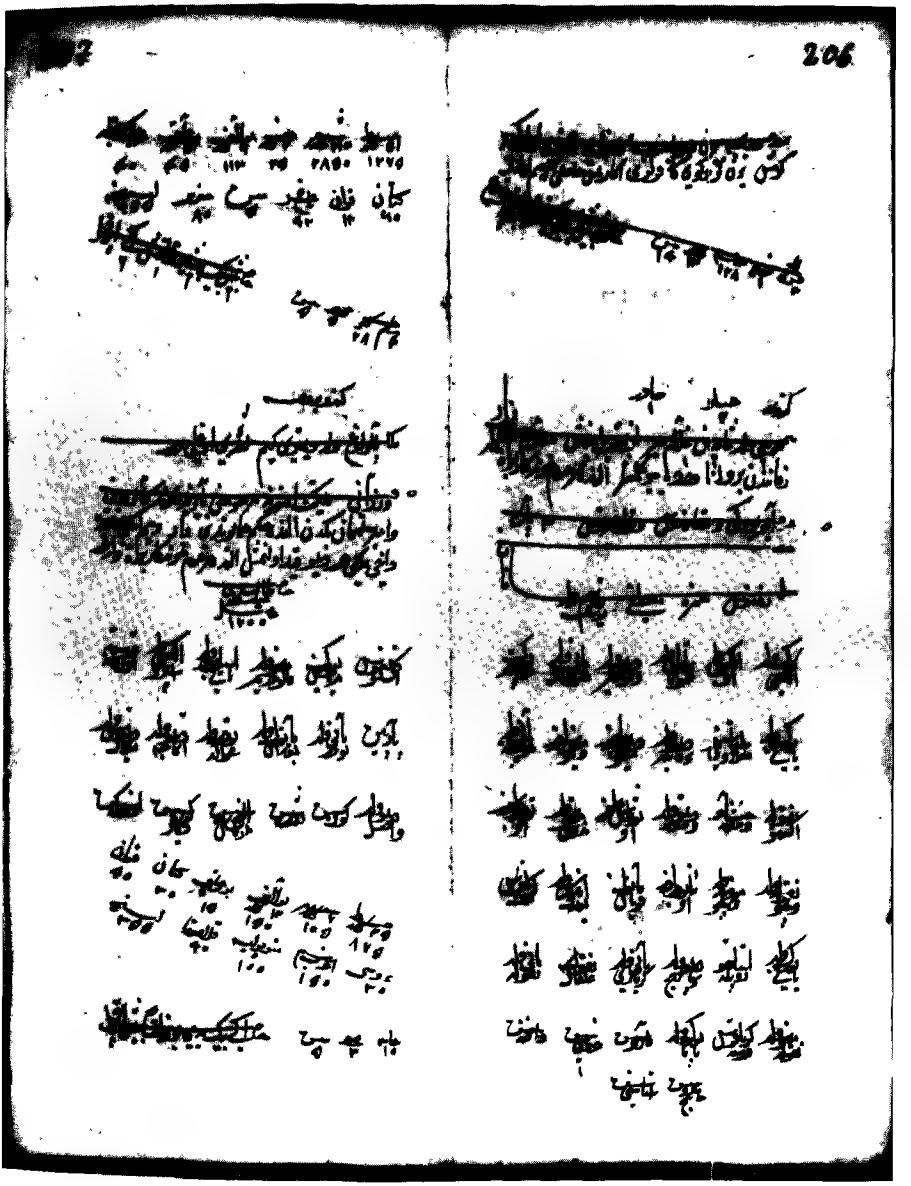
(4) Écriture un peu effacée.

(5) *Resm-i 'arūs* : taxe de mariage de la catégorie des droits coutumiers. Elle fait partie des *bād-i havā* (cf. N. BELDICEANU, Irène BELDICEANU-STEINHERR, *Recherches sur la province de Qaraman au XVIe siècle*, Leyde, 1968, p. 85 ; N. BELDICEANU, *Code de lois coutumières de Meḥmed II*, Wiesbaden, 1967, fol. 33v°, cf. également index : *resm-i gerdek*). Le montant de la taxe était en rapport avec la religion du mari et sa situation matérielle : F. KRAELITZ, *Ḳānūnnāme Sultan Mehmeds des Eroberers*, dans *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte*, t. I, 1921/22, Vienne, 1922, p. 22, § 12 ; N. BELDICEANU, *Les actes des premiers sultans ...*, t. II, Paris-La Haye, 1964, p. 302.

(6) Filet de pêcheur : Ö. L. BARKAN, *XV ve XVI ıncı asırlarda osmanlı ımparator luğunda zıraı ekonominin hukukı ve malı esasları* [Les bases juridiques et financières de l'économie agricole dans l'Empire ottoman aux XVe et XVIe siècles], Istanbul, 1945, p. 329, § 20, 540. Cf. N. BELDICEANU, *Code de lois coutumières de Meḥmed II*, fol. 37r° (*resm-i aġ*). Sur les variétés de poissons pêchées dans le Strymon au XVIe siècle : BELON DU MANS, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

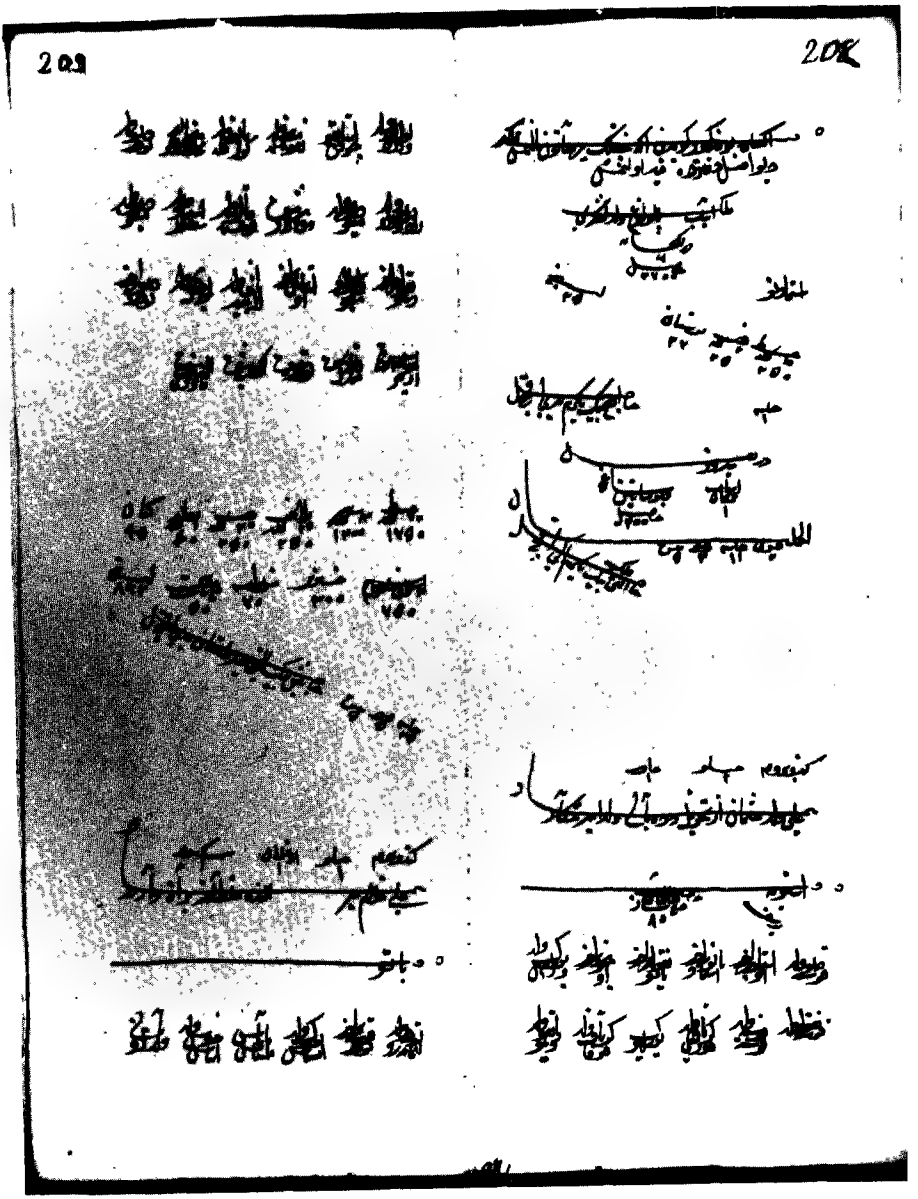
(7) *Monopoliye* = monopole, droit exclusif de vendre le vin, les céréales ou le riz, pendant deux mois. L'administration ottomane le donnait à ferme dans certains cas ; dans d'autres cas, elle l'accordait au timariot pour les biens qu'elle lui concédait : N. BELDICEANU, *Les actes des premiers sultans ...*, t. I, p. 165 ; t. II, p. 295 ; N. BELDICEANU, *Code de lois coutumières de Meḥmed II*, fol. 30r°.

(8) Ce terme ne se trouve dans aucun dictionnaire osmanlı. Il doit appartenir au vocabulaire que les Ottomans ont emprunté



Başvekalet arşivi, Istanbul Tapu ve Tahrir, nº 3.

PLANCHE II



Başvekalet arşivi, Istanbul Tapu ve Tahrir, nº 3.

90 [aspres] ; *ispenǧe* (1) : 355 [aspres].

Maisons : 10 ; célibataires : 3 ; veuves : 5. Revenu : 2795 [aspres] (2).

Village d'Ekselme. Dans le registre (*aṣl defterde*), il est inscrit que deux tenures (*čiftlik*) (3), faisant partie de ce village, ont été achetées et qu'elles sont des biens de pleine propriété.

Bien de pleine propriété (*mülk*) : moulin [appartenant à] Palolog, fils de Laskarī. Ateliers de pantoufles : 6, revenu : 2.700 [aspres].

(Nom du villageois) (4)

Froment, 10 *kile* : 250 [aspres] ; millet (*duḫne*), 2 *kile* : 25 [aspres] ; jardin potager : 27 [aspres] ; *ispenǧe* : 25 [aspres].

Maison : 1. Revenu : 3027 [aspres].

Dans la ville de Serres : moulin en ruine, 1 ; jardin et jardin potager ; revenu : 200 [aspres].

Total. Villages : 2 ; maisons : 11 ; célibataires : 3 ; veuves : 5.

Revenu du bien de pleine propriété (*mülk*) : 6.022 [aspres].

Saint-Michel-sur-Orge. N. BELDICEANU et I. BELDICEANU-STEINHERR.

aux autochtones de la région, comme par exemple le terme *monopoliye*, dont l'explication ne pose aucun problème. Nous avons pensé que *qalaṣuta* peut dériver du grec *καλάθιον* et que le terme signifie, par conséquent, « corbeille ». Dans la région de Serres *καλάθιον* était un mot courant pour désigner la corbeille. Il y en avait de deux sortes, qui servaient en même temps de mesures : A. GUILLOU, *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome sur le mont Menécée*, Paris, 1955, p. 113. N'oublions pas que la région était très marécageuse à l'époque. Le village de Verzani se trouvant au bord du lac, puisqu'il possédait une madrague, la confection des corbeilles était, sans aucun doute, une importante source de revenu.

(1) *Ispenǧe*. L'origine de ce droit ne peut être établie avec précision. Il semble avoir été perçu sur les mécréants, à la place du *resm-i čift* (droit de tenure) qui frappait les musulmans. Il s'agirait, dans ce cas, d'une taxe levée sur les mécréants ayant des terres de labour. L'*ispenǧe* était prélevé, comme le *resm-i čift*, au mois de mars : N. BELDICEANU, *Les actes des premiers sultans ...*, t. II, Paris-La Haye, 1964, pp. 290-291. Sur le montant et la perception du *resm-i čift* pendant la seconde moitié du XVe siècle : N. BELDICEANU, *Code de lois coutumières de Meḥmed II*, Wiesbaden, 1967, fol. 23r°-25r°.

(2) Cette somme ne comprend pas l'*ispenǧe*.

(3) Cf. *supra*, p. 8, n. 1.

(4) Le villageois s'appelle Istamādnū.

EN MARGE DE LA QUESTION ARÉOPAGITIQUE : LA LETTRE XI DE DENYS À APOLLOPHANE (*)

Le tome 3 de la Patrologie grecque de Migne présente, dans une version latine assez élégante, une XIe Lettre de Denys l'Aréopagite, adressée au philosophe Apollophane (1) ; le texte est emprunté à l'édition de 1755 du *corpus* aréopagitique (2) ; il est accompagné de notes, attribuées à Pierre Lanssel. D'où vient ce texte, quel est le contenu de la Lettre, dans quelle langue, où et quand a-t-elle été rédigée ? Nous allons tâcher de répondre à ces différentes questions. Dans le champ immense des études dionysiennes, elles se situent en marge. Il n'y a pas de doute, en effet, que la XIe Lettre soit un apocryphe « au carré », l'œuvre d'un « pseudo-pseudo-Denys ». Néanmoins, tout problème mérite d'être résolu. La solution de celui-ci intéresse, comme on verra, l'histoire des relations culturelles entre l'Orient hellénisé et l'Occident du haut Moyen Âge (3).

(*) Cette note reproduit, avec quelques modifications, une communication présentée à la quatrième Conférence patristique d'Oxford, en 1963. Notre intention était de l'intégrer dans une étude plus vaste, consacrée à la naissance et à la diffusion des légendes hagiographiques grecques concernant Denys l'Aréopagite. C'est le P. R.-J. Loenertz qui nous avait proposé de prolonger une enquête entamée par lui avec succès, et il nous a prodigué renseignements, suggestions et encouragements. Diverses circonstances ont retardé et retardent encore l'achèvement du travail. C'est pourquoi nous nous décidons aujourd'hui à offrir à notre maître et ami ce témoignage — bien indigne — de notre reconnaissance.

(1) *P.G.*, 3, 1119-1122.

(2) On trouvera la liste et la description de toutes les éditions du pseudo-Denys dans le recueil anonyme publié par les moines de Solesmes : *Dionysiaca. Recueil donnant l'ensemble des traductions latines des ouvrages attribués au Denys de l'Aréopage* etc., t. I, s.l., 1937, pp. XXI-LVIII. L'édition de 1755, décrite p. LIV, porte le n° 130 de la liste.

(3) Nous ne sommes évidemment pas le premier à nous occuper de la Lettre XI. Les études suivantes ont apporté une contribution à l'interprétation de ce document ; nous les citons dans l'ordre chrono-

La XIe Lettre de Denys nous est conservée seulement par les *Areopagitica* d'Hilduin, la vie de Denys que le célèbre abbé de Saint-Denys, à la demande de Charles le Chauve, composa aux environs de 835 (1). Au chapitre XIV, Hilduin reproduit intégralement le texte dans une version latine, sans rien dire sur sa provenance. Sans parler des nombreux manuscrits des *Areopagitica* (2), le texte d'Hilduin a circulé

logique. S. Albert le Grand a écrit un commentaire de la Lettre : *B. Alberti Magni ... Opera omnia ... cura ac labore* Augusti BORGNET, t. XIV. *Commentarii in opera b. D. Areopagitae*, Paris, 1892, pp. 1019-1027. Au XVIIe siècle, Pierre Halloix ajoute à sa traduction latine de la Lettre des scolies qui postulent un original grec et défendent l'authenticité : P. HALLOIX, *Illustrium Ecclesiae Orientalis scriptorum ... vitae et documenta*, Douai, 1633, pp. 15-17, 239-240. Au XVIIIe siècle, Nicolas LE NOURRY consacre les deux derniers paragraphes de sa *Dissertatio decima de operibus S. Dionysii Areopagitae* (qui fait partie de l'ouvrage *Apparatus ad bibliothecam maximam veterum Patrum, et antiquorum Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*, t. I, Paris, 1703, coll. 169-210) à la Lettre XI (col. 210). Parmi les travaux récents sont à signaler : P. PEETERS, *L'histoire de S. Denys l'Aréopagite et sa lettre à Apollophane* [en arabe], dans *al-Machriq*, t. 12 (1909), pp. 118-127 ; du même, *La vision de Denys l'Aréopagite à Héliopolis*, dans *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. 29 (1910), pp. 302-322 (v. pp. 310-313) ; P. LEHMANN, *Zur Kenntnis der Schriften des Dionysius Areopagita im Mittelalter*, dans *Revue bénédictine*, t. 35 (1923), pp. 81-97 (v. pp. 91-92 et 97) [article reproduit dans P. LEHMANN, *Erforschung des Mittelalters*, t. IV, Stuttgart, 1961, pp. 128-141] ; G. THÉRY, *Hilduin et la première traduction des écrits du Pseudo-Denis*, dans *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France*, t. 9 (1923), pp. 23-39 (v. pp. 34-38) ; F. CUMONT, *Regula Philippi Arrhidaei*, dans *Isis*, t. 26 (1936-37), pp. 8-12 ; M. BUCHNER, *Die Areopagitika ...*, dans *Historisches Jahrbuch*, t. 58 (1938), pp. 61-71 (ignore Cumont) ; O. NEUGEBAUER, *Regula Philippi Arrhidaei*, dans *Isis*, t. 50 (1959), pp. 477-478.

(1) *BHL*, 2175. L'œuvre d'Hilduin a fait l'objet de nombreuses études ; celles qui intéressent notre sujet seront citées plus bas. Les *Dionysiaca*, comme nous avons dit, énumèrent toutes les éditions de la Lettre à Apollophane, en précisant à chaque fois qui est l'auteur de la version. Le texte d'Hilduin a été édité deux fois au XVe siècle, neuf fois au XVIe, deux fois au XVIIe, une fois au XIXe, trois fois au XXe ; il est facilement accessible au t. 106 de la Patrologie latine de Migne, col. 33-34. Sans parler d'autres fautes, qui remontent plus haut, la Patrologie a imprimé *fagitatione* pour *fatigatione* (*P.L.*, 106, 33 D 9).

(2) Camilla WELTSCH-WEISHUT en a dressé la liste dans une dissertation de Munich : *Der Einfluss der « Vita S. Dionysii Areopagitae »*

au Moyen Âge sous forme de copies indépendantes (1). A la faveur de légères différences dans l'*incipit*, il a passé parfois pour une traduction de Jean Scot ou de Jean Sarrasin. En fait, comme le P. Théry l'a montré, ces « nouvelles » traductions reproduisent mot pour mot le texte des *Areopagitica* (2). En 1498, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples publie à Paris une édition corrigée du *corpus* aréopagitique traduit par Ambroise Traversari (3). La première édition, parue à Bruges, vers 1480 (4), ne présentait que les dix Lettres « authentiques » ; la XIe fait son apparition en 1498, sans que Lefèvre s'explique sur sa provenance. Mais ce n'est pas Traversari, mort en 1439, qui aura fourni la nouvelle pièce ; le responsable de l'addition est sans doute Lefèvre d'Étaples lui-même. Celui-ci ne déclare-t-il pas dans sa préface que, pour corriger la version latine parfois défectueuse de son prédécesseur, il a eu recours à d'« anciens originaux » (*vetusta originalia*), que lui ont obligeamment communiqués les moines de Saint-Denys (5) ? C'est dans le milieu de la célèbre abbaye qu'est apparue la Lettre à Apollophane ; ce sont ses moines, probablement, qui en ont révélé l'existence à l'humaniste français. Le texte que donne celui-ci est évidemment basé sur celui d'Hilduin, dont il garde certaines expressions caractéristiques (6) ; mais l'éditeur parisien a amélioré le latin peu

des Abtes Hilduin von St. Denis auf die hagiographische Literatur, Munich, 1922, pp. 19-23. Du IXe au XVe siècle, elle en a relevé 133.

(1) Voir THÉRY, *Hilduin et la première traduction ...*, pp. 36-37, n. 47.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Cette édition porte le n° 6 sur la liste des *Dionysiaca*, p. XXIII ; v. aussi le répertoire de HAIN, n° 6233, et le *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, t. VII, n° 8409. La Lettre à Apollophane est au f. 101r-v, suivie, aux ff. 101v-102r, des scolies de Lefèvre d'Étaples.

(4) Cette édition est le n°. 4 des *Dionysiaca*, p. XXII ; cf. HAIN, n° 6232, *Gesamtkatalog*, n°. 8408. Contrairement à ce qu'indiquent les auteurs des *Dionysiaca*, le volume ne contient que 10 lettres, et non 11. Nous remercions vivement notre collègue Ch. Astruc, de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, qui a bien voulu vérifier pour nous le contenu exact de l'incunable.

(5) Fol. <Aiiij> de l'édition.

(6) Cf. p. ex. (H = Hilduin, L = Lefèvre ; nous renvoyons aux colonnes et aux lignes de *P.L.*, 106) ; 33 B 4-5 : *a Domino hominem de limo factum, et transgressiones ejus cataclysmo piatas* (H) — *hominem a Deo de limo factum ... et hominis transgressiones cata-*

élégant des *Areopagitica*. Au XVIIe siècle, enfin, apparaît, dans la biographie de Denys par le P. Halloix, une nouvelle traduction, qui améliore, du point de vue du style, celle de Traversari (1) ; bien qu'Halloix soit muet sur son origine, il n'y a guère de doute qu'elle soit sortie de sa plume. Le Père jésuite enrichit aussi sa version de quelques notes. Traduction et notes passeront dans l'édition de 1755 (2) et de là dans la Patrologie (3). Par suite d'une bévue inexplicable, les scolies d'Halloix seront, dans cette dernière, mises sous le nom de Pierre Lanssel (4). Tout au long du Moyen Âge et des siècles suivants, jamais on n'a relevé la trace d'un original grec ; les recherches contemporaines l'ont confirmé : si celui-ci a existé, il a disparu et cela dès le IXe siècle (5).

La Lettre à Apollophane peut se résumer comme suit. Après avoir félicité le sophiste de sa conversion, Denys évoque la longue résistance que son ami opposa à son argumentation, qui s'appuyait sur l'histoire de l'Ancien Testament et les prophéties messianiques. Il rappelle à Apollophane comment, devant l'incrédulité persistante de ce dernier et ses reproches de trahison, il lui remit en mémoire le miracle de l'éclipse d'Héliopolis. Ce prodige a été à l'origine de sa propre conversion. Il se réjouit qu'à son tour, Apollophane se soit incliné devant l'être véritable. Il termine en exhortant son ami à rester fidèle.

clysmo diluvioque piatas (L) ; 33 B 14-15 : *Paulum vero hominem mundi circuitorem* (H) — *Paulum mundi circuitorem* (L) ; 34 B 7 : *et accuminatis spiculis tenebrare* (*sic* ; lire : *terebrare*) (H) — *et quasi acuminatis terebrare spiculis* (L).

(1) HALLOIX, pp. 15-17.

(2) Voir plus haut, p. 18, n° 2.

(3) *P.G.*, 3, 1119-1122. Par suite d'une distraction, cette dernière réimpression n'est pas signalée dans *Dionysiaca*.

(4) *P.G.*, 3, 1121-1122 : *Petri Lansselii notae*. Migne indique sa source : l'édition de Venise de 1755 (qui se contente de reproduire le chapitre d'Halloix consacré à Denys). Or celle-ci ne porte pas d'indication d'auteur. La précision de Migne, inventée par lui, est contredite par le titre de l'œuvre d'Halloix, qui attribue les notes à ce dernier (... *Item Notationes et quaestiones quaedam ad vitarum confirmationem et illustrationem pertinentes*). D'ailleurs, on ne trouve trace ni chez Lanssel ni chez Cordier, qui ont précédé l'édition de 1755, du texte de la Lettre XI ou des notes qui s'y réfèrent.

(5) Sinon Jean Scot Érigène aurait refait la traduction d'Hilduin.

Du point de vue du contenu, la Lettre XI n'est qu'une paraphrase et une amplification des données de la Lettre VII à Polycarpe. Son but semble être de fournir quelques détails supplémentaires sur la jeunesse de Denys et de satisfaire la curiosité concernant le sort d'Apollophane au moyen d'un *happy end* conforme aux exigences populaires. Deux détails concrets sont à relever. Au moment de l'éclipse, Denys a 25 ans : l'auteur reprend, en la transformant en donnée de fait, une hypothèse émise par le scoliaste de la Lettre X, c'est-à-dire par Jean de Scythopolis, très probablement (1). A la fin du phénomène, le même Denys note soigneusement la date ; au moment de la prédication de Paul, il la confronte avec celle de la mort du Sauveur : la coïncidence provoque sa conversion. Le pseudo-Denys « authentique » insinuait simplement, dans une incise, que le phénomène d'Héliopolis était identique à celui qui marqua la mort du Sauveur (2). L'affirmation fut immédiatement explicitée par

(1) La scolie en question est reproduite au t. 4 de la Patrologie, col. 573 B3-D5 (inc. *Ἡ μὲν ἐπιστολὴ ἀξία τῆς ἀρχαιότητος*, des. *Τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος*). L'auteur y calcule l'âge de Denys au moment de la rédaction de la Lettre. Il part de l'hypothèse qu'à l'époque de l'éclipse d'Héliopolis, Denys avait 25 ans, puisqu'il était encore aux études : *Ὑποθώμεθα δὲ καὶ τὸν θεῖον Διονύσιον, ὅτε τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Κυρίου εἶδεν, εἶναι κε' ἐτῶν, ἅτε οἶμαι, καὶ ἔτι ἀναγινώσκοντα.* Comme 64 ans et 7 mois se sont écoulés de la mort de Jésus à l'exil de Jean, l'Aréopagite avait près de 90 ans lorsqu'il prédisait à l'apôtre la fin de son bannissement. La scolie est attestée en syriaque, dans l'édition de Phocas bar Sergius, qui l'attribue explicitement au « scolastique » Jean de Scythopolis, commentateur du VIIe siècle. Sur celui-ci et son œuvre de scoliaste, on trouvera tous les renseignements nécessaires dans l'étude fondamentale de H. Urs von Balthasar, *Das Scholienwerk des Johannes von Scythopolis*, publiée dans *Scholastik*, t. 15 (1940), pp. 16-38 ; Balthasar en a reproduit l'essentiel en appendice à la deuxième édition de son livre sur Maxime le Confesseur : *Kosmische Liturgie. Das Weltbild Maximus' des Bekenners*, Einsiedeln, 1961², pp. 644-672. Il y a ajouté quelques remarques (pp. 671-672), qui tiennent compte d'observations de J. M. Hornus et de P. Sherwood. Dans la scolie 573 B3-D5, la prudence des formules, l'appel aux autorités patristiques sont conformes aux habitudes de Jean de Scythopolis. Ce fait, joint au témoignage de l'édition syriaque, rend très probable l'attribution du calcul au « scolastique » de Scythopolis.

(2) Lettre VII (*P.G.*, 3, 1081 A11-12) : ... *τῆς ἐν τῷ σωτηρίῳ σταυρῷ γεγονυίας ἐκλείψεως.*

les scoliastes (1). Notre auteur va plus loin : il fait de la coïncidence un motif, sinon le motif de la conversion de Denys ; ici encore, par un procédé assez facile, il frappe l'imagination de son lecteur.

En bref, la Lettre XI apparaît clairement comme une fabrication à visée anecdotique et spectaculaire, étrangère à la discrétion subtile du « vrai » pseudo-Denys. Son niveau intellectuel est cependant supérieur à celui d'un autre apocryphe : l'autobiographie de Denys. Celle-ci, qui n'est conservée que dans des traductions orientales, remonte au moins au VIIIe siècle (2). Elle se caractérise, pour reprendre les termes du P. Paul Peeters, par une « liberté d'invention audacieuse et grossière » (3) : c'est ainsi qu'« Arios Pagos » devient chef des démons, tandis que Denys est le fils du noble Socrate ... D'autre part, la description de l'éclipse trahit, chez l'auteur de la Lettre, certaines connaissances astronomiques. Il a pu s'inspirer de la longue scolie à la Lettre VII (4), mais c'est de lui, semble-t-il, que vient l'idée du recours à la « table (*regula* = κανών) de Philippe Arrhidée ». L'explication la plus probable de cette expression est celle qu'a fournie l'éminent spécialiste O. Neugebauer (5). Pour vérifier si une éclipse doit se produire normalement à cette époque, Denys consulte des « tables faciles », identiques ou apparentées à celles de Ptolémée. Depuis celui-ci, les tables prenaient comme point de départ le règne de Philippe Arrhidée. Une confusion entre l'ère des tables et leur auteur n'a dès lors rien de surprenant. Certes, l'auteur de la Lettre XI n'explique pas comment calculer une éclipse à partir de la table ; cependant, il connaît l'existence de celle-ci et sait qu'on peut l'utiliser pour un tel calcul. Dans l'autobiographie, Denys, après avoir fait

(1) *P.G.*, 4, 541 C-D.

(2) Les études fondamentales sur les différentes versions de l'autobiographie sont dues au P. Paul Peeters ; v., outre les deux citées ci-dessus, p. 19, n. 3 de la p. 18 : *La Version géorgienne de l'autobiographie de Denys l'Aréopagite*, dans *Anal. Bolland.*, t. 31 (1912), pp. 5-10 ; *La version ibéro-arménienne de l'autobiographie de Denys l'Aréopagite*, *ibid.*, t. 39 (1921), pp. 277-313.

(3) PEETERS, *La vision de Denys*, p. 302.

(4) *P.G.*, 4, 541C-544 B.

(5) NEUGEBAUER, *Regula*, pp. 477-478.

des calculs sur les orbites célestes (1), recourt à un « livre de l'astronomie » ou à un « livre sur les mouvements (*conversiones*) des étoiles » (2) ; si le mode d'emploi est décrit avec plus de détails, il mélange des notions astronomiques et astrologiques de moindre valeur scientifique.

La version latine de la Lettre à Apollophane est traduite du grec. Le fait avait été relevé déjà par le P. Halloix (3). Celui-ci, toutefois, avait affirmé imprudemment que le style était caractéristique du véritable pseudo-Denys (4) ; cette prise de position a compromis la partie valable de sa thèse. Après Halloix, le P. Théry, lui aussi, a postulé un original grec : il n'a pas soutenu publiquement son opinion, mais l'a exprimée dans une lettre à Franz Cumont (5). L'analyse du vocabulaire et du style montre clairement que le latin d'Hilduin est calqué sur un original grec. Nous ne mentionne-

(1) Version syriaque A : « Je pris alors aussitôt les nombres sacrés [littéralement : intérieurs], et parcourus les cours supérieurs des lieux de passage du Soleil ... (M. A. KUGENER, *Une autobiographie syriaque de Denys l'Aréopagite*, dans *Oriens Christianus*, t. 7, 1907, p. 305, 2-4 ; cf. la version syriaque B, presque identique, p. 327, 13-15) ; version ibéro-arménienne : *Coepi igitur rationes ducere ... atque ingressus sum interiora curricula caelestium conversionum* (PEETERS, *La version ibéro-arménienne*, p. 302, § 9) ; version arabe : *Accepi igitur Librum Numerorum et decurri viam solis ...* (PEETERS, *La vision de Denys*, p. 319, § 9). Le texte copte du passage n'est pas conservé.

(2) Versions syriaques : « ... j'ordonnai à Asklépios, mon notaire, de m'apporter le « livre des sphères », que les Grecs appellent, dans leur langue, *livre* de l'astronomie » (KUGENER, *Une autobiographie*, pp. 305, 31-307, 2 ; dans la version B, p. 329, 23-24 : « le livre des sphères, celles de l'astronomie ») ; version ibéro-arménienne : *Itaque discipulum meum Asliphos compellavi : qui mihi attulit (librum) de conversionibus stellarum* (PEETERS, *La version ibéro-arménienne*, p. 304, § 10) ; la version arabe, abrégée, n'a pas de passage correspondant ; celui du copte est perdu.

(3) HALLOIX, pp. 239-240 (= *P.G.*, 3, 1121) : *Illa S. Dionysii epistola ad Apollophanem jam Christianum rudiore stilo primitus e graeco in latinum conversa fuit, ut quidem repraesentatur ab Hilduino Abbate, in vita S. Dionysii ... Et stilus vix latinus, ac ne vix quidem arguit e graeco esse versam.*

(4) *Accedit, quod tam argumentum ipsius epistolae, quam stili graeci vestigia ... spiritum et orationem spirent S. Dionysii* (*ibid.*, p. 240 ; *P.G.*, 3, 1122).

(5) CUMONT, *Regula*, p. 8.

rons ici que l'argument le plus frappant, décisif à notre sens. L'auteur de la Lettre XI décrit l'éclipse miraculeuse en termes poétiques, assez difficiles à comprendre. Commençons par traduire le membre de phrase qui nous intéresse. « La lune, écrit-il, faisant avancer l'obscurité qu'elle avait engendrée jusqu'à l'extrémité du soleil, finissait par cacher la partie occidentale de l'astre source de lumière ». En latin : *tunc autem lucigenos thesauros caligines quas genuerat* (ed. : *genuerant*) *usque in i l i a c o s t e r m i n o s , ut putavimus, proferentem* (ed. : *proferentes*) *recondere occidentis* (1). L'expression *iliacos terminos* n'a qu'une interprétation possible : « l'extrémité du soleil ». Quel est ce mystérieux adjectif *iliacos* ? Il n'a rien à voir avec Ilion, comme le conjecturait un Buchner mal inspiré (2) ; encore moins faut-il, comme dans Migne, corriger *iliacos* en *Italicos* (3). *Iliacus* n'est que la transcription du grec ἡλιακός. Nous disposons d'ailleurs d'un parallèle dans la description de l'éclipse de la Lettre VII : ... καὶ μέχρι τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ πέρατος ἐλθοῦσαν écrit le pseudo-Denys (4) ; *et usque ad iliacum terminum venientem*, traduit bravement Hilduin (5), qui, visiblement, n'a que de très vagues notions d'astronomie ... On ne nous fera pas croire qu'écrivant directement en latin, notre pseudo-pseudo-Denys aurait utilisé cet adjectif incompréhensible.

La Lettre XI à Apollophane a donc été rédigée en grec. Où et quand ? La thèse classique (6) soupçonne fortement Hilduin d'être le responsable : on ne prête qu'aux riches, et l'abbé de Saint-Denys jouit d'une réputation de faussaire au moins partiellement justifiée (7). Mais faut-il croire alors, avec le P. Théry, qu'Hilduin, par une ruse diabolique, a fait écrire en grec un document, puis en a tiré une mauvaise

(1) *P.L.*, 106, 33D-34A.
(2) Buchner, *Die Areopagitika*, p. 66, n. 171.
(3) *P.L.*, 106, 34 Al.
(4) *P.G.*, 3, 1081 B5.
(5) *Dionysiaca*, t. II, p. 1496.
(6) Avec des nuances différentes, elle est défendue par Peeters, *La vision de Denys*, pp. 310-313 ; Théry, *Hilduin et la première traduction*, pp. 37-38 ; Cumont, *Regula*, pp. 8-9 ; Buchner, *Die Areopagitika*, pp. 69-70.
(7) Encore qu'il soit loin d'être responsable de tous les faux que lui impute Buchner.

traduction latine pour l'utiliser dans sa biographie? C'est difficile à admettre. L'hypothèse que nous présenterons maintenant rend compte plus simplement des faits.

Il existe, entre l'autobiographie de Denys et la Lettre XI, un point de contact qui ne semble pas fortuit. Des deux côtés, Denys, pour expliquer l'éclipse, recourt sans succès à un livre d'astronomie. Il note alors soigneusement l'année, le jour et l'heure du phénomène. Plus tard, écoutant l'enseignement de saint Paul, il fait le rapprochement entre les ténèbres qui ont accompagné la mort du Sauveur et le prodige auquel il a assisté : la coïncidence entraîne sa conversion. Cette circonstance n'a probablement pas été inventée deux fois de manière indépendante. Le P. Peeters en a déduit que la Lettre s'inspire de l'autobiographie (1) ; mais on peut retourner le raisonnement : n'est-ce pas la Lettre qui a influencé l'autobiographie? On notera, en effet, le point suivant : l'auteur de la Lettre, plus au fait des problèmes scientifiques que celui de l'autobiographie et qu'Hilduin, sait l'usage qu'on peut faire des tables faciles. Or, pareille utilisation a été relevée par Neugebauer dans un texte syriaque du VIIe siècle (2). Nous proposons donc la solution que voici. Entre le milieu du VIe siècle et la fin du VIIe, naissent, dans le milieu palestino-syrien, attentif aux controverses dionysiennes, une série d'apocryphes. Parmi eux, la Lettre à Apollophane. Celle-ci

(1) PEETERS, *La vision de Denys*, pp. 310-313. D'après le P. Peeters, Hilduin est probablement le responsable de la Lettre XI. Pour la composer, il aurait fait usage d'une version grecque ou orientale de l'autobiographie, passée en Occident dans le courant d'échanges entre le Proche-Orient et la Gaule. Un indice supplémentaire de cette influence serait le suivant : dans l'autobiographie comme dans les *Areopagitica*, Denys est présenté comme le chef suprême de l'Aréopage. L'explication n'est pas sans attrait. Buchner a objecté : pourquoi Hilduin, tellement soucieux d'invoquer ses sources et ses autorités, a-t-il passé sous silence l'autobiographie? Mais le même Buchner a fourni une réponse valable : le caractère trop visiblement fabuleux de l'autobiographie a incité Hilduin à la prudence ; à un témoignage d'origine non suspecte, mais de teneur compromettante, il a préféré substituer une fabrication de provenance mystérieuse, mais de contenu acceptable (*Die Areopagitika*, pp. 69-70). Reste cependant la difficulté évoquée plus haut : Hilduin a-t-il poussé l'astuce jusqu'à forger un document en grec? Le P. Peeters ne semble pas s'être posé le problème.

(2) NEUGEBAUER, *Regula*, pp. 477-478.

utilise les scolies de Jean de Scythopolis (1) et — est-ce pure coïncidence ? — témoigne de connaissances astronomiques attestées en Syrie au VIIe siècle. A son tour, elle donne naissance à un roman plus développé, l'autobiographie de Denys : celle-ci conserve le thème de la consultation des tables et de la conversion provoquée par le prodige, mais remplace les premières par un ouvrage d'astrologie et ajoute au calcul une vision prémonitoire. A une époque non précisée, la Lettre à Apollophane, dans sa version grecque, passe en Occident, probablement par la Gaule méridionale (2). Hilduin, dont les contacts avec des Syriens semblent établis (3), en prend connaissance et la fait traduire. Le texte grec, que personne ne songe à recopier ou qui ne suscite plus d'intérêt, disparaît (4).

Si notre hypothèse est juste, nous avons fait rentrer la Lettre XI du pseudo-Denys dans le champ des études byzantines. De plus, nous tiendrions là un témoin précieux de rapports directs entre l'hagiographie syrienne et l'occidentale (5). Cela justifie peut-être l'attention accordée à une pièce marginale du dossier aréopagitique.

Bibliothèque Vaticane. Paul CANART.

(1) Pour l'explication de l'éclipse et l'âge de Denys au moment de celle-ci.

(2) Sur cette voie de passage, v. P. PEETERS, *Orient et Byzance. Le tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine* (*Subsidia hagiographica*, 26), Bruxelles, 1950, p. 175 et *ibid.*, n. 1.

(3) BUCHNER, *Die Areopagitika*, pp. 58-59, n. 147.

(4) Selon cette hypothèse, il n'est plus indispensable de postuler qu'Hilduin ait eu connaissance de l'autobiographie. Il est vrai que, comme cette dernière, il fait de Denys le chef de l'Aréopage ; mais cette idée pouvait sembler insinuée déjà par le prologue de Jean de Scythopolis ; elle a pu germer indépendamment dans le cerveau de l'abbé de Saint-Denys et dans celui du responsable de l'autobiographie. Hilduin a pu avoir sous les yeux une version de celle-ci ; mais, dans ce cas, aurait-il résisté à la tentation de lui emprunter quelque détail supplémentaire sur la jeunesse de Denys ? Il a bien eu l'idée baroque de faire du qualificatif *μακάριος* le prénom de l'Aréopagite. Aurait-il su se garder de toutes les naïvetés de l'autobiographie ?

(5) D'autant plus précieux que, comme le fait remarquer PEETERS, *Le tréfonds*, p. 175, « nous ne connaissons aucun exemple certain de légendes importées directement en Occident par la voie de la littérature ou de la tradition syriaques ».

NOTES ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE 'SIEGE' SECTION OF THE CHRONICON MAIUS OF PSEUDO-PHRANTZES, BOOK III

1. CORRESPONDING OMISSIONS IN THE MAIUS AND MINUS

A great deal of evidence has been accumulated by scholars to substantiate the claim that the information contained in book III of the *Chronicon Maius* concerning the final siege of Constantinople, in particular the events between April 2nd and May 29th 1453, is not derived from any genuine record of the Protovestiarites George Sphrantzes, but is an entirely spurious compilation by Macarius Melissenus, Metropolitan of Monemvasia. So many instances of interpolation and fabrication have already been detected and identified by Papadopoulos, Loenertz, Grecu and others that, following Loenertz (1), the general consensus of scholarly opinion is now that everything *not* contained in the *Minus* must be regarded as spurious.

The step of inference is a short but significant one : if it is justified, book III of the *Maius* is of almost no use whatever as a primary source for events within Constantinople during the siege and capture of the city by the Turks in 1453, and certainly cannot be considered an eye-witness report.

Yet modern accounts of the fall of Constantinople rely to a considerable extent on information drawn from this section of the *Maius*, and many of these appear not even to raise the question of its complete validity. Other historians, notably Sir Steven Runciman in his work *The Fall of Constan-*

(1) R. J. Loenertz, *Autour du Chronicon Maius attribué à Georgios Phrantzes*, in *Miscellanea Mercati*, III, *Studi e Testi Vaticani*, CXXIII, Rome, 1946.

tinople 1453 (1), acknowledge the findings of Loenertz and others but take the view that the information contained in the siege section of the *Maius* derives from a genuine revised version of the *Minus*, enlarged and elaborated by Sphrantzes himself.

What evidence can be submitted to support such a view? It seems to me that a detailed study of book III of the *Maius* offers at least four arguments for the existence of such a document and its use by Macarius, all of which can be substantially supported, I believe, from evidence in the texts of both the *Maius* and the *Minus* and by comparison of these with other contemporary accounts of the siege. In this paper I propose to deal with what is in one sense the strongest of these arguments; the existence of certain omissions in both chronicles.

There are certain significant omissions in the *Maius* which correspond to omissions in the *Minus* regarding the embassies attested by other sources to have taken place between Constantine XI and Mehmet II. Leonard of Chios, Critobulus, Ducas and Chalcocondyles, as well as the Turkish sources, all refer to one or more of the embassies sent by Constantine to Mehmet, from that renewing the peace treaty on Mehmet's accession in 1451, to that concerned with the Sultan's formal offer of freedom in return for the surrender of the city during the last days of the siege. There is *no* mention of *any* interchange of embassies whatever between Constantine and Mehmet during the siege in the disputed section of the *Maius*. If Macarius compiled this section only from Leonard and others, why did he not incorporate their references to these important embassies along with the other material he is thought to have used from their accounts? More significant, there is no mention whatever in the *Minus* of any of the earlier embassies from Constantine to Mehmet. In fact, the omissions in the siege section of the *Maius* correspond to those in the *Minus*, and this evidence, though negative, nevertheless lends significant support to the argument that Macarius, in shaping this section of the *Maius*, had before

(1) S. RUNCIMAN, *The Fall of Constantinople 1453*, C.U.P. 1965, p. 193.

him a larger version of the genuine Sphrantzes and in the main adhered faithfully to that version in so far as actual events and their chronology are concerned.

In the course of the following examination of the documented evidence for these embassies I hope to demonstrate the validity of my argument for the significance of their omission in the *Chronicon Maius*.

According to Ducas, Critobulus and Chalcocondyles (1) the first Byzantine embassy to Mehmet was despatched in 1451 soon after Mehmet's accession to the Turkish throne and before his Karamanian expedition. The Byzantines, Ducas tells us, sent ambassadors to Mehmet offering condolences and congratulations on his accession, and Mehmet received them cordially and renewed the existent treaty, swearing on the Koran to maintain peace and friendship with Constantine and all those under his rule as long as he (Mehmet) should live. In addition, he granted the Emperor the yearly revenue of 300.000 aspers from the villages along the Strymon which the ambassadors sought in payment for the maintenance of the Turkish hostage prince Orchan.

Ducas' source for the Byzantine embassies to Mehmet may very well have been Turkish. At all events, there is absolutely no reason to doubt the reliability of the information; it would have been strange indeed if Constantine had *not* tendered Byzantine condolences and felicitations to Mehmet at this time, along with all the other surrounding Christian states.

The second Byzantine embassy to Mehmet mentioned by Ducas is more significant. At 34, 2 he tells us that Constantine sent ambassadors to Mehmet soon after he received the submission of the Karamanian ambassadors, — which would make it sometime late in the autumn of 1451 — demanding that the Sultan double the revenues received annually by the Byzantines from the Turkish occupied Lower Struma

(1) DUCAS, *Historia Turco-Byzantina* (ed. V. Grecu), Bucharest, 1948, 33, 12 ; CRITOBULUS, *De Rebus per Annos 1451-1467 a Mechemete II Gestis* (ed. V. Grecu), Bucharest, 1963, 1, 5, 3 ; LAONICOS CHALCOCONDYLES, *De Origine ac Rebus Gestis Turcorum*, ed. Migne, *P.G.*, t. 159 (Paris, 1859), col. 372 A.

valley to pay for the upkeep of Orchan. Constantine's ambassadors informed Mehmet via Halil Pasha that if he did not increase the revenues to 600,000 aspers immediately, Orchan would be set free to claim his right to the Turkish throne. Halil pointed out to the ambassadors the folly of this demand in blunt terms, and Mehmet refused to give them satisfaction.

Sphrantzes, in the *Minus*, nowhere makes any mention of these important embassies. We know from the memoirs (1) that at the time of Murad's death and the subsequent first embassy of Constantine to Mehmet, Sphrantzes was in Trebizond trying to arrange a marriage for the Emperor. Still, it is inconceivable that he did not learn of it on his return, and since he tells us that he arrived back in Constantinople on September 14th 1451, he must have been fully aware of the circumstances of the second embassy and its results. It cannot be validly argued that Sphrantzes simply 'overlooked' these and all subsequent embassies between Constantine and Mehmet, for a study of both the minor and major chronicles will show that Sphrantzes refers explicitly on several occasions to embassies between Manuel II, John VIII and the Turkish sultans of their reigns (2). Possible reasons for the chronicler's deliberate omission of Constantine's embassies to Mehmet will be examined at a later point in this paper.

In the spring and summer of 1452, while Mehmet was supervising the construction of the fort at Rumeli Hissar, Constantine's unfortunate delegates appear to have been almost constantly engaged in the hazardous business of carrying ultimatums and pleas for peace back and forth between Constantinople, Adrianople and Rumeli Hissar. Ducas, Critobulus and Leunclavius (who draws on Neshri) (3) all mention an embassy sent by Constantine to Mehmet at Adrianople

(1) George SPHRANTZES, *Chronicon Minus* (ed. V. Grecu, contained in MACARIUS MELISSENUS : PSEUDO-PHRANTZES MEMORII., Bucharest, 1966), p. 76.

(2) *Chronicon Minus*, pp. 10, 1-5, 20-25 ; 14, 10-15 ; 16, 13-20 ; 50, 12 et 32-34 ; 54, 31-34 and elsewhere.

(3) DUCAS, 34, 6 ; CRITOBULUS, 1, 7, 2 ; CHALCOCONDYLES, col. 376 B ; LEUNCLAVIUS, *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum*, Frankfurt,

soon after the commencement of work on the fort at Rumeli Hissar in April 1452, reminding Mehmet of Murad II's treaty and agreement not to build fortifications within the limits of Byzantine territory, and pointing out that Mehmet had no right to construct a fort on this spot. Like the previous embassy, this third one was surprisingly high-handed in tone and received the reply from Mehmet that he was not taking any territory that was not already his by right of occupation.

According to Ducas (1), sometime in May an incident occurred in which a Greek shepherd chased some Turkish horses off his crops outside the city and sparked off a general attack by Turkish troops on the villages along the Bosphorus. As a result, Constantine apparently despatched a fourth embassy to the Sultan seeking assurance of protection for the villages and crops. Mehmet's reply to this was to despatch soldiers to prevent any interference to grazing Turkish stock by Greek inhabitants, and subsequently these soldiers slaughtered a number of farmers in the area who were attempting to protect their crops. Constantine then shut the city gates and imprisoned all the Turks who happened to be in the city at the time, but the released them three days later however, persuaded by them that he could achieve nothing by holding them hostage, whereas their safe return to the Sultan's camp might soften Mehmet's attitude.

This account of the pillaging incident and its consequences are confirmed by a Turkish eye-witness, Tursun, who says (I quote a translation sent to me by Dr. V. L. Menage of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University) "There were at this time some Turkish soldiers in Istanbul seeing the sights. They too were seized and imprisoned. When the Sultan heard this he was angry and pressed forward

1591, vol. XV, col. 577, 26-578, 15. Leunclavius draws on Neshri, who in turn has drawn his information from Ruhi (about whom nothing is known) and Ashikpashazade who was contemporary with the siege and may have been present. For further information regarding the Turkish sources, particularly Neshri, see V. L. MENAGE, *Neshrī's History of the Ottomans : the sources and development of the text*, London, 1964.

(1) DUCAS, 34, 9-11.

his preparations to attack. The Emperor was repentant and sent back the prisoners with an ambassador to the Porte carrying gifts ; but his apologies were not accepted".

Chalcocondyles (1) refers twice to general pillaging of the countryside outside the city walls : immediately on completion of the fort at Rumeli Hissar and again after the arrival before the city of the Vasiliki, Urban's great cannon, i.e. just before the siege actually commenced in early April 1453. Ducas (2), referring to the return of the Turkish hostages, tells us that the Byzantine ambassadors escorting them carried a final offer of peace from the Emperor with honourable terms, but Constantine refused to surrender his city or his faith. At this time the city gates were shut for the last time.

Sphrantzes (3) makes a brief reference to this pillaging incident in the *Minus*, but gives no details, and again there is no mention whatever of any of these embassies to Mehmet from the Emperor Constantine. The *Maius* elaborates on this reference, stating that 'the Emperor wished to take the offensive himself and to go out to attack the Turks so as to deter Mehmet from further activity, but certain members of the senate blocked the Emperor's decision saying "Let not your Majesty be the first to commence hostilities. Let us wait and see what the Sultan really intends to do. If he builds a fort,we can take it easily on account of its proximity to the city".

This elaboration in the *Maius* constitutes, I believe, an example of genuine revision by Sphrantzes himself and is not a fabrication of Macarius ; first, because the information it contains is of a factual nature that Sphrantzes as Protovestiarites could reasonably be excepted to have possessed, whereas it is not the sort of information that Macarius could convincingly invent almost a century and a half later. Macarius then, could only have obtained such information (if *not* using a revised version of the *Minus*) from some other contemporary source, and we have no evidence to suggest this. Moreover, the proposal of such an offensive by Constan-

(1) CHALCOCONDYLES, col. 376 B et 377 C.
(2) DUCAS, *loc. cit.*
(3) *Chronicon Minus*, p. 94, 31-4 ; *Maius*, p. 378, 16-22.

tine, while it appears suicidal folly from our vantage point in history, in late 1452 when the young and unpredictable Mehmet had barely secured his throne against internal strife and the walls of Constantinople towered impregnable across a thousand years, the desperate but experienced soldier-Emperor may quite credibly have seen a successful Byzantine attack against the fort as a real, if temporary, possibility.

This elaboration in the *Maius*, however, is significant in regard to the omission, in both chronicles, of any reference to diplomatic communications between Constantine XI and Mehmet II : it appears to constitute a deliberate attempt to suggest that any form of diplomatic bargaining with the Sultan was totally unacceptable to Constantine. That this is the case and that the reference constitutes a genuine elaboration by Sphrantzes himself I believe to be supported by evidence in the *Minus*, the authenticity of which is not so far in question. On pp. 98-102 of the *Minus* (ed. V. Grecu) Sphrantzes refers back to the Emperor's desperate efforts to obtain help for Constantinople from her northern and western neighbours in words that clearly stamp the passage as a posthumous defence of Constantine's policy against accusations of weakness, or even cowardice, such as are contained in some Turkish sources and hinted at in the reply of the Megaduke Lucas Notaras to Mehmet which is contained in the *Maius* (1).

Wherever Sphrantzes refers to embassies from other Western or Greek states to Mehmet he does so in terms which clearly suggest that anyone fool enough to attempt to negotiate with the Sultan deserved to fall a victim to that ruler's incalculable deceit (2), and both the tone and content of these retrospective references to the Emperor's policy in the *Minus* strongly support the argument for the genuine authorship of the elaboration in the *Maius* concerning Constantine's wish to take the offensive against the Turks after the pillaging of Greek villages at this time. I shall shortly discuss the significance of this positive evidence for the chronicler's

(1) *Chronicon Maius*, p. 434, 21 ; LEUNCLAVIUS, *loc. cit.*

(2) *Chronicon Maius*, *loc. cit.* and p. 418 (referring to negotiations by the citizens of Galata) ; *Minus*, p. 76 and *Maius*, p. 354.

personal perspective in relation to the importance of the omission of reference to embassies between the two rulers.

To return to the question of the omissions themselves; there is, again, no direct reference in the *Maius* to the offer made to the Greeks by Mehmet late in the siege, of immunity of life and personal property in return for the surrender of the city. Chalcocondyles (1) tells us that one Ismail, son of Prince Alexander of Sinope, was despatched by the Sultan to offer peace and to suggest to the Byzantines that they send back with him an ambassador to seek terms of peace from Mehmet. The chronicler goes on to say: "and it seemed good to the Greeks when they deliberated, to send a messenger to ascertain the intention of the Sultan, and so they sent a man unofficially to test out the Sultan's offer. When this man, led by Ismail, came into Mehmet's presence, the Sultan demanded a yearly tribute of 100,000 bezants. If the Greeks should be unable to raise this sum they could leave the city, taking their possessions with them, and go wherever they wished. The Greeks declined this offer, preferring to defend themselves within the city."

Ducas (2) also refers briefly to this embassy, as do the Turkish sources. There is no reason to doubt the reliability of these sources on this question, for such an offer merely observed the traditional Turkish code of war; the advantages to the conqueror being obvious.

At p. 434, 21 of the *Maius* (ed. V. Grecu) Sphrantzes makes an *indirect* reference to such an offer when reporting Mehmet's recriminations against Notaras, obviously with the object of blackening the Megaduke's reputation in the eyes of posterity. He makes the Sultan say "Why did you not adv se your Emperor, at that time when I sent to him seeking surrender of the city and offering him other territory for his own domain, so as to prevent such slaughter on both sides"? Now Sphrantzes establishes strongly in the *Minus* his envy and resentment of Notaras as Megaduke, and I think that almost certainly in his desire to reflect adversly on Notaras' character, he has inadvertantly allowed a reference to the existence of

(1) CHALCOCONDYLES, col. 385 B.
(2) DUCAS, 38, 18.

such negotiations to slip into this narrative at this point while studiously avoiding any such reference elsewhere.

At all events there can be no doubt that Sphrantzes' failure to refer to any of Constantine's diplomatic dealings with Mehmet is due to deliberate omission. Both positive and negative evidence is against the possibility of accidental omission due to the fact that Sphrantzes composed (and revised?) the *Minus* a decade or so after the fall of the city.

The chronicler's reason for refraining from mentioning Constantine's various embassies to Mehmet is not far to seek, I believe. The *Minus* throughout is stamped with the chronicler's personal admiration and reverence for his Emperor; he makes no reference to Constantine that does not enhance the Emperor's glory as a prince and a soldier. It is quite clear from both the *Maius* and *Minus* that he wished his Emperor's memory to be hallowed for all time, unsullied by any suggestion of weakness or cowardice, and it is entirely in keeping with these sentiments that Sphrantzes, in his capacity of Grand Chamberlain and personal confidant of Constantine XI, should to this end purposely omit any mention whatever of negotiations which might seem to compromise the Emperor's integrity in any way.

The significance of these omissions is, I think, sufficiently demonstrated. That the disputed siege section of the *Maius* is as conspicuous as the *Minus* for the absence of any mention of diplomatic exchanges between Constantine and Mehmet, despite the fact that *known* sources of the *Maius*, such as Chalcocondyles and Leonard of Chios (1), *specifically* refer to such exchanges in some detail, points, I believe, to Macarius' use of and adherence to a fuller version of the *Minus* than that known to us so far; a version revised and elaborated by the author of the *Minus* himself, George Sphrantzes.

(1) LEONARD OF CHIOS, *De Expugnatione Constantinopolis.*, *M.P.G.*, vol. 159, col. 932 B, refers to an embassy to Mehmet from Galata late in the siege, which they claimed to have undertaken 'on the Emperor's behalf'.

2. PARALLEL TREATMENT OF REFERENCES TO THE MEGADUKE LUCAS NOTARAS*

In the first paper of this series (1) I discussed the significance of certain omissions in both the *Chronicon Minus* of George Sphrantzes and the *Chronicon Maius* of Macarius Melissenus : Pseudo-Phrantzes in regard to the question of the authorship of book III of the latter chronicle. In this paper I propose to follow up these arguments with a discussion of the references contained in both chronicles to the Megaduke Lucas Notaras.

In book III of the *Maius* there are three groups of references to Notaras : *first*, there are the comprehensive references early in book III which mention the Megaduke's ambitions and influence over Constantine XI, and which are substantiated by the *Minus* as genuine references by Sphrantzes himself ; *second*, there are the few brief references which mention Notaras' role as an active defender during the siege ; *third*, there is the story of Notaras' capture and death.

Of these three groups only the first is of proven authorship by Sphrantzes since these earlier references are the only ones also contained in the *Minus*. The findings of Loenertz

* All references to the *Major* and *Minor Chronicles* are to the critical edition of V. Grecu, MACARIUS MELISSENUS : PSEUDO-PHRANTZES, *Memorii, 1401-1477*, Bucharest, 1966.
B = ed. Bekker (*C.S.H.B.*) 1838.

(1) Above, pp. 28-36.

in his thesis on the authorship of the *Chronicon Maius* (1) were sufficiently conclusive to predispose scholars thereafter to accept, with few or no reservations, his contention that everything not contained in the *Minus* must be considered to have been spuriously invented by Macarius Melissenus himself or interpolated by him from other sources.

To support my thesis that Macarius, in compiling the *Maius*, drew on a larger chronicle of genuine authorship by Sphrantzes — a more extensive version of the *Minus* in fact —, I would like to draw attention to certain characteristics *common* to all three groups of references to Notaras in the *Maius* and *particular* to the tone of the genuine Sphrantzes in his expressed attitude toward Lucas Notaras.

The two most important groups of references for comparison here are those which occur early in book III (2) and those which comprise the story of Notaras' death (3). The other which refer to his role as a defender during the siege comprise factual evidence and are a) too brief to lend very significant support to arguments either for or against the genuine authorship of the siege section of book III ; b) comprise information which could possibly have been obtained by Macarius from other contemporary accounts of the siege. I shall deal with this group at a later point in this paper.

The most important characteristic common to both the genuine earlier references and the later, supposedly spurious ones contained in the story of Notaras' death, is the predominant attitude of hostility. The whole tone of both these groups of references is strongly biased against Notaras. The attitude of the genuine Sphrantzes is established by the first group of references (4) ; particularly that contained in the *Minus* at p. 92, 23-25

(1) R. J. Loenertz, *Autour du Chronicon Maius attribué à Georgios Phrantzes*, in *Miscellanea Mercati*, III, *Studi e Testi Vaticani*, cxxiii, Rome, 1946.

(2) *Minus*, pp. 84, 17-92, 35 and *Maius*, pp. 364, 35-376, 4 (B, pp. 221, 12-231, 10).

(3) *Maius*, pp. 432, 36-434, 31 (B, pp. 291, 15-293, 11).

(4) See note 2.

ὁ βασιλεὺς θυμοῦ πλέων καὶ ὁρίζει πρὸς με · « Εἶδές τον, — καὶ παραλείπω τὴν ὕβριν, — τὸν μεσάζοντά σου · κτλ. καὶ σήμερον ἔστειλε τὴν προβατινὰν τὸν παπᾶν Ἀντώνιον, ὅτι, ἐπεὶ ἐζήτησεν, ἵνα τιμήσωμεν τὰ μουσκαράκιά του, ζητεῖ, ἵνα ποιήσωμεν τὸν πρῶτον μέγαν λογοθέτην καὶ τὸν δεύτερον μέγαν κοντοσταυλόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς λογατόρους νῦν ἐκεῖνος ἄρχει, ὅπερ ἕνι ὑπηρεσία τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀφφικίου.

The *Maius* has undoubtedly exaggerated the *expression* of the attitude of the chronicler here, but not the attitude itself which the *Minus* demonstrates as unmistakeably hostile. The *Maius* has :

ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξερχόμενος θυμοῦ πνέων λέγει μοι · « Εἶδες τὸν μεσάζοντά σου τὸν Νοταρᾶν, τί διὰ τοῦ ἱερέως Ἀντωνίου μηνύει μοι ; » εἶτα παραλιπὼν τὴν ὕβριν λέγει μοὶ πάλιν · « Σύ κτλ. — καὶ σήμερον ἔστειλε ὃν εἶδες ἐξελθεῖν, τὸν ἐν σχήματι καὶ θεωρίᾳ ἐπιτήδειον, τῷ δὲ τρόπῳ καὶ νοϊ ἄγροικον καὶ ἀνωφελέστατον · Ἀντώνιον ἱερέα, αἰτῶν μοι, ἵνα τιμήσω τοὺς σκαιοτάτους καὶ ἀσυνέτους υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ, κτλ. »

At this point of his chronicle Sphrantzes is dealing with matters close to his own heart ; matters of property and office affecting his own and his family's status at the Byzantine court. We know from the *Minus* as a whole that Sphrantzes was by no means indifferent to the prestige attached to all the complicated minutae of Byzantine court protocol : indeed, at several points in his narrative he intrudes into an otherwise factual, almost Thucydidean, account of Byzantine affairs, quite lengthy digressions full of often quite trivial details of personal prestige, all or most of which are irrelevant to the historical context of his narrative (1).

Now references to Notaras in books I and II of the *Maius* and the corresponding sections of the *Minus* are factual and neutral in tone : the first patent expression of Sphrantzes'

(1) *Minus*, pp. 20, 25-24, 13 ; pp. 32, 13-38, 9.

envy and hostility towards the Megaduke occurs here in book III. The causes and the course of this hostility are hinted at and pose an interesting problem for research in themselves. An investigation into this aspect of the text is not relevant to my arguments here regarding authorship. It is sufficient to make the point that at this stage in the affairs of Constantinople the enmity between these two nobles flared into open hostility and hatred on Sphrantzes' part over a matter of office.

But it is not merely the opposition of personal ambitions that is significant here : both Notaras and Sphrantzes had for thirty years or so held positions of great trust and influence within the royal family of the Palaeologi during the reigns of Manuel II, John VIII and finally of Constantine XI. Sphrantzes particularly had been a close confidant and counsellor of Constantine through the years of his despotate in the Morea and he became his personal ambassador on Constantine's accession to the throne in 1449. Throughout the whole of the *Minus* and the *Maius* Sphrantzes' reverence for and devotion to his Emperor are continually reiterated, and the significant thing is that at this point, in the year immediately preceding the final siege of the city, these questions of personal prestige reflect a deep anxiety about the chronicler's influence with the Emperor at a critical moment of history.

During Sphrantzes' long absences on diplomatic missions Constantine had been dependent for advice mainly upon the Cantacuzeni and Notaras, especially after the death of his mother the Empress Helena in 1451 while Sphrantzes was at the court of Trebizond. Clearly, on his return to Constantinople in September 1452, he imagined his own position to be threatened by the ambitious conniving of Notaras during his absence. The truth or otherwise of this situation remains obscure, since the surviving correspondence of Notaras nowhere mentions Sphrantzes, nor do other contemporary sources mention him anywhere in connection with the Megaduke. The point is that here, reflecting both these aspects of the relationship of Constantine with his two ministers, the envy and hostility are patently expressed in terms unmistakeably biased.

The references in the *Maius* (1) contained in the story of Notaras' death are the most markedly biased of all the contemporary sources. In contradiction to other accounts which stress the Megaduke's restraint and courage at the moment of his sons' and his own execution, the *Maius* not only makes no mention whatever of the reasons for the sons' execution, but it attributes Notaras' downfall entirely to his own ambition and greed, putting into the Megaduke's mouth words that were meant to damn him forever as grasping and cowardly.

Now the *Minus*, as we have it, makes no reference at all to the affair of Notaras' death. Are we justified in assuming that this section of the *Maius* is large a product of Macarius' imagination? Certainly we are obliged to assume this unless we posit the use by Macarius of a fuller version of the genuine Sphrantzes, since such information regarding Notaras' death as he could have obtained from his other known sources such as Leonard of Chios and Chalcocondylas (2), is not used fully in his account here (in contradiction to his usual interpolatory technique) nor does it constitute a significant element in the story. Yet the details of this story are in the main not such as *could* have been convincingly invented by Macarius a century and a quarter after the event. On the other hand, if we compare the tone and style with the earlier references we find two outstanding elements common to both sections : *first*, the imputations of avarice and ambition levelled at Notaras and *second*, the tone and terminology of these imputations.

In regard to the imputations themselves : in the earlier references and particularly those quoted above, the greed and ambition of the Megaduke is implicitly but strongly insinuated ; in the story of his death these insinuations are baldly stated accusations, the most libellous of which is the reference to Notaras' offer of treasure to Mehmet in return

(1) See p. 38, n. 3.

(2) There is no evidence that I know of to suggest that Macarius had access to Critobulus, Ducas, the western sources or the Turkish sources.

for the Sultan's favour (1). Here Notaras supposedly says to Mehmet, "all these things I have saved for your Majesty, and behold, I present them to you as a gift. I beseech you, accept my plea and grant that I may serve you in all humility".

The tone of this story and the terminology, especially at p. 434, 28-30 (B 293, 7-10), where the *Maius* refers to Notaras' ambitions for his sons with the words : *τοὺς δυὸ υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ, οὕς ποτε ἤτει τῷ βασιλεῖ ἵνα τὸν ἕνα αὐτοῦ τιμήσῃ τῷ τοῦ μεγάλου κοντοσταύλου ἀξιώματι καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῷ τοῦ μεγάλου λογοθέτου*, — are remarkably similar to that of the earlier proven references. Again, as in the earlier references, a substantial part of this section of the *Maius* consists of dialogue in which Notaras is made to utter self-condemnatory remarks.

These points made, let us examine the content of this story in relation to the earlier references. In the *Maius* Mehmet's subsequent dialogue and decision to execute Notaras and his sons hinges on Notaras' initial subserviant offer of treasure and allegiance. There is nothing inconsistent in an attempt by Notaras to ransom himself with his position as Megaduke or his widely reputed courage. As the wealthiest man in Constantinople, he had the means at his disposal — why should he not buy his family's freedom? Sphrantzes, on the other hand, had undoubtedly expended his own funds to a considerable degree in financing his travels on the Emperor's behalf, and we know from the *Minus* (2) that he was only able to ransom his wife and himself with great difficulty after some months spent in slavery. His son died at the Sultan's hand for refusing to submit to his lust while Sphrantzes was still in captivity and he was unable to obtain a ransom for his daughter before her death of illness in Mehmet's seraglio.

Both Notaras and Sphrantzes were related to Constantine XI by marriage, and the *suggestion* in the earlier references that Notaras was exploiting this relationship without any sacrifice on his own part on behalf of the Emperor's affairs,

(1) *Maius*, p. 434, 4-7 (B, pp. 291, 15-292, 1).
(2) *Minus*, p. 98, 12-16 and *Maius*, p. 458, 1-9.

while he Sphrantzes was gladly using up his wealth to forward Constantine's interests, this suggestion emerges as a bald *accusation* in the mouth of the Sultan in this later story.

If we take all this into consideration then the prejudiced interpretation of what was in all probability a perfectly honourable attempt by Notaras to ransom his own and his family's freedom when Mehmet reversed his initially favourable attitude toward him, is neither unexpected nor out of character with the tone and content of the earlier attestably genuine references to Notaras. Essentially the seeds of this biased account of the Megaduke's death are contained in the attitudes expressed in the first group of references in book III: therefore, the content and tone of this episode reflect a *natural development* of these already present prejudices, seen against the background of events during the siege and capture of the city.

The siege section of the *Maius* also contains a brief reference to Notaras (1) as being in command of the harbour walls from the Petrion to the gate of St. Theodosia. This reference is too brief to serve as a basis of comparison in the question of authorship and it is possible, though not very probable, I think, that Macarius, in specifying the limits of his command, simply particularised from maps in circulation at the time general information of Notaras' sector of command contained in other accounts of the siege, notable that of Leonard of Chios whom Macarius certainly used as a source for the *Maius*.

Only one other reference to Notaras remains to be mentioned and that is the episode which tells of Giustiniani's request to Notaras for a transfer of cannon from the Megaduke's sector to the landwalls (2). In this case there is a stronger possibility that Macarius has interpolated the incident from Leonard of Chios (3) since all the essentials of the episode are contained in Leonard's account. On the other hand, if this is the case, why did he not in his usual style sieze

(1) *Maius*, p. 398, 12-13 (B, p. 254, 17).
(2) *Maius*, p. 406, 13-20 (B, pp. 262, 10-263, 1).
(3) LEONARD OF CHIOS, *De Expugnatione Constantinopolis*, *M.P.G.*, vol. 159, col. 936 A.

on the vituperative remark by Giustiniani in Leonard's text, "Traitor, why should I not cut you down"? Since one of the hallmarks of Macarius' compilatory technique is his tendency to sensationalize whereever the occasion permits, it is odd that he has failed to take advantage of the opportunity here. I think the answer is that in fact he was drawing, not on Leonard, but on a genuine enlarged version of the *Minus*. The tone and style are entirely in keeping with Sphrantzes' earlier references to Notaras and the fact that he does not put words into Giustiniani's mouth here indicates no more than that Sphrantzes had only second-hand knowledge of the incident. Another point for consideration in regard to Giustiniani's remark is the fact that while Sphrantzes accuses Notaras of avarice and ambition, he nowhere accuses him of *active obstruction* of the Emperor's plans or policies while Constantine was alive, and it must be remembered that Giustiniani had been personally put in command of all defence operations by Constantine himself.

Essentially it is the demonstrated existence of elements common to both the earlier pre-siege references in book III of the *Maius* and the story of Notaras' death that points to the strong probability that this story was taken by Macarius from a genuine account by Sphrantzes. Consequently, if this is the case, the possibility that most, if not all, of the events described in the siege section of the *Maius* represent essentially the eyewitness account of George Sphrantzes, is strengthened considerably.

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OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS OF MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS

The inadequacy of the extant source materials for the late Palaeologan period renders it virtually impossible to compile a complete list of official Byzantine imperial documents. The *Regesten* of Franz Dölger, completed by Peter Wirth, represent an admirable and painstaking effort to do so (1). Actual documents, however, and references to others still lie hidden in archives, libraries and even in some published sources. This article (which obviously cannot claim to be definitive) presents twenty-six such documents dating from the reign of Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425), not listed in the *Regesten* and which are found in a variety of sources. First is given the date, in some cases only approximate, followed by the nature of the document as indicated in the sources, a summary of its contents, the source from which it is derived and, in the case of unpublished material, an edition of the text (2).

(1) F. DÖLGER and P. WIRTH, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*. 5. Teil. *Regesten von 1341-1453*, (Munich, 1965), hereafter referred to as DÖLGER, *Regesten*.

(2) Several of the documents derive from two unpublished sources : 1) The Synodal Tome of August 1409 which excommunicated Matthew of Medeia and Macarius of Ankara, found in the *cod. Vat. gr.* 1858, fol. 28-42^{v}, hereafter cited as *Tome of 1409* and the folio number (a full edition of this document is in preparation) ; 2) the Apology of Macarius of Ankara written in 1405-1406, found in the *cod. Paris. gr.* 1379 and 1378, hereafter cited from the *cod.* 1379 as *Apology of Macarius* and the folio number. These texts, as well as the entire controversy involving Macarius and Matthew, form the object of a detailed study by V. LAURENT in *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 1972.

1

1393. Agreement (εἰρήνην ... καὶ σπονδάς).

Manuel II agrees to adopt his nephew, John VII, who in turn will adopt Manuel's own son, John VIII, and the succession to the throne will be in that order. [The agreement was soon forgotten].

Source : Manuel Palaeologus, *Moral Dialogue on Marriage, cod. Paris. gr.* 3041, fol. 102v ; see R. J. LOENERTZ, *Une erreur singulière de Laonic Chalcocandyle*, in *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 15 (1957), 183-84.

2

1395, December. Embassy (ambaxiatorem).

An ambassador of Manuel II is given passage on a Venetian ship.

Source : Deliberation of the Venetian Senate of 9 December 1395 : N. IORGA, *Veneţia in Marea Neagră*, in *Analele Academiei Române, Memoriile Secţiunii Istorice*, ser. II, tom. 36 (1913-1914), 1043-1118, nº 48, p. 1114 (not found in F. THIRIET, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, I (Paris-La Haye, 1958).

Since Iorga only gives one line of the text, it is quite difficult at this moment to speculate further on the specific destination and objectives of this embassy.

3

1396, February 15. Embassy (ambassiator).

A Byzantine ambassador asks the Venetian senate for financial assistance in return for which the emperor offers the robe of Christ and other relics as surety.

Source : In the *commissio* to Niccolò Vallaresso and Michele Contarini, ambassadors to Bajezid, of 17 February 1396 : ... *quia pridie quando ambassiator ipsius domini imperatoris fuit ad presenciam nostram ipse requisivit a nobis subventionem pecunie dicendo de volendo nobis in pignore dare vestem Yhesu Christi et alias certas*

reliquias suas. Venice, *Archivio di Stato, Senato, Misti*, 43, fol. 108. This is undoubtedly a continuation of the embassy which was discussed in the senate on 9 December 1395 : see DÖLGER, *Regesten*, n° 3256.

4

1397, winter-spring. Embassy.

Manuel II offers to cede Constantinople to Venice if he should be forced to leave, as well as the island of Imbros. He also seems to have requested Venetian aid.

Source : Deliberation of the Venetian senate of 7 April 1397 : THIRIET, *Régestes*, n° 932, p. 218 ; see J. BARKER, *Manuel II Palaeologus. A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1969), 146-47.

5

1397, October-November. Prostagma (*προστάγματι*).

The patriarchal throne being vacant, the bishops are ordered to celebrate the liturgy on the first anniversary of the death of the emperor's mother.

Source : *Apology of Macarius*, fol. 38. ... *ὁ* [*Ματθαῖος*] *τῷ ἁγίῳ βασιλεῖ ποθοῦντι ἐν τῷ α' μνημοσύνῳ τῆς ἁγίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡμῶν κυρίας καὶ δεσποίνης προστάγματι αὐτοῦ βασιλικῷ, ἐκδημήσαντος πρὸς Θεὸν τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Καλλίστου τοῦ πατριάρχου, λειτουργῆσαι τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκείνης ἀντιλέξας συνοδικῶς μὴ ἐξεῖναι τοῦτό τε καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐκκλησιαστικὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι.*

6

1397, November. Command (*κελεύσει*).

Manuel II convokes the synod to elect a patriarch.

Source : *Tome of* 1409, fol. 28^{v} ... *ὅτε ἡ σύνοδος κελεύσει βασιλικῇ συνηθροίσθη περὶ πατριάρχου ψηφισομένη.*

7

1397 (?). *Letter.*

Manuel II requests the Doge of Venice to furnish supplies

for the ship carrying his ambassadors and promises reimbursement and gratitude.

Source : *I libri commemoriali della Repubblica di Venezia, Regesti*, III, ed. R. Predelli (Venice, 1883), IX, 72, p. 248. On 5 November 1397 Phocas Sevastopoulos, captain of an imperial galley, declared that he had received the requested amount from the Venetian officials and promised that the emperor would pay in full. The ambassadors, their destination, and the exact date are not known, but it probably has to do with one of Manuel's embassies to Venice or the other Western powers late in 1396 or 1397.

8

1397-1398, winter-spring. Embassy (ambassadeur).
Manuel II sends an ambassador to Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy.

Source : Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Collection de Bourgogne*, 20, fol. 358v. « En ce temps arriva un ambassadeur de Constantinople envoié au Duc, qui lui temoigna la joie que cette ville avoit reçeu de la liberté du Comte, son fils, auquel ambassadeur le Duc fit present d'un hanap d'or ciselé ».

The precise nature of the embassy is unknown, but it may well have been connected with that of Theodore Palaeologus Cantacuzenus to the French court in 1397-1398 (DÖLGER, *Regesten*, 3269), or with that of Nicholas Notaras in spring 1398 (*ibid.*, 3271). At any rate, the ambassador arrived at the Burgundian court about the end of 1397 or early in 1398 after the Duke's son, John, Count of Nevers, had returned from Turkish captivity.

9

1399, December 4 (or shortly before). Agreement (*προγεγονότων ὅρκων μετὰ συμφωνιῶν*).
Before leaving for Western Europe, Manuel II leaves Constantinople in the charge of John VII.

Source : Several chronological notices, some of which are given by S. LAMPROS, *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, III (Athens,

1926), 360-61 ; see A. A. VASILIEV, *Putešestvie vizantijskago imperatora Manuila Palaeologa po zapadnoi Evrope* (1399-1403), in *Žurnal ministerstva narodnago prosveščeniia*, N.S. 39 (1912), 54-55 ; J. BARKER, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, 490-93. In a letter to the metropolitan of Kiev the patriarch also refers to this agreement : *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, ed. F. Miklosich and J. Müller (Vienna, 1860-90), II, n° 556, pp. 359-60.

10

1400, February. Request (postulat).

Manuel II, on departing from Venice, requests that the Signoria provide refuge for his brother, the Despot Theodore, and for his own wife and family, in case they should be compelled to leave the Morea.

Source : Deliberation of the Venetian senate of 27 February 1400 ; see THIRIET, *Régestes*, 978, II, p. 10.

11

1401, July 5. Imperial Letter (*βασιλικαὶ γραφαί*).

Manuel II has journeyed to Western Europe to seek aid against the Turks. He grants to Pope Boniface IX a particle of the robe of Christ and confirms its authenticity.

Source : Copy of the Greek text in the Gennadius Library in Athens (*cod.* 39, fol. 219-219^{v}), published and discussed by G. DENNIS, *Two Unknown Documents of Manuel II Palaeologus* in *Travaux et Mémoires*, 3 (1968), 397-404.

12

1402, November 20-23. Imperial Letter (*litterae patentes*, *ἀνεῳγμέναι γραφαί*).

Manuel II has journeyed to Western Europe to seek aid against the Turks. He grants to Queen Margaret of Denmark a particle of the robe of Christ and confirms its authenticity.

Source : Original document with text in Latin and Greek in the Monastery of El Escorial (*cod. Scorial. gr. ω*-IV-19), published and discussed by DENNIS, *op. cit.*

13

1403, June 9-14. Horismos (*ὁρισμῷ*).

The emperor convokes a synod to discuss the deposition of Patriarch Matthew.

Source: *Apology of Macarius*, fol. 10v-11. ... *τῆς γ'* [*συνόδου*] *τῶν ιη' ἐπισκόπων ἥτις συνηθροίσθη ὁρισμῷ τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέως ἐπανελθόντος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας. Ibid.*, fol. 34. ... *καὶ γ' σύνοδος ἐπισκόπων μετὰ δύο γνωμῶν ιη', συναθροισθεῖσα ὁρισμῷ τοῦ ἁγίου βασιλέως.* Cf. G. DENNIS, *The Deposition and Restoration of Patriarch Matthew I, 1402-1403*, in *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 2 (1967), 100-106.

14

1403, June. Treaty (*ὁρκωμοτικόν, pacta pacis*).

Peace treaty between Manuel II and the Turkish prince Suleyman Çelebi, made in Gallipoli or in Constantinople.

Source: See the documentation and detailed discussion in G. DENNIS, *The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 33 (1967), 72-88. This treaty was either a ratification of the peace treaty made in January or February 1403 between Suleyman and John VII together with Venice, Genoa, the Hospitallers and the Duke of Naxos, or the conclusion of another treaty which must have been almost identical with it. It is possible that another treaty may have been signed with Suleyman's brother in Anatolia about the same time, but this is not clear.

15

1403, summer (*June-July*). *Command* (*κελεύσει*).

Manuel II convokes and presides over a synod of thirty-three bishops called to reinstate the Patriarch Matthew.

Source: *Tome of 1409*, fol. 29v. *Ἐπανελθόντος τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέως ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ ἀποκαταστήσαντος τοῦτον εἰς τὸ πατριαρχεῖον ὅθεν ἐξεβλήθη κακῶς τε καὶ παρανόμως, εἶτα πρὸς κρίσιν συνοδικὴν τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν παραπέμψαντος · ἃ δὴ πάντα καὶ συνόδου συναθροισθείσης μεγάλης κελεύσει θείᾳ βασιλικῇ ἀρχιερέων τριάκοντα πρὸς τοῖς τρισὶ ἐξητάσθησάν τε καὶ*

διευλυτώθησαν κανονικῶς καὶ νομικῶς, αὐτοῦ προκαθημένου τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν βασιλέως. Cf. DENNIS, *The Deposition and Restoration of Patriarch Matthew, cit. supra.*

16

1403, summer. Chrysobull (*χρυσόβουλλος*).

Manuel II confirms the synodal tome decreeing the reinstatement of Matthew as patriarch.

Source: *Tome of 1409*, fol. 30. ... *ἐφ' ὃν* [*τόμον*] *καὶ θεῖος καὶ προσκυνητὸς ἀπελύθη χρυσόβουλλος τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέως πρὸς τὸ μένειν τὰ ἐν τῷ τόμῳ ἀπαρασάλευτα.* Other references to this chrysobull are on fol. 30^{v}, 33, *et alibi.* It is also mentioned in the *Apology of Macarius*, fol. 33. ... *ἔτι ἰστέον ὅτι ὁ μὲν Σερρῶν ἠξίωσε τὸν ἅγιον βασιλέα ἀπολύσαι χρυσόβουλλον εἰς ἐπικύρωσιν τοῦ δῆθεν ἀθῳωτικοῦ.* (Also cf. fol. 53^{v}, 60).

17

1403, Fall (*probably October*). *Agreement* (son acordados, *ὁρκωμότικον*).

Manuel II and John VII agree that John VII should rule as emperor in Thessalonica; on Manuel's death John VII should then assume full imperial power in Constantinople, to be succeeded by Manuel's son, John VIII, who in turn would be followed by the son of John VII.

Source: Manuel's prostagma to Bouliotes of 1404, ed. in *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς*, 2 (1918), 449-52; see DÖLGER, *Regesten*, 3301; DUCAS, *Istoria Turco-Bizantină*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1958), 18, 2, pp. 111-113; Ruy GONZÁLEZ DE CLAVIJO, *Embajada a Tamorlán*, ed. F. López-Estrada (Madrid, 1943), 56; see J. BARKER, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, 241-45. It is possible that two separate agreements may have been made, the one regarding the rule of John VII in Thessalonica and the other regarding the succession.

18

1403-1404. Horismos (*ὁρισμῷ*).

Manuel II sends Metropolitan Macarius of Ankara to the Morea on some business (unspecified).

Source : *Apology of Macarius*, fol. 50. ... *κἀγὼ δὲ δὶς ἢ τρὶς συλλειτουργήσας αὐτῷ ἤμην ἡσυχάζων. ὁρισμῷ δὲ τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέως πορευθεὶς εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον* ... fol. 50^{v} (after his return to Constantinople). ... *ἄφνω ὁρῶ τὸν τιμιώτατον μέγαν σκευοφύλακα παρακαθίσαντά μοι καὶ εἰπόντα παρρησίᾳ · ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν ὁ ἅγιος πατριάρχης μηνύει τῇ ἁγιωσύνῃ σου ὅτι σε μὲν ἀπέστειλεν ὁ ἅγιος βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸν Μορραίαν ἵνα ποιῇς τὰς δουλείας αὐτοῦ.*

19

1404-1405. Horismos (*ὁρίζει*).

Decree of Manuel II to Metropolitan Macarius of Ankara. If you claim to be doing this [concelebrating with the Patriarch] because I had ordered it, this is not true, for I did not force you in any way, but by way of advice I told you once not to cause trouble and not to oppose the consecration of the patriarch [i.e. claim that he was unlawfully elected]. This will lead to confusion and schism in the church and we will suffer the same thing as has happened in the church of the Latins [the Western Schism, 1378-1417]. But, Bishop of Ankara, you now compel me, unwilling though I am, to decree what the Bishop of Medeia [Matthew] requested yesterday. Therefore, I solemnly affirm that I have not forced you against your will to communicate with the patriarch, nor has he said anything to me. But the patriarch is always in communion with the Bishop of Medeia, although unwilling to communicate with you. He himself asked me to inform him how he could make peace with you and to concelebrate once with the Bishop of Medeia and once with you, which I have done, and which you too have been demanding, as most people know.

Source : *Apology of Macarius*, fol. 40^{v}-41. *Καὶ ὁ ἅγιος βασιλεὺς νῦν μὲν ὁρίζει, ὡς γράφει καὶ τὸ δῆθεν ἀθῳωτικόν. Εἰ δὲ λέγεις*

ὅτι ἐμῷ προστάγματι τοῦτο ποιεῖς, πρῶτον μὲν τοῦτο οὔκ ἐστιν · οὐ γὰρ ἀνάγκῃ τινὶ οὐδὲ βίᾳ σε πρὸς τοῦτο κατήπειγον, ἀλλὰ συμβουλευτικῶς ἅπαξ σοι εἶπον μὴ πρὸς ὀχλήσεις χωρῆσαι καὶ ταραχάς, μήποτε ἀπὸ τούτου τὸ ἀντίθετον μέρος πρὸς χειροτονίαν χωρήσῃ πατριάρχου, καὶ σύγχυσις καὶ σχίσμα γένηται τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Χριστοῦ καὶ ταὐτόν τι πάθομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὃ καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν Λατίνων ἐκκλησίᾳ συνέβη. νῦν δὲ ὁρίζειν ἀναγκάζεις με, Ἀγκύρας, ὅπερ χθὲς γενέσθαι ὁ Μηδείας ἀπήτησεν ἐξ ἐμοῦ, τοῦτο νῦν καὶ μὴ βουλόμενόν με ποιῆσαι. διὸ καὶ λέγω σοι, ὡς ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν ψυχήν μου, οὔτε ἐγώ σε ἠνάγκασα μὴ θέλοντα κοινωνῆσαι τῷ πατριάρχῃ οὔτε παρ' αὐτοῦ εἶχον εἰς τοῦτο λόγον τινά. ἀλλὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου κοινωνοῦντος ἀεὶ τῷ Μηδείας σοὶ δὲ μὴ θέλοντος κοινωνεῖν, αὐτὸς προσελθὼν ἠξίου με τούτῳ μηνύσαι ὅπως εἰρηνεύσῃ μετά σου, καὶ συλλειτούργῃ μίαν τῷ Μηδείας καὶ μίαν σοι, ὃ δὴ καὶ πεποίηκα. σὺ οὖν ἐξήτεις τοῦτο, μᾶλλον καὶ τοῦτο οἴδασι καὶ πολλοί. Cf. G. DENNIS, *Four Unknown Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus*, in *Byzantion*, 36 (1966), 35-40 ; V. LAURENT, *Un paradoxe théologique : La forme de la consécration épiscopale selon le métropolite d'Ancyre Macaire*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 13 (1947), 551-61 ; H. HUNGER, *Das Testament des Patriarchen Matthaios I. (1397-1410)*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 51 (1958), 288-309.

20

1404-1405. Horismos (*ὁρισμῶν*).

Manuel II issues the following decree to Metropolitan Macarius of Ankara. Your booklet has clarified what I have long suspected ; you simply want full leave to quarrel, insult and anathematize, which cannot be permitted. You insist on making your charges in a synod, in which your victory will be the deposition of your accusers. The same must be done for you, and if you are defeated you will have to do penance for your wickedness according to the canons. Since you persist in causing trouble, what I am ordering is simple : go to the synod and prove what you wish and let it be judged according to the canons. I am sending a copy of this to the patriarch, and Philiates will convey to you orally other things I wish to say. Now, do not trouble me any longer, since I will not reply to you, for I cannot suffer

any more annoyance of this sort, and I also have many other things to do.

Source : *Apology of Macarius*, fol. 52-52v. ... *ἐκ τῶν θείων βασιλικῶν ὁρισμῶν τῶν πρός με ἀπολυθέντων ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀνέφερον. Ἱερώτατε μητροπολίτα Ἀγκύρας καὶ ὑπέρτιμε καὶ ἔξαρχε πάσης Γαλατίας κῦρ Μακάριε · καὶ μετά τινα · ὁ γοῦν ὑπενόουν περί σου πρότερον τοῦτο εἶδον γραφόμενον ἐν τῇ εἰρημένῃ σου ἀναφορᾷ. λέγεις γὰρ τρόπον τινὰ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ ὅτι ἔασόν με φιλονεικεῖν καὶ ὑβρίζειν καὶ ἀναθεματίζειν, κἂν μὲν περιγένωμαι πεποίηκα ὅπερ ἐπιθυμῶ, εἰ δὲ μὴ ποιήσω μετάνοιαν καὶ λύσω δι' αὐτῆς τὸ γενόμενον. τοῦτο οὖν οὔκ ἐστιν εὔλογον οὐδὲ ἴσον ἀλλὰ ποῖον, ἐπειδὴ ζητεῖς προτεῖναι καὶ εἰπεῖν ἐν συνόδῳ ἅτινα ἔχεις εἰπεῖν, καὶ ἡ νίκη σου καθαίρεσιν ἕξει τῶν ἐγκαλουμένων σοι, ἀνάγκη ἐστὶν ἐπενεχθῆναι καὶ εἴς σε τὸ ἴσον, ἂν φάνῃς νενικημένος οὐ μὴν δὲ τότε νὰ λύῃς τὸ κακὸν διὰ μετανοίας, ἂν δὲ βοηθῶσί σοι τοῦτο οἱ κανόνες ἔχονται. πλὴν σὺ εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἔννοιαν ἐδραζόμενος ποιεῖς ὃ ποιεῖς καὶ παρενοχλεῖς. ἔστι γοῦν ἁπλοῦν ὃ διορίζομαι · ἄπιθι εἰς τὴν σύνοδον κἀκεῖ δείξεις ἃ θέλεις, καὶ ἢ νικήσεις κανονικῶς ἢ νικηθήσῃς κανονικῶς. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν παναγιώτατόν μου δεσπότην τὸν οἰκουμενικὸν πατριάρχην ἔγραψα ὅσον μέλλεις ἰδεῖν ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ τῆς γραφῆς ἐκείνης ὅπερ σοι πέμπομεν, ἐν ᾧ ὄψει ὅσον καὶ αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦμεν καὶ τὴν σύνοδον ἵνα καὶ οὕτως ἀποβλέψωσιν ὑπέρ σου. φέρει σοι καὶ ὁ Φιλιάτης τοὺς πλείονάς μου λόγους ἀγράφως. καὶ νὰ σωθῇς τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδέν μοι παρενοχλήσῃς, ἐπεὶ οὔτε ἐγγράφως οὔτε ἀγράφως ἀπολογήσομαί σοι πρὸς ὅπερ ἂν ἡμῖν ἀναφέρῃς εἰς τὸ ἑξῆς. οὐδὲ γὰρ δύναμαι τοσαύτας ὑπομένειν ὀχλήσεις, καὶ ἄλλας πολλὰς δουλείας ἔχω ποιεῖν.* Cf. DENNIS, *Four Unknown Letters*.

21

1405. Horismos (in margin : *ἕτερος ὁρισμός*).

Manuel II writes to Patriarch Matthew. My most holy Lord, the metropolitan of Ankara has said that I have been sending you his pamphlets, which you know is not true. I have retained them in the hopes that he would reform. But, since he had told me previously, and has repeated in writing, that I should send them to you, I am now doing so, together with his book, which he entrusted to me until

he should come to his senses, as I counselled him. But he has not done so. Since he has asked that we ourselves get out of this, and that the matter be carried to an examination, I permit this to take place. I now request you and the holy synod to see to his reformation and not to appear to act out of anger.

Source: *Apology of Macarius*, fol. 52v. *Παναγιώτατέ μου δέσποτα. Ὁ ἱερώτατος μητροπολίτης Ἀγκύρας καὶ ὑπέρτιμος ἀνέφερεν ὅτι πέμπω σοι τὰς ἀναφοράς του. ἡ ἁγιωσύνη σου δὲ γινώσκει ὅτι οὐδεμίαν σοι τούτων ἔστειλα. ἐγὼ δὲ κατεῖχον αὐτὰς προσδοκῶν αὐτὸν εἰς διόρθωσιν ἐλθεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πρότερον εἶπέ μοι διὰ στόματος ἵνα σοι στείλω ἅπερ μοι γράφει, καὶ νῦν ἀναφέρει ἐγγράφως ὅτι σοι πέμπω τὰς προτέρας του ἀναφοράς, λέγει καὶ ταύτην ἀποσταλῆναί σοι, ἰδού σοι πέμπω καὶ τὰς πρῶτας καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ βιβλίον αὐτοῦ, ὅπερ μοι ὑπέθηκεν ὡς παρακαταθήκην μέχρις ἂν ὑγιάνας ποιήσῃ ὡς συνεβουλευόμην αὐτῷ. νῦν δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐποίησε. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐζήτησε καὶ τοῦτο παρ' ἡμῶν διὰ στόματος αὐτοῦ, τὸ νὰ ἐκβάλωμεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ μέσου καὶ ἐπακολουθήσῃ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὥσπερ ἂν ἡ ἐξέτασις, δῶ τοῦτο γενέσθαι. τοῦτο μὲν ποιῶ καὶ ἐξίσταμαι, ἀξιῶ δὲ τὴν ἁγιωσύνην σου καὶ τὴν θείαν καὶ ἱερὰν σύνοδον ἵνα καὶ οὕτως ἰδῆτε πρὸς ὅπερ ἀφορᾷ εἰς περίθαλψιν καὶ διόρθωσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ μὴ δόξῃ τι κατ' ὀργὴν ἐπακολουθῆσαι αὐτῷ. ἂν δὲ καὶ οὕτως ἐπιμένῃ τοῖς προτέροις γενέσθω ὅσον ἐστὶ καὶ Θεῷ φίλον καὶ δίκαιον· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ αὐτῷ ἀρέσει καὶ ἀποδέχομαι καὶ ἐγὼ νὰ σωθῶ καὶ εἰς τὴν εὐχὴν τῶν ἁγίων μου αὐθέντων καὶ βασιλέων τῶν γονέων μου.* The meeting of the synod was held in September 1405, and Macarius as well as Matthew of Medeia were deposed. Cf. DENNIS, *Four Unknown Letters*.

22

1405, September. Command (κελεύσει).

Manuel II convokes a synod to discuss the deposition of Bishops Macarius of Ankara and Matthew of Medeia.

Source: *Tome of 1409*, fol. 30. *Καὶ σύνοδον ἐξεκαλοῦντο* [*οἱ δύο μητροπολῖται*] *πρὸς τοῦτο εἰς παράστασιν ὧν διατείνονται, ἧς καὶ συναθροισθείσης θείᾳ κελεύσει βασιλικῇ, εἰ καὶ δίκαιον ἦν αὐτίκα τούτους καθαιρεθῆναι.*

23

1405. Embassy.

Manuel II requests Pope Innocent VII to provide aid and broaches the subject of ecclesiastical union.

Source : The reply of Innocent VII in O. RAYNALDUS, *Annales ecclesiastici*, 7 (Lucca, 1752), *ad an.* 1405, nº 1-4, pp. 126-28. Cf. O. HALECKI, *Rome et Byzance au temps du grand Schisme d'Occident*, in *Collectanea Theologica*, 18, (1937), 519-20.

24

1408-1409, Fall-winter. Prostagma (πρόσταγμα).

Manuel II confirms the grant made by John VII of the property of Mariskin to the monastery of Dionysiou on Mount Athos.

Source : The document, now lost, is mentioned in another act referring to the same property : *Actes de Dionysiou*, ed. Nicolas Oikonomidès (*Archives de l'Athos*, IV ; Paris, 1968), nº 20, p. 120. The prostagma was issued shortly after the death of John VII (22 September 1408), during a visit of Manuel to Thessalonica.

25

1409, Summer. Horismos (διορίσατο).

Manuel II issues the following decree to the former bishops of Ankara and of Medeia, Macarius and Matthew. Although, because of your attacks on the patriarch and myself, I could have brought you to trial, I have tried to be patient in the hope you would reform, and for this reason I kept your abusive letter quiet. But now that you speak of heresy in the church and call the patriarch a heretic, a matter which affects every Christian, I am convoking a synod whether you wish it or not. You will have an opportunity to substantiate your insults and, if you cannot do so, you will be subject to the penalties laid down by law. You may not discuss the business of the trisepiscopate or other matters settled by the synodal tome [of 1403] which was confirmed by my chrysobull [Doc. 16]. Since you have been deposed, one judge is really sufficient, as for private persons, but the

charge of heresy requires that a larger number of bishops should be present, which is difficult in the heat of summer.

Source: *Tome of 1409*, fol. 32-32^{v}. *Ὅθεν καὶ περὶ τοῦτο μὲν διορίσατο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ θειότατος αὐθέντης καὶ βασιλεύς. Ὡς ἐγὼ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν πολλὰ περὶ ὑμῶν ἔχων λέγειν δι' ἃς ἐξεχέατε ὕβρεις κατά τε τοῦ πατριάρχου καὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ εἰς κριτήριον ὑμᾶς ἀγαγεῖν ἀπολογηθησομένους περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅμως ταῦτα παρέβλεπον καὶ ὁρῶν ἐδόκουν μὴ ὁρᾶν καὶ ἀκούων ἐποίουν ἐμαυτὸν μὴ ἀκούειν, κερδῆσαι πάντως ὑμᾶς βουλόμενος καὶ διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἡμερότητος πρὸς εἰρήνην ἀμφοτέρους ἀνακαλέσασθαι καὶ καλῷ τὸ κακὸν ἐξιάσασθαι. ἄχρι μὲν οὖν περὶ ὕβρεως ἦν ὁ λόγος τοιοῦτος ἡμῖν ἦν ὁ σκοπός, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ λοίδορον γράμμα παρ' ἐμοὶ ἀνέκφορον ἐτηρεῖτο τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ὑμῶν ἀναμένοντι. ἐπεὶ δὲ νῦν καὶ αἵρεσιν παρεισφθαρῆναι λέγετε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὸν πατριάρχην αἱρετικόν, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ πάντα χριστιανὸν τῇ τούτου αἱρέσει ἐνόχους τίθεσθε ὡς αὐτῷ τοὺς μὲν συλλειτουργοῦντας, τοὺς δὲ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν ἔχοντας, συναθροισθήσεται σύνοδος πάντως καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ὑμῶν. τίνες γὰρ ὑμεῖς ὥστε δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς ὑμετέρους κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν σχεδὸν σύνοδον συναθροίζειν καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πολλάκις πολυπραγμονεῖν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τούτου συναθροισθήσεται ὥστε λόγον ὑμᾶς δοῦναι περὶ ὧν ὑβρίσατε καὶ τίς ἐστιν ἡ αἵρεσις ἣ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεισφθαρεῖσα, κἂν οὐ δυνηθῆτε παραστῆσαι τὰς ὕβρεις ὅσας προβάλλεσθε κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου, πείσεσθε πάντως ὡς ὑβρισταὶ ὅσα περὶ τούτων οἱ φιλευσεβεῖς παρακελεύοντο νόμοι. περὶ τρισεπισκόπου δὲ ἤ τινος ἄλλου τῶν ἐν τῷ τόμῳ καταγεγραμμένων οὐδαμῶς τι κινηθήσεται· ἅπαξ γὰρ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα καλῶς ἐπράχθησαν Χριστοῦ χάριτι καὶ κανονικῶς καὶ νομικῶς καὶ ὑφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐξαιτησαμένων τοῦτο γενέσθαι καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ἐν τῷ τόμῳ καταγεγραμμένων ἔστιν ἀπαρασάλευτον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ χρυσόβουλλος λόγος τούτῳ ἐπεβεβαιώθη παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας μου. καὶ ἡ μέλλουσα δὲ συναθροισθῆναι σύνοδος τῶν ἀρχιερέων οὐ τοσοῦτον δι' ὑμᾶς συναχθήσεται ἢ διὰ τὴν αἵρεσιν ἣν προβάλλεσθε· ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἅπαξ ὑπὸ συνόδου καθαιρεθέντες ἑνὸς δέεσθε καὶ μόνου κρίτου ὥσπερ οἱ ἰδιῶται. ὃ δὲ λέγετε ὡς αἵρεσιν ἔχει ἡ ἐκκλησία Χριστοῦ δέετε παρουσιάσαι πρὸς ζήτησιν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπαρχίαν σχεδόν, εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ὅσους ἐγχωρεῖ· ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς θέρους*

ὧν οὐ συγχωρεῖ πολλοὺς συνελθεῖν. See DENNIS, *Four Unknown Letters.*

26

1409, July-August. Prostagma (*προστάγματι*).

Manuel II convokes a synod to deal with the former bishops of Ankara and of Medeia, Macarius and Matthew.

Source : *Tome of 1409*, fol. 32v. *Θείῳ τοίνυν αὐτοῦ* [*τοῦ βασιλέως*] *προστάγματι συναθροισθέντων ἡμῶν ...*

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PINAX RHÔS

Après la défaite subie dans la guerre contre les Byzantins, le prince de Kiev Svjatoslav (945-972) fut contraint de signer, à Durostorum (aujourd'hui Silistrie) en 971, un traité de paix avec l'empereur Jean Ier Tzimiscès (969-976) (1). Le texte de ce traité de paix est perdu dans son original grec et nous est connu uniquement par la traduction insérée dans la *Chronique des temps anciens* russe, à l'année 6479 = 971 (2). Voici le texte du traité dans sa traduction vieux-slave :

Равно другаго свещанья, бывшаго при Святославе, велицемь князи Рустемь, и при Свеналъде, писано при Феофиле синкеле и ко Иоану, нарицаемому Цемьскию, цесарю гречьскому, в Дерестре, месяца июля, индикта 14, в лето 6479. Аз Святослав, князь рускии, яко же кляхься, и утвержаю на свещанье семь роту свою : хочю имети мир и свершену любовь со всяким и великимь цесарем гречьским (и) с Васильем и Костянтином, и с богодохновеными цесари, и со всеми людьми вашими, иже суть подо мною Русь, боляре и прочии, до конца века. Яко николи же помышлю на страну вашю, ни сбираю вои, ни языка иного приведу на страну вашю, и елико есть под

(1) Pour les détails, v. : G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*, München, 1963³, p. 244 sv. ; Fr. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453, I. Regesten von 565-1025*, München u. Berlin, 1924, pp. 94-95, n° 739.

(2) Voir le texte du traité : A. A. Zimin, *Pamjatniki prava Kievskogo gosudarstva X-XII vv.*, Moscou, 1952, pp. 58-60, texte vieux-russe et traduction moderne ; *Povest' vremennych let*. I. Ed. D. S. Lichačev et B. A. Romanov, Moscou-Leningrad, 1950, p. 52 ; pp. 249-250, traduction russe moderne. Cf. également la traduction anglaise du texte par S. H. Cross-O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, Laurentian Text, Cambridge Mass. (1953), ad a. 6479-971.

властью гречьскою, ни на власть Корсуньскую, и елико есть городов их, ни на страну Болгарьску. Да аще ин кто помыслить на страну вашю, да и аз буду противен ему и борюся с ним. Яко же кляхъся ко цесарем гречьским, и со мною боляре и Русь вся, да схраним правая съвещанья. Аще ли от тех самех прежереченых (не) съхраним, аз же и со мною и подо мною, да имеем клятву от бога, в (н)его же веруем, в Перуна, и в Волоса, скотья бога, и да будем золоти, яко золото, и своим оружьемь да исечени будем. Се же имеите во истину, яко же (*пинехросу*) сотворихом ныне к вам, (и) написахом на харатьи сеи и своими печатьми запечатахом.

La traduction française publiée jadis par le slavisant français Louis Léger (1843-1923) n'est pas d'une précision parfaite, mais elle donne, malgré tout, une bonne idée du contenu du passage en question (1) : « Conformément au précédent traité conclu entre Sviatoslav, grand prince de Russie, et Sviénald et Jean surnommé Zimiscès, empereur des Grecs, traité écrit par Théophile le Syncelle, à Dérester, au mois de juillet, la 14e indiction, année 6479 (971), moi, Sviatoslav, prince russe, ai juré et par la présente convention je confirme mon serment. Je veux avoir paix et amitié constante avec tous les grands empereurs grecs, avec Basile et Constantin, avec les empereurs inspirés de Dieu et avec tous vos peuples, et de même tous les Russes qui me sont soumis, boïars et autres, à jamais. Jamais je ne m'attaquerai à votre pays, je ne rassemblerai point d'armée, je ne conduirai pas de peuple étranger contre vous ni contre ceux qui sont soumis au gouvernement grec, ni contre la Khersonèse et ses villes, ni contre le pays des Bulgares. Et si quelque autre s'attaque à votre pays, je marcherai contre lui et je le combattrai. Comme je l'ai juré aux empereurs grecs, ainsi l'ont juré les boïars et toute la Russie, et nous garderons les conventions présentes. Si donc nous n'observons pas ce que nous avons énoncé plus haut, moi et tous ceux qui sont sous ma puissance

(1) *Chronique dite de Nestor* (Несторова или первоначальная лѣтопись) *traduite sur le texte slavon-russe, avec introduction et commentaire critique*, par L. Léger, Paris, 1884, pp. 58-59.

soyons maudits par le Dieu en qui nous croyons, par Péroun et Volos, dieu des troupeaux ; puissions-nous devenir jaunes comme l'or et périr par nos propres armes. Regardez comme la vérité ce que nous avons dit aujourd'hui avec vous et ce que nous avons écrit sur ces feuilles et scellé de nos sceaux ».

Avant d'analyser en détail le passage qui nous intéresse tout spécialement, arrêtons-nous à quelques particularités de ce texte pour mieux éclairer son contenu. Ainsi, le début même du traité : *ravno drugago sveščanjja*, a été sujet à controverse (1). La formule n'est pas inusitée : nous la retrouvons au début du traité de 911 (2) et de celui de 944 (3). Mais nous ne connaissons malheureusement qu'en partie le traité conclu entre les Russes et le gouvernement byzantin en 907 (4). Il est fort probable que le compilateur de l'ancienne Chronique russe connaissait, grâce à une tradition écrite, le texte intégral de ce traité, mais s'était borné, pour des raisons qui nous échappent, à insérer dans son œuvre une partie seulement du document. Pour lui, c'était, sans doute, le premier traité byzantino-russe, et, en citant le texte des traités postérieurs, de 911, de 944 et de 971, il ne pouvait pas omettre de se référer à ce texte et d'y faire allusion.

Le terme vieux-russe *ravno* n'est, en effet, qu'un calque du terme byzantin *ἴσον*, comme on l'a bien vu, il y a longtemps déjà (5). Le terme *s(ŭ)veščanie* a été employé ici dans

(1) A propos de cette formule v. : N. A. Lavrovskij, *Vizantijskie elementy v jazyke dogovorov Russkich s Grekami*, SPb, 1853, p. 37 ; I. Sorlin, *Les traités de Byzance avec la Russie au Xe siècle*, dans *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, II, n° 2 (1961), pp. 331, n° 71, 351 sv. ; à son avis, « *ravno*, qui n'est jamais, en russe, employé comme substantif, est sans doute la traduction maladroite et littérale du grec *ἴσον*, qui peut signifier 'copie' ou plus exactement 'exemplaire conforme' ». Cf. également l'étude spéciale par B. Kübler, *Ἴσον und ἀντίγραφον*, dans *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Romanische Abteilung*, LIII (1933), pp. 64-68.

(2) Zimin, *op. cit.*, p. 6 ; *Povest' vremennych let*, I, p. 25 ; Sorlin, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

(3) Zimin, *op. cit.*, p. 30 ; *Povest' vremennych let*, p. 34 ; Sorlin, *op. cit., ibidem*, n° 4, p. 447.

(4) *Povest vremennych let*, pp. 24-25 ; Zimin, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-67.

(5) Voir les indications chez Sorlin, *op. cit.*, p. 331 et n° 72. Cf. aussi dans mon livre : *Iz starata bŭlgarska knižnina*, II. *Knižovni i istoričeski pametnici ot vtoroto bŭlgarsko carstvo*, Sofia, 1944, p. 383.

le sens de *σύμφωνα*, c'est-à-dire «traité, convention bilatérale» (1). La phrase introductive doit donc être interprétée exactement : « Exemplaire conforme de l'autre traité », ou bien « copie de l'autre traité » (2), par rapport au traité précédent que l'auteur de la Chronique avait en vue. Les personnages mentionnés dans le préambule du traité sont bien connus et peuvent être facilement identifiés : Svenald, d'origine normande, après avoir été au service du prince de Kiev Igor, le père de Svjatoslav, occupait maintenant, à la cour du prince, un poste de toute première importance (3) ; Théophile le Syncelle, qui doit très probablement être identifié avec l'évêque d'Euchaïta Théophile, était le représentant byzantin qui traitait au nom de l'empereur Jean Ier Tzimiscès (4). La traduction de Mme Sorlin est, en plusieurs endroits, meilleure que celle de L. Léger. Tel est le cas, notamment, pour le passage contenant la mention du « grand empereur grec, avec Basile et Constantin » (5). Il s'agit ici, avant tout, de l'empereur Jean Ier Tzimiscès qui exerçait le pouvoir au nom des deux fils de l'empereur Romain II (959-963), le futur empereur Basile II (976-1025) et Constantin VIII (1025-1028) (6). Il faut noter, dans le texte du traité, la clause par laquelle les Russes s'engageaient à ne jamais entreprendre d'agression, ni contre l'Empire byzantin, ni contre la « Chersonèse et ses villes, ni contre le pays bulgare ».

(1) Cf. SORLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 331, n° 72, *in fine*, avec les indications ; Fr. MIKLOSICH, *Lexicon palaeoslovenico-graeco-latinum*, s.v.

(2) SORLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 466.

(3) SORLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 470 et n° 236. Sur les noms d'origine nordique en général, v. l'étude par A. V. SOLOVIEV, *L'organisation de l'État russe au Xe siècle*, dans *L'Europe aux IXe-Xe siècles. Aux origines des États nationaux*, Varsovie, 1968, p. 249 sv.

(4) Sur lui, cf. LÉGER, *op. cit.*, p. 380 : « Théophile, syncelle, c'est-à-dire secrétaire de l'empereur de Constantinople, 971 ». SORLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 470, n° 233 et n° 237 ; DÖLGER, *Regesten*, pp. 94, n° 737-95, n° 740, lequel accepte qu'il s'agit du « Metropoliten Theophilos von Euchaita ».

(5) SORLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 466.

(6) Cf. DÖLGER, *op. cit.*, p. 93 sv ; OSTROGORSKY, *op. cit.*, p. 236 : Jean Ier Tzimiscès avait « die Rolle eines Beschützers der beiden Purpurgeborenen ».

La Chersonèse était une possession byzantine depuis assez longtemps (1), et cette clause avait une importance vitale pour le gouvernement de Constantinople. La Bulgarie Orientale venait d'être soumise à la domination byzantine, et l'empereur Jean Ier Tzimiscès cherchait à l'assurer contre d'éventuelles attaques des Russes.

Relisons la fin du traité, dans la traduction d'Irène Sorlin(2) : «Ainsi que je l'ai juré aux empereurs grecs—déclarait-on au nom du prince de Kiev —, et avec moi les bojars et la Russie entière, conservons vrai ce traité. Si quelqu'un des susdits ne s'y conforme pas, que moi-même, et ceux qui sont avec moi et ceux qui me sont soumis, soyons maudits par le Dieu auquel nous croyons, Perun et Volos, dieu du bétail, et que nous soyons jaunes comme l'or, et que nous soyons massacrés par nos propres armes». Comme on le voit, ce sont uniquement les Russes qui formulent un serment, et non les Byzantins. La différence par rapport aux traités précédents est évidente. A rappeler les formules du traité de 911 entre les 'Chrétiens', c'est-à-dire les Byzantins (3), et les Russes (4). La plupart de ces formules sont d'origine chrétienne : on parle d'être engagé — par ce traité — « dans la foi en Dieu et dans l'amour », au sens chrétien du terme. La différence confessionnelle est clairement relevée : « ... que la partie plaignante et celle qui cherche à démentir prêtent serment, et quand elles auront prêté serment selon leur foi, que le châtiment soit mesuré au crime tel qu'il apparaîtra ... » (5). Voilà, à la fin du traité, les formules du serment des deux parties contractantes : « Afin que la confirmation et la stabilité soient entre nous, Chrétiens, et la Russie, nous

(1) Voir chez Z. V. Udal'cova, *Sovetskoe vizantinovedenie za 50 let*, Moscou, 1969, p. 127 sv., des indications bibliographiques sur les publications soviétiques à propos de la Chersonèse.

(2) Sorlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 466-467.

(3) Diverses mentions des Byzantins comme 'Chrétiens' dans le texte des inscriptions protobulgares : v. V. Beševliev, *Die protobulgarischen Inschriften*, Berlin, 1963, nº 14/40, 42 : p. 165 ; nº 41/14 : p. 190 ; pp. 173, 201.

(4) Sorlin, *op. cit.*, p. 331 sv.

(5) Sorlin, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

avons fait la paix ... devant la Sainte Croix et la Sainte et indivisible Trinité de votre (= des Byzantins !) Dieu unique et vrai, pour être proclamée et donnée à nos ambassadeurs. Nous, nous avons juré à votre empereur, qui est par Dieu, en tant que fondation divine, par la loi et la coutume de notre peuple, de ne pas transgresser ... les articles stipulés de la paix et de l'amour ... » (1). Si l'on s'attache à interpréter correctement ce texte, on remarquera que la distinction religieuse est très nettement marquée : de toute façon ce sont les Russes qui ont prêté serment, ou bien c'est le serment russe qui a été rapporté dans le texte du traité. Il est évident, d'autre part, que les Russes — tout comme les Bulgares païens quand ils traitaient avec les Byzantins chrétiens (2) — avaient prêté serment selon la religion chrétienne, et ensuite selon leur propre religion païenne (« par la loi et la coutume de notre peuple ») (3).

On a proposé d'interpréter ces détails dans le texte du traité dans le sens suivant : « nous sommes donc en présence de la charte rédigée par Oleg et remise aux empereurs byzantins » (4). C'est une interprétation assez plausible. Les Byzantins avaient-ils vraiment fait, eux aussi, un serment, ou bien l'avaient-ils exigé uniquement des Russes pour s'assurer leur fidélité ? Le texte du traité de 944 (5) semble confirmer la première hypothèse. Il y eut, à cette époque, un traité entre les Byzantins et les Russes chrétiens et païens, et chacun prêta serment selon sa propre religion. Pour ceux qui auraient violé les dispositions du traité, on prévoyait des punitions dans l'esprit de la religion chrétienne en ce qui concerne les Russes convertis, et pour les Russes païens, dans l'esprit de leur religion païenne (6). On ne trouve ici aucune clause de ce genre concernant les Byzantins, ce qui donne l'impression que les Byzantins évitaient de prêter serment en général. Quand on traite, plus loin, du problème des esclaves fugitifs,

(1) SORLIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 335-336.
(2) BEŠEVLIEV, *op. cit.*, p. 173.
(3) SORLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 336.
(4) SORLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 352.
(5) *Povest vremennych let*, p. 33 sv. ; SORLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 447 sv.
(6) *Povest vremennych let*, p. 36 ; SORLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 448.

ce sont toujours les Russes qui doivent prêter serment selon leur religion : « ... que les Russes chrétiens prêtent serment selon leur *foi* (*po vêrê ich*), et les non-chrétiens selon leur *loi* (*po zakonu svoemu*) (1). Une fois, on prévoit cependant le serment de la part d'un Byzantin : « S'il se trouve des Russes en esclavage chez les Grecs..., s'ils ont été achetés par un Grec, il convient que celui-ci prête serment sur la croix et qu'il prenne le prix qu'il a donné pour l'esclave » (2). Même pour la 'ratification' du traité, en présence du prince russe, ce sont toujours les Russes, et non les Byzantins, qui doivent prêter serment. « Nous avons écrit cet accord sur deux chartes (*na dvoju charatjju*), et une charte (*edina charatjja*) se trouve chez notre royauté (*u carstvu našego*), sur laquelle se trouve une croix et sont écrits nos noms, et sur l'autre (figurent) vos ambassadeurs et vos marchands (*posly vaša i gostje vaša*). Et les envoyés de notre royauté (*carstva našego*) se mettant en route, qu'on les accompagne chez le grand prince russe Igor et ses gens (*k velikomu knjazju ruskomu Igorevi i k ljudem ego*), et que ceux-ci (*i ti*), recevant la charte, aillent prêter serment de garder la vérité (*istinu*), comme nous en avons convenu et comme nous l'avons écrit sur cette charte sur laquelle sont écrits nos noms (*charatju siju, na nej že sut imjana naša napisana*) » (3). C'est ici que le sujet change brusquement : on ne parle plus au nom des Byzantins, mais au nom des Russes convertis ou bien païens : « Nous, de notre côté (*my že*), tous ceux d'entre nous qui ont été baptisés, nous avons juré par l'église Saint-Élie, dans la cathédrale, et en présence de la sainte Croix et de cette charte, de veiller à tout ce qui est écrit et de n'en rien transgresser ; et si quelqu'un de notre pays (*ot strany našeja*) le transgresse, que ce soit un prince ou que ce soit un autre, baptisé ou non baptisé, qu'il ne reçoive aucun secours de Dieu (*ot boga*), et qu'il soit esclave dans tous les siècles à venir, et qu'il soit transpercé par son arme ». Cette dernière disposition mérite un mot d'explication. Ici est mentionné, sans aucun doute,

(1) *Povest vremennych let*, p. 36 ; SORLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 449.
(2) *Povest vremennych let*, p. 37 ; SORLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 450.
(3) *Povest vremennych let*, p. 38 ; SORLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 451.

le Dieu (*Bog*) des chrétiens, et la première partie de la disposition regarde les Russes convertis au christianisme. La seconde partie, où est formulé, pour celui qui transgresserait les clauses du traité, le vœu qu'il « soit transpercé par son arme » (*da zakolen budetj svoim oružjem*), est dans l'esprit de la religion païenne (1), et ne pouvait concerner que les Russes païens. En prenant en considération d'une manière spéciale les Russes païens, on formule quelques dispositions particulières sur le serment qu'ils devaient prêter pour la confirmation du traité : « Quant aux Russes non baptisés, ils posent à terre leurs boucliers et leurs épées nues, leurs armements et toutes leurs armes (2) (*polagajut ščity svoja i mečê svoe nagi, obručê svoê i pročaa oružija*), pour prêter serment au sujet de tout ce qui est écrit dans cette charte, que (ce qui est écrit) sera gardé par Igor et par tous les bojars et par tout le peuple russe dans les temps futurs et éternellement. Si quelqu'un des princes ou du peuple russe, chrétien ou non chrétien, transgresse ce qui est écrit sur cette charte, il mérite de mourir par son arme (*svoim oružjem umreti*), et qu'il soit maudit par Dieu (*kljat ot Boga*) et par Perun (*i ot Peruna*), car il aura violé son serment. Et si Igor, le grand prince, accepte de faire la paix, qu'il conserve cet amour intègre, afin qu'il ne périclite pas tant que le soleil luit et que dure le monde entier (*dondeže solnce sjjaet i ves mir stoit*), dans les temps présents et futurs » (3).

Les derniers mots du traité constituent une formule qui n'est pas inconnue aux Byzantins (4). Encore une fois, se pose la question de savoir pourquoi ce sont toujours les Russes, chrétiens et païens, qui sont obligés de prêter serment, en promettant de ne pas violer le traité. Peut-être peut-on supposer que les 'Chrétiens', c'est-à-dire les Byzantins,

(1) Pour les détails, v. I. DUJČEV, *Slavia Orthodoxa. Collected Studies in the History of the Slavic Middle Ages*, London, 1970, I, p. 18 sv.

(2) Dans la traduction de Mme Sorlin, cette phrase a été donnée en abrégé.

(3) *Povest vremennych let*, p. 39 ; SORLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 451 sv.

(4) Cf. I. DUJČEV, *Medioevo bizantino-slavo*, III. *Altri saggi di storia politica e letteraria*, Rome, 1971, pp. 320 sv., 688 sv.

obéissaient à la prescription du prophète (cf. *Levit.*, XIX, 12) et de l'Évangile (cf. *Matth.*, V, 33-37), de ne pas prêter serment en général? Mais pourquoi cependant les Byzantins exigeaient-ils que les Russes convertis prêtent serment selon la religion chrétienne? L'explication la plus plausible en serait, suivant une hypothèse déjà émise (1), que nous avons ici la copie russe du texte du traité, avec les dispositions des obligations prises avant tout par les Russes. Mais il se pose quelques questions auxquelles il n'est pas facile de donner une réponse satisfaisante. Ainsi, il est dit, dans le texte du traité, qu'on avait écrit son texte sur deux chartes (*na dvoju charatjju*), donc en deux copies. Mais étaient-elles, ces deux copies, identiques dans tous les détails, ou bien y avait-il des divergences dans certaines formules, l'une étant destinée aux Byzantins, l'autre aux Russes? En tout cas, les Russes avaient reçu le formulaire qui leur était destiné et qui contenait, outre les dispositions générales, les clauses qui déterminaient leurs obligations vis-à-vis de l'Empire de Constantinople. Composée en langue grecque, à Constantinople, cette copie destinée aux Russes, traduite plus tard en slave ancien, probablement en vieux-bulgare, tomba entre les mains du chroniqueur russe, et c'est d'après cette copie que le texte fut inséré dans la *Chronique des temps anciens.*

Arrêtons-nous cependant à la dernière phrase du texte du traité de 971, telle qu'elle a été traduite par Mme I. Sorlin (2) : « Tenez pour vrai ce que nous avons conclu maintenant avec vous, et que nous avons écrit sur cette charte et que nous avons scellé de nos sceaux ». Il est clair, évidemment, qu'il s'agit d'un texte composé et signé par les Russes, sans aucune mention, dans cette partie, des Byzantins. Mais dans le texte du traité cité plus haut (3), après les mots *Se že imeite za istinu* (« tenez pour vrai ce que nous avons conclu ... ») suit le terme : *pinechrosu* ! Ce mot énigmatique a embarrassé les spécialistes, et pour cette raison il a été, le plus souvent,

(1) Cf. SORLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 352.
(2) SORLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 467.
(3) ZIMIN, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

omis dans la traduction (1). Un savant très consciencieux, A. A. Zimin, a tenté d'en donner une explication ; il a proposé la traduction suivante : и не сомневайтесь в правде того, что ныне изобразили на золотой дощечке ... » (2). Dans une note explicative (3), il propose de lire ici le mot ПИНЕХРОСУ, qui, à son avis, signifie дощечка для письма, c'est-à-dire une espèce de « tablette (planchette) pour écrire ». De son côté, un autre savant soviétique, P. O. Kariškovskij, s'est contenté de noter qu'il est question d'une 'énigmatique *pinechrosu*', sans aucune autre explication (4). Pendant un certain temps, j'ai moi-même hésité, et j'ai proposé d'éliminer ce terme obscur, pour rendre la phrase intelligible. Une solution pourtant semble possible. Fort probablement, il s'agit d'une note marginale du document en grec : *Πίναξ Ῥῶς*, c'est-à-dire l'indication que c'est la copie « russe » ('*Pinax* des Russes') (5) du traité de 971. Comme le lettré qui a copié le texte du traité et l'a traduit du grec en slave n'avait pas compris le sens de cette brève formule, il l'a insérée dans le texte même du traité sans la traduire et a ainsi créé notre *puzzle*.

Sofia. Iv. Dujčev.

(1) Cf. la traduction : *Povest vremennych let*, p. 250.

(2) Zimin, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

(3) Zimin, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

(4) P. O. Kariškovskij, *K istorii balkanskich pochodov Rusi pri Svjatoslave*, dans *A. SSSR. Institut slavjanovedenija. Kratkie soobščenija*, 14 (1955), p. 27.

(5) Le terme *pinax* (*πίναξ*) (« planche, tablette à écrire ») doit être interprété ici dans le sens large du mot, cf. aussi *pinakion* (*πινάκιον*) « petite table qu'on exposait en public et sur laquelle était écrit ce qu'il était important de faire connaître ... ».

EINIGE BEMERKUNGEN ZU DER TORNIKES-AUSGABE VON JEAN DARROUZÈS

Anlässlich der genannten Ausgabe wird im folgenden auf Zitate oder Anklänge aus dem Gedankengut altgriechischer Autoren aufmerksam gemacht, mit denen der byzantinische Autor nicht so schonsam vorgegangen ist, wie der Testimonienapparat der ansonsten sehr gepflegten Ausgabe uns vermittelt. Vor allem Plutarch und Lukian, aber auch Älian und Euripides, scheinen des öfteren im Hintergrund von manchem Gedanken des Byzantiners zu sein. Es ist m.E. für ein vollständiges Bild des herausgegebenen Autors unerlässlich, dass seine Beziehung zur älteren Literatur sich durch die Testimonien klar umreissen lässt. Natürlich wird im folgenden das Konzept der Testimonien in einem sehr breiten Sinne aufgefasst und ist es durchaus möglich, dass an manches, was Tornikes hier unterstellt wird, er gar nicht dachte, andererseits bleibt aber der Einfluss der obengenannten Autoren unverkennbar. Gelegentlich wird im folgenden auch einiges zum Text bemerkt. Dabei wird immer die Seiten- und Zeilennumerierung des Herausgebers befolgt.

1. — Zur Lobrede für Anna Komnena

221, 2, *πένθος μὲν γὰρ τῷ χρόνῳ μαραίνεται* usw.]. Bei der Gestaltung des Prooimions dieser Rede scheint Tornikes Plutarchs «Trostbrief an seine Frau» (2, 608B ff.) vor Augen zu haben. Diese Vermutung wird durch vier Berührungspunkte der betreffenden Texte bekräftigt:

a) Zwei sprachliche Ähnlichkeiten:

Torn., 221, 2, *πένθος μαραίνεται*	Plu., 2, 610B *τὴν λύπην* (= Trauer) [*οὐκ*] *ἐῶσαι μαρανθῆναι*
Torn., 221, 4, *ἀναξαίνουσα τῆς λύπης τὰ τραύματα*	Plu., 2, 610D, *τὸ πάθος εἰς πολλὴν καὶ δυσχερῆ κάκωσιν ἀναξαινόμενον*

b) Zwei Situationsähnlichkeiten :

Torn., 221, 9 f., *καὶ τῇ ἱερᾷ πάλαι παρὰ τοῦ νόμου φυλῇ ὅσον ἱερατικὸν τῆς Ἀαρωνιτίδος οὐ πενθεῖν ἐπὶ νεκροῖς συγκεχώρητο, οὐκ ἐντομίδας κατατεμεῖσθαι, οὐ πώγωνος ὄψιν, οὐ κεφαλῆς ξυρᾶσθαι φαλάκρωμα.*

Plu., 2, 612A,, *τοῖς δὲ πατρίοις καὶ παλαιοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ νόμοις ἐμφαίνεται μᾶλλον ἡ περὶ τούτων ἀλήθεια · τοῖς γὰρ αὐτῶν νηπίοις ἀποθανοῦσιν οὔτε χοὰς ἐπιφέρουσιν οὔτ' ἄλλα δρῶσι περὶ αὐτὰ οἷα εἰκὸς ὑπὲρ θανόντων ποιεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους.*

Torn., 225, 25 f., *οὔθ' ὡς ἀνοιμῶξαι παρασκευάσων καὶ ἀνοδύρασθαι παρελήλυθα — τὸ τοῖς ἐν πένθει συμβαῖνον : ἐπιστάντος γάρ τινος τῶν ἑταίρων ἐξ ὑποβλήδην ἀνακωκύουσιν.*

Plu., 2, 610B,, *οὐκ ἂν φοβηθείην κακῶν γυναικῶν εἰσόδους καὶ φωνὰς καὶ συνεπιθρηνήσεις, αἷς ἐκτρίβουσι καὶ παραθήγουσι τὴν λύπην.*

221, 3, *τό γε ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν καὶ πλέον, ἐπίβουλον*]. Das Komma wäre vielleicht nach *εἰπεῖν* zu setzen : Trost ist noch schlimmer [als Trauer nämlich].

223, 23, *κανόνα τὸν Πολυκλείτειον*] Luc., *Peregr.*, 9, *ὁ τοῦ Πολυκλείτου κανών.*

225, 6, *οὐ γὰρ ἀόμματος ἡ ψυχὴ καθάπερ τοῖς πολλοῖς κατὰ τὰ σκυλάκια*] Ael., *N.A.*, 4, 34, *τυφλοὶ κατὰ τὰ σκυλάκια.*

225, 9, *προσενενεγκάντων*]. Vermutlich fehlerhaft statt *προσεπενεγκάντων* ; *προσεμφέρειν* bedeutet etwas ganz anderes auf griechisch.

225, 12 f., *κατὰ τοὺς σοφοὺς τῶν ἰατρῶν, οἵ* usw.]. Es ist vielleicht nicht uninteressant hier zu bemerken, dass auch in der Präambel von Plutarchs « Trostrede an Apollonius » eine Vergleichung aus dem Bereich der Medizin zu finden ist : 2, 102A, *οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ βέλτιστοι τῶν ἰατρῶν* usw.

227, 6, *τὸν λόγον ἀνεδυόμην*]. Das Verbum in diesem Sinne ist bei Lukian sehr beliebt, wie man aus dem Index der Jacobitz-Ausgabe erfahren kann.

227, 21, *ὅσα ἡ διψηρὰ τρέφει Λιβύη* usw.]. Einen ausführlichen Katalog der Tiere Libyens bietet Herodot 4, 191-2, Tornikes hat jedoch hier eher Älian vor Augen (*N.A.*, 7, 5).

229, 6, *ταῖς ἐξ ἀμάξης ὕβρεσι*] cf. Luc., *Eun.*, 2, *ὅλας ἁμάξας βλασφημιῶν*. Hierher bezieht sich offensichtlich die Glossa *παροιμία*, welche der Hsgb. in Zusammenhang mit den Wörtern *ὅσον κέρδος* in der folgenden Zeile bringt.

229, 10 *τῶν ἀγχιθύρων κακιῶν*] Basilius, *P.G.*, 30, 741c, *ἀγχιθύρους γάρ φασι καὶ Ἕλληνες τὰς κακίας εἶναι ταῖς ἀρεταῖς.*

233, 6, *καὶ νοῦν καὶ λόγον ἀνθρώπινον ὑπερπέπαικε*] cf. Luc., *Im.*, 9, *θέαμα πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην εὐμορφίαν ὑπερπεπαικός.*

235, 3, *χαλκοστόμου κώδωνος*] Soph., *Aj.*, 17.

237, 12, *καθάπερ ἐν τρυτάνῃ*] cf. Luc., *Hist. Conscr.*, 49, *ὥσπερ ἐν τρυτάνῃ.*

237, 14 f., *γλώσσῃ λόγον ἔθετο χαλινόν*] cf. Philostr., *V.A.*, 4, 26, *χαλινὸς οὐκ ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ γλώττῃ* und *Them. Or.*, 8, 112 a, *σὺ καλῶς ποιῶν τὸν χαλινὸν ἐπέθηκας τὸν ἐκ τοῦ λόγου.*

237, 16, *περιθριγκώσασα*] Ein Plutarch-Wort (Mar. 21).

237, 23, *στῆλαί τινες ὥσπερ ἔμπεδοι*] Hom, *Il.*, 17, 434, *ὥς τε στήλη μένει ἔμπεδον.*

237, 25, *τρυφῆς ὑπεκκαυμάτων*] Plu., 2, 694 F., *ὑπέκκαυμα τῆς θερμότητος* (über das Essen, wie an unserer Stelle).

239, 7, *τὸ πρόσωπον ἐξῳδηκότας*] Eur., *Cycl.*, 227, *πρόσωπον ἐξῳδηκότα. σύνθακοι*, kurz davor, ebenfalls aus Euripides.

239, 21 f., *εἰ χρὴ μικροῖς μεγάλα παραβαλεῖν*] Luc., *Apol.*, 13, *ὡς δὴ μικρὰ μεγάλοις εἰκάζειν.*

241, 7 f., *ἐξ ὧν ὀφρὺς ἀνασπᾶται καὶ ὑπερφρονοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι*] cf. Aristid. *Or.*, 49, 663 (C.), *ὀφρῦς ἀνεσπακότας καὶ βαδίζοντας ὥσπερ δεσπότας.*

245, 1, *ἵνα μὴ ταῖς παρθένοις ἔρωτας ἀσέμνους ἐντέκωσι*] *Pl. Lg.*, 870a, *ἔρωτας ἐντίκτουσα*; cf. Eur. Hipp., 642, *τὸ γὰρ κακοῦργαν μᾶλλον ἐντίκτει Κύπρις ἐν ταῖς σοφαῖσιν.*

245, 7, *δυσέρωτας ἔρωτας*] Plu., Per., 20, 4, *δύσερως ἔρως.* Das Wort *δύσερως* bei Eur., Hipp., 193, 3 mal bei Lukian und 5 mal bei Älian. Im übrigen spielt er in dem Abschnitt 245, 7 *ἐρῶντας* - 245,8 *ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις* mit *ρ* + Vokal.

245, 8, *ἀριστουργίαν ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις*]. Oder vielleicht *ῥᾳδιουργίαν*? cf. Arist., *V.V.*, 1251a 20, *τὸ ῥᾳδιουργὸν εἶναι ἐν τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις*; D. Chr., 59, 9, *λόγῳ τε καὶ ἔργῳ πανουργότατε.*

245, 10, *ὀφθαλμοὺς παρθενεύειν*] Cäsarius, *P.G.*, 38, 1060, *παρθενεύειν οὖν χρὴ τὰς κόρας τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν.*

247, 14, *ὀφθαλμοὶ ὑπαυγάζοντες χαροπόν*] Philostr., *Im.*, 1, 11, *χαροπαῖς ἐπαυγάζει ταῖς κόραις.*

247, 27 ff., *οὐχ ὅτιπερ ἐκείνη κάλλει σώματος ἔχαιρεν* usw.]. Bei dieser Charakteristik der Anna Komnena (247, 14 f.) ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, dass Tornikes die Beschreibung der idealen Frau bei Lukians Imagines vor Augen hatte. So werden dort zunächst (*Im.*, 6 ff.) Haare und Stirn, Augenbrauen, Augen, Wangen, Hände, Gesichtsform, Nase, Mund und Hals beschrieben (Tornikes hat ebenfalls auf alle diese Züge bis auf die Haare und die Stirn der Byzantinerin (1) hingewiesen), dann geht die Beschreibung folgenderweise weiter (*Im.*, 11): *Ἀλλ', ὦ ἄριστε, σὺ μὲν ὥσπερ τινὰ ἀστραπὴν παραδραμοῦσαν ἅπαξ εἶδες αὐτὴν καὶ ἔοικας τὰ πρόχειρα ταῦτα, λέγω τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν μορφήν, ἐπαινεῖν· τῶν δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγαθῶν ἀθέατος εἶ οὐδὲ οἶσθα, ὅσον τὸ κάλλος ἐκεῖνό ἐστιν αὐτῆς μακρῷ τινι ἄμεινον καὶ θεοειδέστερον τοῦ σώματος*, also es wird auf die innere Schönheit hingewiesen, wie bei Tornikes (247, 27 f.). Nun ist es interessant zu bemerken, dass in dem dritten Abschnitt der Beschreibung, welcher das «Bild der Seele» bei Lukian (*Im.*, 12f.), die Charakterschilderung bei Tornikes (249, 14f.) umfasst, sprachliche Ähnlichkeiten auftauchen, die nicht als zufällig abgetan werden können:

Torn., 249, 17,, *μελιχρὰ δὲ λαλῆσαι*	Luc., *Im.*, 13, *γλυκίων μέλιτος ἀπὸ τῆς γλώσσης*
Torn., 249, 18, *καὶ πυθέσθαι μὲν δεινὴ καὶ θυμόσοφος, ἀγχίνους δ' ἀποκρίνασθαι καὶ ἀγχίστροφος*	Luc., *Im.*, 17, *ὁπόσον ἐμπειρίας πραγμάτων καὶ ὀξύτητος ἐς τὰ πολιτικὰ καὶ ἀγχινοίας καὶ δριμύτητος ἐκείνῃ προσῆν*
Torn., 249, 28 f., *ἡ δὲ σύνεσις τὴν σοφίαν* [scil. *ἐμήνυσε*]	Luc., *Im.*, 17, *μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἡ τῆς σοφίας καὶ συνέσεως εἰκὼν γραπτέα*
Torn. 251, 2, *τὸ πρὸς πάντας ὕστερον εὐμενές τε καὶ εὔνουν*	Luc., *Im.*, 20 *τῆς πρὸς τὸν συνόντα εὐνοίας.*

Es ist wahr, dass einen grossen Teil dieses letzten Abschnittes widmet Lukian der Stimme, was bei Tornikes nicht der Fall ist; jedoch kommen in diesem Teil der Beschreibung bei Lukian Züge und Vergleichungen vor, welche einer Byzantinerin zuzuschreiben unangebracht wäre.

(1) Gregorius Theologus, *P.G.*, 37, 884A, *Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀσκεπέα κεφαλὴν θέμις ἀνδρὶ γυναῖκα φαίνειν* (zitiert bei Ph. Koukoulès, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, Bd. 4, S. 369).

249, 8, *βρῶμα σητῶν γινόμενα*] LXX, Is., 51, 8, *ὡς ἔρια βρωθήσεται ὑπὸ σητός.*

249, 9, *καὶ χρῶμα σαρκὸς καὶ εὐανθές*]. Das *καὶ* vor *εὐανθὲς* muss wahrscheinlich gestrichen werden, eine Vermutung, die durch das folgende rhetorische Schema (*θνητὸν* ~ *χρῶμα*, *ἐφήμερος* ~ *εὐρυθμία*, wobei kein Platz für ein drittes Substantiv bleibt), erhärtet wird ; cf. Pl., *Phd.*, 100d, *χρῶμα εὐανθές.*

251, 5, *ἀστὴρ ἐν βασιλείοις ἀρίζηλος*] *Pi. O.*, 2, 55, *ἀστὴρ ἀρίζηλος.*

253, 2, *ἕτερα δὲ κραίνει Θεός*] cf. die Anm. zu 205, 6, unten.

253, 9 *τῆς βασιλείας ἔρωτα*] cf. Them., *Or.*, 17, 215c, *ἔρωτι βασιλείας.*

253, 17 f., *εὐμήκης καὶ ὄρθιος ὡς κυπάριττος*]. Es lohnt sich vielleicht zu bemerken, dass der Ausdruck bei neugriechischen Volksliedern vorkommt : N. G. Polites, *Ἐκλογαί*, Nr. 148, 3, *ἴσιο σὰν κυπαρίσσι* (über den menschlichen Körper).

253, 20, *αἰχμητὴς κρατερός*] Hom., Il., 3, 179, *κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής.*

257, 27, *ἀλλήλους ἔπνεον*]. Aus der erotischen Sprache, z.B. Hld. 1, 9, 2, *ὅλην ἐκείνην καὶ ἔπνει καὶ ἔβλεπεν* ; cf. Athanasios, *P.G.*, 26, 969C.

259, 1, *ὕπνος θανάτου ἀδελφός*] Ael., *V.H.*, 2, 35, *ὁ Γοργίας ἀπεκρίνατο, « ἤδη με ὁ ὕπνος ἄρχεται παρακατατίθεσθαι τἀδελφῷ ».*

261, 12, *ψυχῆς ὀφθαλμῶν*] Luc., *Vit. Auct.*, 18.

263, 14, *ἐς κάλλος ἀποξεσθεῖσα*] Greg., Naz., *P.G.*, 36, 389A, *εἰς κάλλος ἑαυτοὺς ἀποξέοντες.*

265, 9 f., *ὁλκὴ ἀέρος*] Arist., *Spir.*, 482a15, *ὁλκὴ πνεύματος.*

265, 17 f., *εὔτροχος ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος*] cf. Eur., *Bacch.*, 268, *εὔτροχον γλῶσσαν.*

267, 1, *συμπονοῦσα πόνους*] Eur., Or., 1224, *σὺ γὰρ δὴ συμπονεῖς ἐμοὶ πόνους.*

267, 4, *προσπεπαττάλευτο*]. Das Verbum 4 mal bei Lukian.

267, 22 f., *τοῖς κυβερνήταις δειλαινομένοις ἐπεμβοῶσι* usw.]. Er denkt vielleicht an Cäsar, Plu., *Caes.*, 38, 3.

267, 26 f., *ψυχῆς ἀντιδοῦναι ψυχὴν τῆς καλουμένης τὴν ἑαυτῆς*]. Natürlich denkt er an Alkestis ; cf. Eur., *Alc.*, 340, *σὺ δ' ἀντιδοῦσα τῆς ἐμῆς τὰ φίλτατα ψυχῆς ἔσωσας.*

269, 21 f., *τρίχας διασπαράξαι καὶ παρειὰς ἀμύξαι καὶ χιτῶνα διαρρῆξαι καὶ κόνιν πάσασθαι.* Er hat wieder Lukian

vor Augen : Luc., Luct., 12, *σπαραττομένη κόμη καὶ φοινισσόμεναι παρειαί · καί που καὶ ἐσθὴς καταρρήγνυται καὶ κόνις ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πάσσεται.*

269, 27, *ὁμόσε χωρεῖν τῷ πάθει*] Ael., *V.H.*, 4, 24, *ὁμόσε χωροῦντες τῷ θυμῷ.*

271, 11, *δεσμοῖς ἀῤῥήκτοις*] Hom., *Od.*, 8, 274, *δεσμοὺς ἀῤῥήκτους.*

271, 21, *εὐγένειαν ἢ δυσγένειαν*] cf. 160, 8, *οὐκ εἰς εὐπραγίαν ἀλλ' εἰς δυσπραγίαν*, 178, 2, *τοῖς σοῖς εὐπραγήμασι ... τοῖς ἐμοῖς δυσπραγήμασι*, 267, 13, *εὐημερίαις τε καὶ δυσημερίαις*, also ein « Schema Torniceum ».

271, 22, *ἐν εὐδίᾳ σταθηρᾷ καὶ θαλάσσῃ γαληνιώσῃ καὶ λειοκύμονι*] Luc., Scyth., 11, *εὔδια πάντα καὶ πλοῦς οὔριος καὶ λειοκύμων ἡ θάλαττα.*

271, 24 f., *ὀπηνίκα δὲ παλίνστροφοι μὲν πνευμάτων πνοαί, κυμάτων δὲ καταιγίζουσαι προσβολαί*]. Normalerweise wird *καταιγίζειν* über den Wind gesagt, vielleicht zitiert er aber aus dem Gedächtnis Luc., Cont., 3, *ὁπόταν γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα καταιγίσαν πλαγίᾳ τῇ ὀθόνῃ ἐμπέσῃ καὶ τὸ κῦμα ὑψηλὸν ἀρθῇ.*

273, 4, *ἀστὴρ ἀρίζηλος*] cf. Anm., zu 251, 5.

273, 17, *πέτρας ἠλιβάτου*] Hom., *Il.*, 15, 273 u.ö.

273, 20, *τοιοῦτον ὄρνιν εἶδον ἐγώ ποτε* usw.]. Er ahmt bewusst Älian nach, der öfters über die Tiere in der ersten Person spricht.

275, 3, *ὃ νομίζεται τοῖς πολλοῖς*] z.B. Eustathios zu Hom., *Od.*, 5, 51, *διότι οὔτ' ἀετὸς οὔτ' ἄλλο τι χερσαῖον ὄρνεον δύναται πλέειν ὡς τῶν πτερῶν ἠραιωμένων ὄντων, ὁ δὲ λάρος θαλάσσιος καὶ πυκνότερος ... διὰ τὸ λαμπρὸν καὶ λευκὸν τοῦ θεοῦ · τοιοῦτος γὰρ καὶ ὁ λόγος.*

275, 27, *λέγεται μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἔλαιον, κατὰ θαλάσσης καταχεόμενον* usw.] cf. Plu., 2, 950B, *ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ γαλήνην ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ τοῖς κύμασιν ἐπιῤῥαινόμενον* [*scil.* *τὸ ἔλαιον*].

275, 28, *κατακοιμίζειν ἀγριαινόμενα κύματα*] cf. Soph., *Aj.*, 674, *ἐκοίμισε στένοντα πόντον.*

277, 1, *γλισχρότατα*]. Falsch statt *γλισχρότητι.*

277, 4 f., *θάλασσαν μὲν ᾤδει τὸν βίον καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν σοφῶν ὠνομασμένον*] Basilius, *P.G.*, 31, 417B, *πολλαχοῦ γὰρ ὕδατα καὶ θάλασσαν τὸν βίον τοῦτον εὑρίσκομεν ὑπὸ τῆς Γραφῆς ὠνομασμένον, ὡς ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ* (Ps., 17, 17) usw. ; cf. Origenes, *P.G.*, 13, 472C.

283, 14, *καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἰατρικὴν φιλοσοφίαν*] cf. Arr., *Epict.*,

3, 23, 30, *ἰατρεῖόν ἐστι, ἄνδρες, τὸ τοῦ φιλοσόφου σχολεῖον.*

285, 9, *τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἅλμην τῷ ποτίμῳ ταύτης ἀπέκλυζε*] Pl., *Phdr.*, 243d, *ἐπιθυμῶ ποτίμῳ λόγῳ οἷον ἁλμυρὰν ἀκοὴν ἀποκλύσασθαι.*

291, 2, *τί γὰρ χρὴ τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν ἄρματος τὰς ἡνίας* usw.] cf. Pl., *Phdr.*, 246a ff.

291, 28, *βασιλίσσης*]. Nach diesem Wort kann man beispielsweise so ergänzen: *<πάλιν ἅπασι τούτοις ἐδοξάζετο · καὶ οὐκ ἐδέχετο αὕτη τὸ ἀπρονόητον>.*

293, 10, *ὅταν ἐκρήξειε τὰ νοσήματα*]. Vermutlich als Hautkrankheiten oder ähnliches; cf. Hdt., 3, 133, *φῦμα ἐκραγέν.*

293, 16, *κακοὶ κακῶς παραπόλλυνται*] Luc., *Icar.*, 33, *κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπολοῦνται.*

293, 19, *τῷ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας λίχνῳ καὶ μάργῳ ὥσπερ σύες ἐγκαλινδούμενοι*] cf. Ath., 6, 262b, *τεθαύμακα τὸ τῶν δούλων γένος ὡς ἐστιν ἐγκρατὲς τοσαύταις ἐγκαλινδούμενον λιχνείαις.*

293, 28, *μὴ τῷ χρόνῳ*]. Nach dieser Einführung eines warnenden Satzes könnte man beispeilsweise ergänzen: *<γάγγραινά σοι ἐπιπεφύκῃ καὶ τὸν βίον αὐτὸν ἀπωλέσῃς>.*

295, 1, *ἐν παροιμίαις*] cf. z.B. Plu., 2, 1082E.

305, 15, *ποικιλίας*] oder *ποικιλίαις*?

309, 27, *καὶ πάντῃ κακὸν κακῷ ἐπεστήρικτο*]. Er zitiert falsch aus dem Gedächtnis Hom., Il., 16, 111, *πάντῃ δὲ κακὸν κακῷ ἐ σ τ ή ρ ι κ τ ο .*

311, 14, *καὶ ἐμβριμᾶται μὲν ἑαυτῇ*] LXX, Da., 11, 30, *καὶ ἐμβριμήσονται αὐτῷ.*

2. — Zum 7. Brief an den Metropoliten von Athen

205, 3, *τὸ τῆς Προνοίας παναλκές*] cf. Eusebios, *P.G.*, 21, 424, *παναλκὴς Θεοῦ πρόνοια.*

205, 6, *ἄλλα δὲ Θεὸς ἄνωθεν κραίνει*]. Obwohl er unmittelbar davor Isaias zitiert hat, schwebt ihm gleich darauf der aus dem Epilog Euripideischer Tragödien bekannte Vers vor: *πολλά δ' ἀέλπτως κραίνουσι θεοί.* Mischung zweier Zitate ist nicht nur Tornikes, sondern allen Byzantinern beliebt (1).

205, 9, *ὀνειρόφρονα*]. Das Wort aus Eur., *Hec.*, 709.

207, 12, *φωτός ἐστιν ἀπορρώξ.* Nach Hom., *Il.*, 2, 755, *ὕδατός ἐστιν ἀπορρώξ* (Versende), nachgeahmt bei Luc., *Alex.*, 40, *φρενός ἐστιν ἀπορρώξ.*

207, 17, *τίκτοντος ἐκ μηροῦ τε καὶ μήνιγγος*]. Dem Brief-

schreiber schweben Lukians Göttergespräche 8 und 9 vor (*DDeor.*, 8, *τηλικαύτην ὑπὸ τῇ μήνιγγι παρθένον DDeor.*, 9, *ὡς ὅλος ἡμῖν κυοφορεῖ καὶ πανταχόθι τοῦ σώματος* usw.).

209, 3, *τῶν προτέρων τὰ δεύτερα λαμπρότερα*]. Es bezieht sich auf das Sprichwort *δεύτερα τῶν προτέρων ἀμείνω*, *Lib.*, *Ep.*, 443, 1, u.ö. (im Ganzen 16 mal bei Libanios Briefen); cf. Plu., 2, 216B.

209, 11, *τὰ ἐμά, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ σά*]. Gewönhliche Wendung bei byzantinischen Briefschreibern.

209, 12, *ἐπωρύετο*]. Der Hsgb. übersetzt als ob das Verbum eine Form von *ἐπόρνυμαι* (?) wäre; es handelt sich jedoch um das Verbum *ἐπωρύομαι* (= dazu heulen); cf. LXX, Za., 11, 8, *καὶ γὰρ αἱ ψυχαὶ αὐτῶν ἐπωρύοντο ἐπ' ἐμέ.*

209, 17 f., *τὸν πόδα χαλῶντες*] cf. Eur., *Or.*, 707, *ἦν χαλᾷ πόδα.*

209, 26, *τὸ συνειδὸς ἐκέντει*] cf. Origines, *P.G.*, 12, 1457B, *ὑπὸ τῆς συνειδήσεως κεντούμενος.*

211, 9, *Μελιταῖον κυνίδιον*] cf. Luc., *Symp.*, 19, Philops., 27, Merc., *Cond.*, 34.

211, 20, *ἐξεφαάνθη*]. Er denkt an Hom., *Od.*, 12, 441, *τῆμος δὴ τά γε δοῦρα Χαρύβδιος ἐξεφαάνθη.*

213, 7 f., *τὸν ἐγκεκαλυμμένον παίζων, οὐχ ὃν οἱ πάλαι σοισταί* usw.] Luc., Vit., Auct., 22, *καὶ ἄλλα γάρ σε διδάξομαι θαυμασιώτερα. — Τὰ ποῖα; — Τὸν θερίζοντα καὶ τὸν κυριεύοντα καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὴν Ἠλέκτραν καὶ τὸν ἐγκεκαλυμμένον* usw.; cf. *Them. Or.*, 2, 30b, 34, 3.

215, 5, *παμβέβηλον αἵρεσιν*] Sophronios, *P.G.*, 87, 3196A, *καὶ πᾶσαν ἑτέραν παμβέβηλον αἵρεσιν.*

3. — Zu den übrigen Briefen

113, 4, *πόσον ἂν σταλάξειας γάνος ταῖς ἀκοαῖς*]. Die Verwendung des Wortes *γάνος* in einem solchen Zusammenhang wird nur durch den Euripideischen Ausdruck *γάνος μελίσσης* (= Honig) verständlich (IT, 634).

(1) Bei Tornikes: 158, 14, *ὡς νεοσσιὰν τὴν οἰκουμένην καταλαβοῦσα ἡ ἀδικία οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη* (= LXX Is. 10, 14 + Hom. Il. 4, 443); 170, 7, *καὶ τὴν ἐπηγγελμένην τῷ Ἰσραὴλ γῆν μέλι καὶ γάλα ῥέουσαν χαίρειν ἔα, κηρῷ φράσσων τὰ ὦτα* (= LXX Ex. 3, 8 + Luc. *Im.* 14); bei anderen Autoren kommt solche Mischung so häufig vor, dass sie verdient, in einer speziellen Abhandlung untersucht zu werden.

122, 3, *ἀνεμόφθορον*] LXX, Ho., 8, 7.

122, 16, *βούτομον*] LXX, Jb., 8, 11.

136, 17, *μικροῖς ἔρεισμα μέγας*] cf. Clemens, *P.G.*, 1, 284A, *οἱ μεγάλοι δίχα τῶν μικρῶν οὐ δύνανται εἶναι, οὔτε οἱ σμικροὶ δίχα τῶν μεγάλων.*

153, 1, *κατὰ τὸ κύκνειον λιγυρόν τε καὶ εὔηχον* uws.] cf. Luc., Electr., 4, *τὸ λιγυρὸν ἐκεῖνο ᾄδουσιν* usw.

154, 20, *δεδοίκαμεν γὰρ καὶ ψαῦσαι τοῦ καθαροῦ οἱ ἀκάθαρτοι*] Pl., Phd., 67b, *μὴ καθαρῷ γὰρ καθαροῦ ἐφάπτασθαι μὴ οὐ θεμιτὸν ᾖ.*

157, 2, *τὸν ἐκ Λοκρίδος*] Aias?

160, 12, *συνθρύπτει μου τὴν ψυχὴν*] cf. *Act., Ap.*, 21, 13, *συνθρύπτοντές μου τὴν καρδίαν.*

165, 25, *βάλλ' οὕτως καὶ γίνου δόξα*] cf. Hom., *Il.*, 8, 282, *βάλλ' οὕτως, αἴ κέν τι φόως Δαναοῖσι γένηαι.*

170, 9, *χρυσορρόας Πακτωλός*] cf. Eur., *Bacch.*, 153, *Πακτωλοῦ χρυσορόου.*

Am Ende lohnt es sich vielleicht zu erwähnen, dass in dem herausgegebenen Text viele hapax legomena (1) vorkommen: hier sei es auf folgende hingewiesen:

ἀμετάκλωστα 263, 7
ἀνηνίοχον 291, 5
ἀπαρακίνητοι 237, 23
ἀπερικλόνητος 253, 20
ἀριστουργίαν 245, 8
ἀρρηνώδους 267, 21
βησσαλίζων 213, 7
ἐγγωνιάζειν 229, 18
εὐφημητήριον 227, 1
κατάρρητος 217, 3
θριπηδούμενα 249, 8
παρακτυπείτω 207 19
παρυπονοίαις 213, 2
παραχρῴζοντες 229, 10
περιεθέλχθη 285, 11
περιεχρῴζετο 261, 11
περιμάργαρα 259, 24
προαπεφοίβασε 211, 5
προσεπιξύουσα 213, 1
προσεπιχραίνω 207, 10
συμμεριμνῶσα 267, 2
συναποσταλάξαι 269, 22
συνεπεβασίλευσεν 251, 24
φιλομαργάρων 235, 24

Berlin. Georgios FATOUROS.

(1) In dem Sinne, dass sie bei den Lexika Liddell-Scott, Lampe, Sophocles und Du Cange fehlen; bis auf zwei, fehlen diese Vokabeln auch bei dem « Index Grec » der Ausgabe, der im übrigen völlig unzureichend ist.

ÉTUDES SUR L'HISTOIRE ADMINISTRATIVE DE L'EMPIRE BYZANTIN.

LE QUESTEUR: Ὁ ΚΟΙΑΙΣΤΩΡ, QUAESTOR.

Le questeur, *quaestor sacri palatii*, créé par Constantin Ier le Grand, n'a rien de commun avec les anciens questeurs de la République romaine et de l'Empire romain. D'autre part, il ne faut pas confondre le *quaestor sacri palatii* avec le *quaestor urbis* (1), créé par Justinien Ier, en 539, pour assister le préteur du Peuple (2). Le *quaestor urbis* semble avoir été appelé κοιαισίτωρ (3). Malalas (4) place l'institution du préteur du Peuple en 538, sous le consulat de Jean de Cappadoce, et dit que le questeur fut créé la même année. La Novelle 80 paraît, cependant, fixer la création du questeur en 539.

Le questeur, créé par Constantin Ier le Grand, était un très haut fonctionnaire, rangé dans la classe des illustres ; il n'avait pas d'*officium* et choisissait ses auxiliaires dans les diverses administrations (5). Cassiodore, dans sa *formula quaesturae*, indique nettement les fonctions du questeur (6). Le questeur était le porte-parole de l'empereur au Sénat,

(1) A. Vogt. *Basile Ier, empereur de Byzance (867-886), et la civilisation byzantine à la fin du IXe s.* Paris, 1908, 145-146.

(2) Novelle 80.

(3) Procope de Césarée, *Anekdota*, 116 et Notes 445 B.

(4) Malalas, 479 B. Cf. J. B. Bury. *The imperial administrative system in the ninth Century.* London, 1911, 74, qui note avec justesse que le Questeur du Palais Sacré n'a pas été remplacé par le nouveau Questeur, *éreunètès* ou *quaesitor*, *Kuaisitor*, et qu'il a hérité certaines fonctions de ce dernier.

(5) *Not. Dign.*, c. XI ; Novelle 35. Cf. Notes à la *Not. Dign.*, p. 249 *de adjut. Quaest.*

(6) Cassiodore, *Var.*, VI.5. Cf. *Not. Dign.*, p. 247.

au Consistoire, auprès des magistrats et des particuliers. Les termes dont Zozime (1) se sert, en parlant de SALVIOS, questeur d'Honorius (395-423), indiquent bien la nature des fonctions du questeur, porte-parole de l'empereur : *Σάλβιος ὁ τὰ βασιλεῖ δοκοῦντα τεταγμένος ὑπαγορεύειν, ὃν κοιαίστωρα καλεῖν οἱ ἀπὸ Κωνσταντίνου δεδώκασι χρόνοι.* Il était chargé de préparer et de rédiger les lois ; il contresignait les rescrits et décrets impériaux et faisait des rapports sur les affaires soumises au souverain ; il avait la mission de tenir le registre (*laterculum minus*) où étaient inscrits les fonctionnaires. Au début, le questeur ne semble pas avoir eu des pouvoirs judiciaires bien précis, mais, comme il préparait les jugements rendus par l'empereur, il finit par se substituer au souverain dans l'administration de la justice (2).

Il est à peu près certain que, dès le IVe siècle, le questeur, au point de vue du rang et des honneurs, était assimilé aux hauts fonctionnaires d'ordre civil, comme le maître des offices et les comtes des largesses sacrées et privées. Dès le début du IVe siècle, il a, très vraisemblablement, comme le *magister officiorum*, le rang de clarissime. Le Code de Théodose attribue, en 357, le titre de clarissime à Musonios, comte et *magister officiorum* (3), et tout porte à croire que, bien avant, le clarissimat avait été accordé aux maîtres des offices. Par analogie, on peut en déduire que le questeur était également titré clarissime. En 372, le *magister officiorum* ainsi que le questeur et les deux comtes des largesses prennent rang avant les proconsuls (4). Ces mêmes personnages, après leur retraite, jouissaient d'honneurs spéciaux (5). Une loi de 378 donne au *magister officiorum* le titre de *vir spectabilis* (6) ; très certainement, le questeur et les deux comtes des largesses ont dû suivre le *magister officiorum* dans son ascension dans

(1) ZOZIME, 293 Bonn.

(2) Cf. *Not. Dign.*, 247-248, et les textes juridiques cités. Ch. LÉCRIVAIN, *Le Sénat romain depuis Dioclétien à Rome et à Constantinople*. Paris, 1888, pp. 10-15. DAREMBERG et SAGLIO, *Dict. des Antiquités gr. et rom.*, s.v.

(3) *C. Th.*, VIII.5.8, *de curs. publ.*

(4) *C. Th.*, VI.9.1.2, *de quaestor.*

(5) *C. Th.*, VI, *id.*

(6) *C. Th.*, VIII, 5, 35, *de curs. publ.*

la voie des honneurs. Peu après, vers 385, le *magister officiorum* obtenait l'illustrat (1), entraînant ses collègues dans son élévation (2).

Quoi qu'il en soit, dès le début du ve siècle, le questeur était définitivement entré dans la classe des illustres, d'après la *Notitia Dignitatum* (3). Comme le *magister officiorum*, le questeur paraît avoir appartenu au second groupe des illustres (4), mais il est probable que ces deux hauts fonctionnaires passèrent plus tard dans le premier groupe. Selon les époques, les illustres reçurent des qualificatifs divers : *excellentissimus*, *magnificus*, *gloriosissimus*, entre autres.

Au vie siècle, les pouvoirs judiciaires du questeur sont confirmés : *virum illustrem praefectum praetorii, virum etiam illustrem quaestorem nostri palatii, sacris judiciis praesidentes* (5). Dès l'époque de Justinien Ier, le questeur avait, semble-t-il, la direction de deux bureaux importants, le *scrinium epistolarum* et le *scrinium libellorum*, dont les directeurs, *antigrapheis*, furent placés sous ses ordres, comme paraît l'indiquer la Novelle 35 : *Quaestor tam gubernatam sacri scrinii memoriae quam epistolarum gubernabat censuram* (6). Dans certains cas même, le questeur jugeait en appel (7).

Divers faits montrent l'importance du questeur, déjà au vie siècle. Le questeur a droit au qualificatif le plus élevé, celui de *gloriosissimus*, ἐνδοξότατος (8). Pour le rang, le questeur se rapproche du *magister officiorum* et la préséance est donnée tantôt au premier, tantôt au second, selon les époques (9). D'une manière générale, il semble, toutefois,

(1) Symmaque, *Relationes*, 34, 8 ; 38, 4 ; 43, 2.

(2) A. E. R. Boak, *The master of the Offices in the later Roman and Byzantine Empires*, New York, 1919, 45-46.

(3) *Not. Dign.*, c. XI.

(4) *C. J.*, XII, 41, 10 *de metatis*.

(5) *C. J.*, VII, 62, 32 *de appell.* Cf. Novelle 50.

(6) Novelle 35 ; *de adj. quaest.* Insérée en entier dans *Not. Dign.*, II.249.

(7) *C. J.*, VII, 62, 37, *de appell.* Cf. Novelle 46.

(8) Nov. 23, adressée à Tribonien, questeur qualifié *gloriosissimus*.

(9) A. Boak, *op. cit.*, 47.

que le maître des offices occupait dans la hiérarchie un rang supérieur à celui de questeur (1). Il y a lieu de noter qu'un même personnage occupait parfois successivement les deux charges et que parfois même, il les occupait en même temps, comme Tribonien (2), sous Justinien Ier, et Anastase, sous Justin II (3).

En leur qualité d'illustres, le *magister officiorum* et le questeur appartenaient à l'ordre sénatorial et faisaient partie du Sénat-assemblée ; toutefois, ils ne semblent pas avoir pris part aux séances avant leur sortie de charge (4).

Pendant longtemps, le maître des offices fut l'un des plus hauts fonctionnaires de l'Empire, mais dans la première moitié du VIIIe siècle, sous le règne de Léon III l'Isaurien (717-740), ses pouvoirs semblent avoir été restreints et ses fonctions réparties entre divers fonctionnaires d'ordre civil, logothète du drome, questeur, maître des requêtes, maître des cérémonies, et d'ordre militaire, domestique des scholes (5).

Dès la fin du IXe siècle, le questeur, qui depuis longtemps déjà rendait la justice dans certains cas, a certainement des pouvoirs judiciaires, car le *Livre des Cérémonies* le classe parmi les juges, κριταί (6), ainsi que l'éparque et le maître des requêtes.

Les *fonctions* du questeur, au Xe siècle, étaient administratives et judiciaires. Il avait la surveillance des étrangers et des provinciaux visitant la capitale, ainsi que des mendiants ; il réglait les différends entre colons et locataires, d'une part, et propriétaires, d'autre part ; il jugeait les cas de faux et d'usage de faux et devait rendre compte à l'empereur de la conduite condamnable des magistrats. Les testaments devaient être scellés de son sceau et être ouverts en sa présence ; il en surveillait l'exécution et veillait à l'administra-

(1) *C. J.*, III.24,3 ; *ubi senatores* ; *C.J.*, XII, 3, 3 *de consul.* Édit VIII, I. Cf. A. Boak, *op. cit.*, 48.

(2) A. Boak, *op. cit.*, 48.

(3) Corippus *de laud. Just. min.*, vers 26-32 et Notes, p. 303.

(4) *C. J.*, III.24, 3 : *ubi senatores.* Cf. Ch. Lécrivain, *Le Sénat romain*, p. 63.

(5) Cf. J. B. Bury, *op. cit.*, 75-76. A. Boak, *op. cit.*, 50-51.

(6) *Cer.*, II.52.715.

tion des biens des mineurs (1). La charge du questeur, comme toutes les charges publiques, était généralement annuelle, mais, en pratique, le mandat était souvent renouvelé. Divers questeurs occupèrent leur charge pendant plusieurs années (2), comme le montre la Novelle 35 de Justinien Ier : *Temporibus Ioannis viri magnifici quaestoris, quum per prolixum tempus tale gessisset officium* (3).

L'*officium* ou Ministère du questeur comportait les services suivants : 1. Les *ἀντιγραφεῖς*. Les antigraphes étaient les principaux auxiliaires du questeur. D'après Jean Lydos, les antigraphes étaient ceux qu'on appelait jadis antécesseurs : *κυαίστωρα καὶ τοὺς λεγομένους πάλαι μὲν ἀντεκήνσωρας, καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀντιγραφεῖς* (4). Les antécesseurs étaient des juristes et plus spécialement des professeurs de Droit. Le célèbre professeur de Droit, Patrikios (Ve siècle), est qualifié de *κυαιστώριον καὶ ἀντικήνσωρα, quaestorium et antecessorem*, dans les Préfaces du Code Théodosien (5).

Sous le nom d'antigraphes, on désignait, semble-t-il, les *magistri scriniorum* ou directeurs des quatre principaux bureaux : *scrinium memoriae, epistularum, libellorum, dispositionum* (6). Le questeur ayant pris la direction de deux de ces bureaux, le *scrinium epistularum* et le *scrinium libellorum*, les antigraphes qui étaient à leur tête passèrent naturellement sous les ordres du questeur. Au Ve siècle, époque pendant laquelle le questeur n'avait pas d'*officium*, le questeur avait des *adjutores*, qui appartenaient aux bureaux des *magistri scriniorum* (7).

(1) J. B. Bury, *op. cit.*, 74.

(2) A. Boak, *op. cit.*, 109.

(3) Nov. 35, *de adj. quaest.*, insérée dans *Not.Dign.*, p. 249.

(4) J. Lydus, *de mag.*, 220 B.

(5) Constitution *Tanta*. Cf. Collinet, *Études historiques sur le droit de Justinien*, II. *Histoire de l'École de Droit de Beyrouth*, Paris, 1925, 134.145.

(6) Du Cange, *Gloss.* s.v. Cf. J. B. Bury, *op. cit.*, 75, pour qui les quatre bureaux des *magistri scriniorum*, au Ve s., étaient les *scrinia memoriae, epistolarum, libellorum, graecarum*, et A. Boak, *op. cit.*, (83.86), qui signale seulement les *scrinia memoriae, epistularum, libellorum*.

(7) *Not. Dign. Or.*, XII.

Les antigraphes étaient chargés de rédiger les rescrits impériaux et, sans doute, de préparer les réponses de l'empereur et ses jugements. Lorsque le questeur faisait fonction de juge, il est probable que les antigraphes l'assistaient comme assesseurs (1). Au xe siècle, les antigraphes étaient au nombre de deux (2). Ils étaient des fonctionnaires assez importants, car le *Livre des Cérémonies* les mentionne assez souvent (3). Il consacre même un court chapitre à leur promotion (4). Les antigraphes étaient rangés dans la classe des scribes (5). Sur les sceaux, les antigraphes sont simplement titrés spathaires (6).

Sous Justinien Ier, dans l'enquête sur une conspiration, figurent le préfet du prétoire Procope, le questeur Constantin, l'antigraphe Julien et l'asèkrètis Zénodore (7). Sous Théophile (829-842), les antigraphes assistent le questeur dans une enquête et pour l'exécution d'une décision impériale (8). Le chroniqueur Théophylacte Simokatta est qualifié d'*ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων καὶ ἀντιγραφεύς* par Photius (9).

2. *Σκρῖβαι.* Les scribes étaient chargés de copier les actes et de tenir les écritures. Ils sont mentionnés dans une novelle de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète (10). D'après Bury (11), le *σκρίβας* du xe siècle serait le successeur du *scriba* du *magister census* qui dépendait, au ve siècle, du préfet de la ville.

3. Le *σκέπτωρ.* Le mot grec représente sans aucun doute

(1) Sur les antigraphies. Cf. J. B. Bury, *op. cit.*, 74-75 et Reiske, *de Cer. Commentarii*, II, 287-288, qui donne les différentes interprétations données du service de l'antigraphe. Sa conclusion reste juste en grande partie : *In universum obscurae sunt rationes dignitatum* (p. 288).

(2) *Cer.*, I, 58.274 B ; I.82, 9 Vogt.

(3) *Cer.*, I.54.269 B ; I.71, 9 Vogt ; *Cer.*, II, 2.524 B ; II.52.725, 752 B.

(4) *Cer.*, I.58.274-275 B ; I.82. Vogt.

(5) *Cer.*, II.52.717-718. Cf. Reiske, *Comm.* II.287.

(6) G. Schlumberger, *Sigill.*, 439-440.

(7) Malalas, 494-495.

(8) Th. Cont., 793-794 ; Leo Gram., 316.

(9) Th. Simoc., 3 B.

(10) Constantin VII, Novelle 7, 259, d'après Bury, *op. cit.*, 76.

(11) J. Bury, *op. cit.*, 76.

le mot latin *exceptor*. Le *σκέπτωρ* est le successeur des *exceptores* des *sacra scrinia*. Ces *scrinia* comprenaient un *proximus*, un *melloproximus*, des *exceptores* et des *memoriales* ou des *epistolares* ou enfin des *libellenses*, suivant le *scrinium* (1). Le *σκέπτωρ* était le fonctionnaire chargé vraisemblablement de collationner sur les actes originaux les copies rédigées par les scribes (2).

4. *Le λιβελίσιος* (3) ou *λιβελλήσιος*(4) ou encore *λιβελλάριος*(5). Les proclamations impériales étaient rédigées et écrites probablement dans les bureaux du questeur et étaient lues en public par le *λιβελλήσιος*, successeur très vraisemblablement du *libellensis* du *scrinium libellorum* (6). La proclamation, *τὸ λιβελλάριον*, était remise à l'empereur qui la passait au *λιβελλήσιος*, lequel en donnait lecture (7). Les *λιβελλήσιοι* étaient présents lors des réceptions d'ambassadeurs pour donner lecture des discours impériaux (8). Le questeur, porte-parole habituel de l'empereur, pouvait ainsi se faire remplacer par l'un de ses subordonnés pour la lecture en public des proclamations impériales. Cependant, il est probable que, souvent, il lisait lui-même les harangues impériales. Lors de l'avènement de Justin Ier, en 518, la proclamation fut lue par les *λιβελλήσιοι*, parce qu'on ne put trouver le questeur et que le maître des offices était malade : *ἐπειδὴ οὔτε κυαίστωρ εὑρέθη καὶ ὁ μάγιστρος Κέλερ διὰ τὴν γενομένην ταραχὴν διὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἠδυνήθη εὑρεθῆναι* (9).

Les *λιβελλήσιοι* sont mentionnés dans les textes juridiques comme auxiliaires du questeur : *ad gloriosissimum quaestorem, devotissimis libellensibus ministrantibus eis ...* (10) : *viris devo-*

(1) ID., *id.*, 76.
(2) REISKE, *Comment.*, II.845.
(3) *Cer.*, II.52.718.
(4) *Cer.*, I.87.395 ; I.92.418.423 ; I.93.429.
(5) *Cer.*, I.91.411.
(6) JUSTINIEN I, Nov. 46, 9, 286.
(7) *Cer.*, I.91.411, proclamation de Léon I (457) ; *Cer.*, I.92.418.423, proclamation d'Anastase I (491) ; *Cer.*, I.93.429, proclamation de Justin I (518).
(8) *Cer.*, I.87.395.
(9) *Cer.*, I.93.429.
(10) JUSTINIEN, Nov. 20.c.9.

tissimis sacri nostri scrinii libellensibus solemnia implentibus audiantur (1) ; *nostri vero libellenses* (2). Michel Attaliate (3) et Cédrénus (4) citent Pierre *Λιβέλλιος* ou *Λιβελλήσιος*, titré magistros, qui rendit divers services à Romain IV Diogène (1067-1071). Il s'agit d'un nom de personne. Par contre, dans un document de 982 est cité Nicolas de Thessalonique, *λιβελλίσιος* (5) ; il s'agit très vraisemblablement du titre.

5. Les *καγκελλάριοι*. Ils étaient rangés dans la catégorie des appariteurs ou huissiers. Ils sont parfois cités dans le *Livre des Cérémonies* (6), qui signale que, lors de la procession de l'empereur à Sainte-Sophie, les *καγκελλάριοι* chantaient des chants latins (7) et mentionne l'existence d'un domestique des *καγκελλάριοι* du questeur (8). Les *καγκελλάριοι* avaient à leur tête un *πρωτοκαγκελλάριος* (9). Jean Lydos(10) fait allusion aux *καγκελλάριοι* et indique leurs fonctions. Les hauts fonctionnaires avaient souvent dans leur *officium* des *καγκελλάριοι*, dirigés par un *πρωτοκαγκελλάριος*. Le *Livre des Cérémonies* mentionne le *πρωτοκαγκελλάριος τοῦ γενικοῦ λογοθέτου*, le *πρωτοκαγκελλάριος τοῦ σακελλίου* et les *πρωτοκαγκελλάριοι τῶν θεμάτων* (11).

Le questeur, d'après le Clétorologe de Philothée, occupait le 34e rang (12). Le questeur pouvait aspirer aux plus hauts titres nobiliaires : anthypate-patrice, patrice, protospathaire et autres. Le questeur, même s'il n'était pas titré protospathaire, prenait cependant rang parmi les protospathaires, par exception (13).

(1) *C.J.*, III.24, 3 : *ubi senatores.*
(2) *C.J.*, VII.62.32.§ 4, *de appell.*
(3) ATTAL., 110-111.
(4) CEDR., II.673.
(5) ZACH. v. LING., *Jus Graeco-Rom.*, III.XVI.
(6) *Cer.*, I, I.20.I.54.269. Cf. aussi CONST. VII, Novelle 7, c. 3.259.
(7) *Cer.*, I.74.369 ; II.169 Vogt.
(8) *Cer.*, I.I.II, B.I. 818 Vogt.
(9) *Cer.*, II.52.738.
(10) J. LYDUS, *de mag.* 205.229-230. Cf. *C.J.*, I.51 *de adsess. et dom. et cancellariis judicum.*
(11) *De Cer.*, II.52.738.
(12) *Cer.*, II.52.713.
(13) *Cer.*, II.52.728.731.733.

Parmi les fonctionnaires civils, seuls l'éparque et le questeur avaient le privilège de siéger dans l'ordre des protospathaires, malgré l'infériorité du titre nobiliaire dont ils pouvaient être pourvus (1). Le *Livre des Cérémonies* mentionne, à diverses reprises, le privilège de rang accordé au questeur et à l'éparque (2). Dès la haute époque, le questeur figurait parmi les hauts fonctionnaires ayant le droit de siéger dans la tribune impériale des jeux (3).

Lors de la répartition des largesses impériales, le questeur était assimilé aux patrices (4).

Dans certains cas, le questeur remplaçait le magistros absent, pour transmettre un signal (5). Lors d'une expédition militaire, le questeur, comme la plupart des hauts fonctionnaires civils, devait fournir une mule (6).

Le cérémonial de la promotion du questeur était simple. L'empereur confiait au préposite le nouveau fonctionnaire, avec mission de le présenter en qualité de questeur. La présentation avait lieu soit dans l'hémicycle (des Skyla), soit dans la Thermastra. Le questeur était présenté à ses subordonnés, les antigraphes et les *καγκελλάριοι*, chanceliers, qui acclamaient l'empereur. Le nouveau questeur se faisait ensuite apporter l'uniforme de son prédécesseur, qu'il devait revêtir pour les processions (7). Le cérémonial réglé par le chapitre 54 du livre I du *Livre des Cérémonies* paraît ancien. La promotion des hauts fonctionnaires civils ou militaires fut ensuite entourée de plus de pompe, comme l'indique le chapitre 3 du Livre II (8). L'empereur prononçait la formule d'investiture, formule qui était répétée par le maître des cérémonies, lors de la présentation dans l'Hippodrome couvert ; le nouveau fonctionnaire était ensuite conduit dans le palais administratif où il devait siéger.

(1) *Cer.*, II.52.733.
(2) *Cer.*, I.48.246, B.I.53, 3 Vogt ; *Cer.*, I.68.306, B.I.124, 15 Vogt.
(3) *Cer.*, I.92.418.
(4) *Cer.*, II.53.784.
(5) *Cer.*, I.68.306, B.I.114.12-13 Vogt ; *Cer.*, II.70.343, B.I.145, 7 Vogt.
(6) *Cer.*, App., 460.
(7) *Cer.*, I.54.268, B.II.74 Vogt.
(8) *Cer.*, II.3.525-526.

Les offices de questeur et d'éparque n'étaient pas accessibles aux eunuques (1).

L'office de questeur fut maintenu dans la hiérarchie à la cour de Nicée (1204-1261) et sous les Paléologues (1261-1453). Au XIVe siècle, le questeur occupe le 45e rang dans la hiérarchie (2). Son uniforme est décrit (3) : son *σκιάδιον*, son *καββάδιον* et son *σκαράνικον* sont semblables à ceux du grand *τζαούσιος*. Mais il n'exerce plus de fonctions (4). Il est devenu un simple dignitaire.

D'après les *Patria* (5), le Palais de la Questure, *τὰ παλάτια τοῦ Κυαιστορικίου*, aurait été construit sous Constantin Ier le Grand. Ce palais brûla, en 791, sous le règne de Constantin VI et d'Irène, au cours de l'incendie qui détruisit le Thomaïtès et le Milion (6). Le palais de la Questure devait se trouver à proximité de l'Hippodrome. En effet, après le tirage au sort, les dèmarques se rendaient *ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ τρικλίνῳ τοῦ κυαιστωρίου*, où les contestations qui pouvaient s'élever entre eux étaient examinées et jugées (7).

Les textes, surtout les textes juridiques, nous ont conservé les noms d'un certain nombre de questeurs.

Sous Théodose II (408-450), divers questeurs sont mentionnés :

ANTIOCHUS, vir ill. ex-quaestore et praefecto (avant 429) (8).

ANTIOCHUS, vir ill. quaestor sacri palati (après 429) (9).

EPIGENES. Réputé pour sa sagesse, le questeur Epigénès accompagna Plinthos dans son ambassade auprès d'Attila(10).

(1) *Cer.*, II.52.725.
(2) Ps.-Cod., *de off.*, II, B ; 138.26 Verpeaux.
(3) Ps.-Cod., *de off.*, 24, B ; 162.12-14 Verpeaux.
(4) Ps.-Cod., 40 et Notes, 198, B ; 184, I-3 Verpeaux.
(5) Preger., *Script. orig. CP*, III.256.
(6) Theoph., 723 ; Cedr., II.25.
(7) *Cer.*, I.69.313 B ; II.120.28-29 Vogt. Sur le Quaestorion, cf. R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, Paris, 2e éd. 1964.173.
(8) *Cod. Theod.*, I.I. 5.
(9) *Cod. Theod.*, *id.*
(10) Priscos, 167.

Il s'agit peut-être d'Epigénès, *vir spect.* et *magister scriniorum*, en 435 (1).

EUBULUS, illustris ac magnificus comes et quaestor (2), en 435.

MAXIMINUS, vir illustris, insignibus quaestoriae dignitatis ornatus, en 435 (3) ; il s'agit probablement d'un questeur honoraire.

PATRICIUS était un jurisconsulte célèbre (4) dont le nom est rappelé dans les préfaces du *Digeste* et du *Code*, comme κυαιστώριος et ἀντικήνσωρ, et par Justinien I dans ses Constitutions *Tanta* et *In nom. dom.*, comme *quaestorius et antecensor*. Patricius est qualifié κυαιστώριος, *quaestorius*, et non κοαίστωρ, κοιαίστωρ, κυαίστωρ, *quaestor*. Il semble que κυαιστώριος, *quaestorius* soit différent d'ex- questeur, *ex-quaestor*, et qu'il désigne un questeur honoraire ou fictif (5) et qu'ainsi on puisse traduire le mot par ancien questeur. On ne peut dire, du reste, avec certitude, si Patricius fut questeur du Palais Sacré effectif ou simplement questeur honoraire.

Sous Léon Ier (457-474) vécut le questeur *ISOCASIOS*. En 467, le philosophe Isocasios fut accusé d'hellénisme ; il était originaire de Cilicie, mais citoyen de la Grande Antioche. Arrêté sur l'ordre de Léon Ier, à la suite de troubles survenus à Constantinople, il fut destitué et envoyé à Chalcédoine pour y être jugé par le préfet de Bithynie, Théophile. Mais le médecin Jacob, que l'empereur tenait en grande estime, intervint en faveur d'Isocasios et obtint qu'en raison de sa qualité de questeur il serait jugé par le Sénat et l'éparque des Prétoires. Isocasios fut ramené à Byzance et conduit à Zeuxippe, où il fut interrogé par le consul Pusaeos, préfet du Prétoire : « Juge-moi, dit l'accusé, comme tu jugeais avec moi ». Isocasios fut acquitté (6). La *Chronique Pascale* et Malalas qualifient Isociasos de κυεστόριος, Théophane et

(1) *Cod. Theod.*, I.I.6§ 27.
(2) *Cod. Theod.*, I.I.6.
(3) *Cod. Theod.*, I.I.6.
(4) COLLINET, *op. cit.*, 132-133 et 145.
(5) *Cod. Justinien*, XII, 8, 2 : *praefectorius, quaestorius*.
(6) *Chr. Pasch.* 595 et Notes, 423-424 ; MALALAS, 369 ; THEOPH,. 178 B ; CEDR., I.612 ; MANASSES, v. 866-867.

Cédrénus de κοιαίστωρ Ἀντιοχείας. Isocasios fut-il questeur du Palais Sacré? Sa réponse au préfet du Prétoire tendrait à le prouver, ainsi que son jugement devant le Sénat. Toutefois, les récits des divers chroniqueurs présentent bien des obscurités.

Sous l'empereur Zénon (474-491), d'après les *Patria* (1), le protospathaire et questeur *EUTROPE* aurait construit le port dit d'Eutrope, troisième port de Chalcédoine. Les renseignements des *Patria* ne sont, du reste, pas précis, car ils font vivre Eutrope soit sous Constantin Ier le Grand (306-337), soit sous Zénon (474-475), soit sous Anastase Ier (491-518). En fait, le port fut construit par Justinien Ier (527-565) et l'expression de port d'Eutrope est inexacte, car les textes disent seulement que ce port se trouvait dans le quartier τὰ Εὐτροπίου, qui tirait son nom du palais construit par Eutrope (2).

Sous Basiliskos (475-476), les *Patria* (3) mentionnent le patrice et questeur Claudios, qui aurait construit un palais dans le quartier qui prit son nom (4).

Les *Patria* (5) signalent, sans préciser l'époque, *GALENOS*, qui fut probablement questeur.

Sous Justin Ier (518-527), est mentionné le questeur *PROCLUS*. Le roi de Perse ayant demandé à Justin Ier d'adopter son fils Chosroès, l'empereur réunit en assemblée le Sénat qui, à l'instigation du questeur Proclus, rejeta la demande (6). Dans ses *Anekdota* (7), Procope fait allusion à Proclus, questeur de Justin Ier, qui semble avoir dirigé les affaires publiques, au nom du souverain. Est-ce ce même Proclus, questeur, qui osa, en plein Sénat, déclarer innocent un certain Théodote, accusé d'un crime? (8).

(1) Preger, *op. cit.*, III.267.

(2) Sur le port d'Eutrope, cf. R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, *op. cit.*, 1964.238-239.

(3) Preger, *op. cit.*, II.248.

(4) Preger, *op. cit.*, II.248 ; sur le quartier τὰ Κλαυδίου, cf. R. Janin, *op. cit.*, 370-371.

(5) Preger, *op. cit.*, I.26 ; II.202 ; *cod.*, 65.

(6) Theoph., 258-259 B ; 168 de Boor, cf. Evagrius, IV.12.

(7) Procope, *Anecd.*, 44 B.

(8) Procope, *id.*, 65 B.

Sous Justinien Ier (527-565) sont cités les questeurs suivants :

AFER, Junillus. Il ignorait tout du Droit et savait à peine s'exprimer en grec. Ce singulier questeur, qui trafiquait de son ministère, resta en fonction sept ans, de 542 à 549 (1).

BASILIDE. Lors de la sédition Nika, en 532, Basilide fut créé questeur, en remplacement de Tribonien (2) : *Βασιλείδην δὲ τὴν τοῦ κοιαίστωρος ἀρχὴν ἔχειν ἐκέλευεν*. Basilide fit partie de la commission du Code, en 528 (3) : *Basilidem vir. excellentiss., ex praefecto Orientis atque patricium*, et aussi en 529 : *Basilidem vir. excellentiss., ex praefecto praetorio per Orientem et patricium et nunc praefectum praetorio per Illyricum* (4).

CONSTANTIN. Constantin remplaça, comme questeur, Junillus Afer, en 552. Il était très instruit, mais encore très jeune et inexpérimenté ; son intégrité laissait fort à désirer, mais il était le favori de Justinien Ier (5). Constantin eut à s'occuper de l'enquête sur la conspiration dans laquelle Bélisaire se trouvait indirectement compromis. Les conspirateurs arrêtés furent livrés à l'éparque Procope, qui dirigea l'enquête, assisté du questeur Constantin, de l'antigraphe Julien et de l'asèkrètis Zénodore, ce dernier remplissant l'office de greffier. Constantin et Julien s'étant montrés trop favorables à l'un des accusés, l'enquête fut reprise (6). Ce fut, sans doute, ce Constantin, *Constantinus gloriosissimus quaestor sacri palatii*, qui est cité, lors du Ve concile oecuménique de 553, où il apporte divers documents (7).

DOROTHÉE. Professeur de Droit à l'Université de Bey-

(1) Procope, *Anecd.* 117-118. Procope exagère, car « on ne pouvait pas être le questeur de Justinien sans posséder une certaine connaissance et du droit romain et des lettres grecques ». E. Stein, *Deux questeurs de Justinien et l'emploi des langues dans ses Novelles*, Ac. Roy. de Belgique, *Bull. de la Classe des Lettres*, XXIII, 1937, p. 383.

(2) Procope, *De Bello Pers.*, 123 B.

(3) *C. J.*, *de novo cod. fac.* an. 528.

(4) *C. J.*, *id.*, an. 529.

(5) Procope, *Anecdota*, 117-118 B.

(6) Procope, Id., *id.*

(7) Mansi, *Ampliss* ... IX.197 et 363.

routh, Dorothée est plusieurs fois cité parmi les commissaires du Code, à côté de Tribonien. Dorothée fut-il en réalité questeur du Palais Sacré? On peut en douter. En effet, aucune des constitutions où il est mentionné ne le qualifie de *quaestor sacri plataii* ; il est simplement qualifié de *quaestorius*, κυαιστώριος (1). Dorothée fut peut-être nommé questeur, mais à la fin de l'année 533, lorsqu'il fut appelé à Byzance pour prendre part aux travaux du Code. En effet, en 533, Dorothée est qualifié *virum illustrem et facundissimum quaestorium* (2) et, à la fin de l'année 533, *magnificentissimum quaestorem et doctorem legum* (3), et, en 534, *virum magnificum quaestorem et Berutiensium legum doctorem* (4).

JEAN. Le questeur Jean est mentionné dans la commission du Code de 528 : *Ioannem, virum excellentissimum ex quaestore sacri palatii, consularem et patricium* (5), ainsi que dans la commission de 529, dans les mêmes termes (6). Le questeur Jean est rappelé dans la novelle 35 (7). Il est probable que le questeur Jean l'avait été avant 528.

RUFINOS. D'après la *Chronique Pascale*, au moment de la sédition Nika, en 532, Rufinos était questeur ; il fut remplacé par Basilide (8).

THOMAS. Le questeur Thomas avait probablement succédé au questeur Jean, qualifié, en 528-529, d'ex-questeur. Le questeur Thomas fit partie de la commission du Code, en 528, où il est qualifié *virum gloriosissimum quaestorem sacri palatii et ex-consule* (9), et de la commission du Code de 529, où il est qualifié de la même manière (10). En 530, le

(1) Cf. COLLINET, *Hist. de l'École de Droit de Beyrouth*, 186-187.
(2) *C. J.*, I.XVII, c.2 : *tanta. Veteri jure enucleando.*
(3) *C. J.*, I.XVII, c. 3.
(4) *C. J.*, *de emendatione*, an. 534.
(5) *C. J.*, *de cod. confir.*, an. 529
(6) *C.J.* nov. 35.
(7) Cf. *Not. Dign. Or.*, II.249, où la Novelle 35 est reproduite dans son intégrité.
(8) *Chr. Pasc.*, 621.
(9) *C. J.*, *de novo cod. fac.*, an. 528.
(10) *C. J.*, *de cod. conf.*, an. 529. Il est également mentionné dans la Novelle 53. *Not. Dign. Or.*, II.249,.

questeur Thomas, arrêté sur une accusation d'hellénisme (1), fut remplacé par Tribonien.

TRIBONIEN. Le célèbre juriste était maître des offices en 528-529 : *virum magnificum, magisteria dignitate inter agentes decoratum* (2). En 530, il est questeur, ayant succédé vraisemblablement au questeur Thomas. Justinien Ier adresse, en effet, en 530 sa constitution *Deo auctore* à Tribonien, *viro eminentissimo quaestori sacri palatii* (3). En 532, lors de la sédition Nika, Tribonien est destitué. *Τριβουνιανός, πάρεδρος, κοιαίστωρα τοῦτον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι*(4). Il est redevenu *magister officiorum.* En effet, en 533, il est cité *viro excelso magistro officiorum et ex quaestore sacri palatii et ex consule* (5). En 534, Tribonien fait partie d'une commission chargée de réviser le Code : il y est qualifié *virum excelsum magistrum ex quaestore et ex consule* (6). Mais Tribonien redevient questeur. La novelle XVII, datée de 535, est adressée à Tribonien *quaestori sacri palatii et ex consulte.* Un exemplaire de la novelle XXII est remis à Tribonien, *gloriosissimo quaestori iterum et ex consule,* vers 536-537. La novelle XXIII, postérieure au consulat de Bélisaire (535-537), est encore adressée à Tribonien, *gloriosissimo quaestori iterum ex consule.* Tribonien semble bien avoir conservé l'office de questeur peut-être jusqu'à sa mort, vers 542 (7). Il eut pour successeur, dans la questure Junillus Afer.

Sous Justin II (565-578) sont mentionnés :

ANASTASE, à qui Corippe adresse la dédicace de son panégyrique de Justin II :

(1) THEOPH., 276 B ; 180 de Boor ; MALALAS, 449.

(2) *C. J., de novo cod. fac.,* an. 528. Même titulature en 529 (*C.J., de cod. conf.*).

(3) *C.J.,* I.XVII.I : *veteri jure enucl.*

(4) Le mot *κοιαίστωρ* était un mot latin grécisé, mais les Byzantins désignaient aussi le Questeur sous le nom de *πάρεδρος.* Procope désigne ainsi un certain Fidelios, questeur d'Atalaric : *ὃς Ἀταλαρίχῳ παρήδρευε · κοιαίστωρα δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι.*

(5) *C. J.,* I.XVII, c.2. *id.* Cf. *id.,* XVII, c. 3 : *gloriosissimo magistro et ex-quaestore sacri palatii et ex-consule.*

(6) *C. J., de emend. Cod.,* an. 534.

(7) PROCOPE, *De Bello Pers.,* 129 B. Sur Tribonien, cf. E. STEIN, *Deux questeurs de Justinien et l'emploi des langues dans ses Novelles, op. cit.*

Summe magistrorum, procerum decus, arbiter orbis,
Principis auspicio leges et jura gubernans,
Justitiae vindex, inopum pater, omnia curans
Judiciis relevare piis ...
Quaestor Anastasi, quem Christi munere fidum
Cognovit princeps geminoque ornavit honore (1).

Cet Anastase, à la fois questeur et maître des offices, semble avoir été un personnage important.

TROJANOS. En 574, Justin II envoya en ambassade en Perse le patrice *TROJANOS.* *τὴν τοῦ κοιαίστωρος διεπὼν ἀρχήν.* Ce haut fonctionnaire, auquel on adjoignit le médecin Zacharie, devait tâcher d'obtenir une trêve de trois ans, en attendant que l'on puisse conclure une paix définitive. Les Perses exigèrent un tribut annuel ; les envoyés acceptèrent cette condition, sous réserve de confirmation impériale. Tibère II, ayant pris le pouvoir, refusa la confirmation (2). Trojanos et Zacharie furent, peu après, chargés d'une nouvelle mission (3).

JEAN. Tibère II (578-582), mourant, convoqua au Grand Palais une assemblée pour désigner comme successeur Maurice. Ne pouvant prononcer de discours, l'empereur chargea le questeur Jean de prendre la parole en son nom : *βασιλέως δὲ γλῶτταν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐδείκνυεν* (4), ce que confirme Photius : *Ἰωάννῃ τῷ κυαίστωρι χρώμενος ὑπουργῷ τῶν λόγων* (5). Ce Jean était un homme éloquent et versé dans le Droit, qui avait coutume d'exposer dans les assemblées les volontés et les ordres de l'empereur ; il remplissait les fonctions de questeur, *τοῦτον ἀποκαλοῦσι κουαίστορα* (6).

COSMAS. En 617, Héraclius envoya en ambassade au Khagan des Avars le patrice Athanase et le questeur Cosmas, *τὴν ἀξίαν ἣν δὲ κυαίστορα καλοῦσι* (7).

(1) CORIPPE, *de laude Just. min. Dedicatio*, v. 26-32 et Notes, pp. 303-304.
(2) F. DÖLGER, *Regesten*, n° 36.
(3) MÉNANDRE, 407 B.
(4) THEOPH. SIMOCATTA, 31-32.
(5) *Photii summaria in Theophyl.*, dans Th. SIMOCATTA, 3 B.
(6) Th. SIMOC., 31-32.
(7) NICEPH., de Cp. 14. Cf. F. DÖLGER, *Regesten*, n° 171.

SERANTAPECHOS ou *TESSARACONTAPECHOS*, Léon. Parmi les personnages qui aidèrent, en 802, le logothète Nicéphore à s'emparer du trône contre Irène, figure le patrice Léon Serantapèchos, questeur (1). Cédrénus (2) cite le patrice Tessaracontapèchos, sans mentionner sa qualité de questeur. La famille des Serantapèchos ou Tessaracontapèchos était alliée à l'impératrice Irène (3). Sous le règne de Nicéphore III Botaniate (1078-1081), un Tessaracontapèchos prit part à la rébellion de Basilakès (4).

THEOCTISTE. Ce personnage figure avec le précédent parmi les partisans de Nicéphore Ier (5). Il n'est pas mentionné par les autres chroniqueurs. La présence de deux questeurs paraît singulière ; l'un d'entre eux était vraisemblablement un ancien questeur ou un questeur honoraire.

ARSAVER. En 808, une conspiration fut formée contre Nicéphore Ier par quelques hauts personnages, dans l'intention de faire monter sur le trône le patrice Arsaver, questeur, homme pieux et instruit. Le complot fut découvert ; Arsaver, passé par les verges, dut se faire moine dans un couvent de Bithynie, et ses complices furent sévèrement punis (6). Plus tard, Léon V l'Arménien épousa Théodosia, fille du patrice-questeur Arsaver (7).

N. Léon V l'Arménien (813-820) était tourmenté par une prophétie dont le sens mystérieux ne pouvait lui être expliqué. Le questeur alors en fonction, *ὁ τηνικαῦτα τὴν τοῦ κοιαίστορος ἐπανηρημένος ἀρχήν*, parvint à donner la clé de l'énigme (8).

Sous le règne de Théophile (829-842) est mentionné le questeur *EUSTATHE MONACHOS*. Une veuve s'étant plainte à l'empereur de Pétronas, drongaire de la Veille et frère de l'impératrice, Théophile chargea le questeur Eustathe

(1) THEOPH., 738.
(2) CEDR., II.29. Cf. Leo GRAM. 200.
(3) THEOPH., 734 B.
(4) CEDR., II.739.
(5) THEOPH., 738 B.
(6) THEOPH., 350 B.
(7) GENESIOS, 21 ; CEDR., II.62 ; Th. CONT., 35.
(8) Th. CONT., 36.

Monachos de faire une enquête. Il s'agissait d'une construction édifiée par Pétronas et gênant la vue de la maison habitée par la veuve. Les faits ayant été reconnus exacts, l'empereur ordonna au questeur de faire procéder à la démolition de la construction. Pétronas fut, de plus, sévèrement puni (1). Le questeur joue dans cette circonstance le rôle de juge d'instruction et se voit ensuite chargé de faire exécuter la sentence rendue par l'empereur.

CONSTANTINAKIOS. Tout en envoyant une expédition contre les Bulgares, Léon VI (886-912) n'avait pas renoncé à conclure la paix. Il chargea, dans cette intention, le questeur Constantinakios d'une mission auprès du tsar Syméon, roi des Bulgares. Syméon, croyant à la duplicité des Grecs, fit jeter en prison l'ambassadeur. Bientôt, Syméon fut forcé d'implorer lui-même la paix (2).

THEOPHILE. Devenu seul empereur, en 944, Constantin VII Porphyrogénète s'entoura de fonctionnaires probes et capables. Théophile, alors préfet de la Ville, fut nommé questeur et titré patrice. C'était un bon juriste et un administrateur habile. Il fut remplacé comme préfet de la Ville par le protospathaire Constantin (3). Le préfet Théophile est vraisemblablement identique au préfet *THEOPHILE EROTIKOS*, beau-père du patrice Nicéphore qui occupait la chaire de géométrie à l'Université (4). Le patrice et questeur Théophile rédigea diverses novelles de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète (5). Une novelle de Romain II (959-963) fait allusion au patrice questeur Théophile, alors défunt (6).

DECAPOLITE, Théodore. Diverses novelles de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète ont été rédigées par ce personnage (7). Décapolite resta questeur sous Romain II ; il était alors titré magistros et continua à rédiger les novelles impériales (8).

(1) Th. CONT., 793-794 ; Leo GRAM., 216 ; ZONAR., III.356.
(2) Th. CONT., 358.854 ; Leo GRAM., 268 ; CEDR., II.255 ; ZONAR., III.443. Cf. F. DÖLGER, *Regesten*, n° 520, an. 893.
(3) Th. CONT., 444.
(4) Th. CONT., 446.
(5) ZACH. V. LINGENTHAL, *Jus. gr. rom.*, III.253.
(6) ID., *op. cit.*, III.282.
(7) ID., *op. cit.*, 261.267.
(8) ID., *op. cit.*, III.281.

ANZA, Michel, vestis et questeur, est cité dans un acte de fondation pieuse, faite par Michel Attaliate, vers 1077 (1). Il est associé avec le nomophylax et tous deux sont qualifiés de juges, *δικασταί*.

GEORGES, protoproèdre, *δικαιοφύλαξ* et questeur, est mentionné dans une novelle d'Alexis Ier Comnène, en 1082 (2).

PEKOULES, Basile. Questeur, juge du Velum et de l'Hippodrome, Basile Pékoulès assista au synode de 1147 aux Blachernes, tenu pour déposer le patriarche Cosmas (3). Basile Pékoulès, juge du Velum et de l'Hippodrome, est mentionné comme tel dans une Novelle de Manuel I Comnène, de 1148. Mais il y a lieu de noter que cette novelle a été également attribuée à Constantin IX Monomaque et à Alexis Ier Comnène (4). Le questeur Basile Pékoulès fut titré plus tard curopalate, vers 1169 (5).

GEORGES de MANGANES, questeur, assiste aux synodes de 1166 et 1170 (6).

CHOUMNOS, Nicéphore. Tout jeune encore, Nicéphore Choumnos (7) figure parmi les dignitaires auliques, avec le titre de questeur. Pendant la maladie du protovestiaire Théodore Mouzalon, Andronic II Paléologue, sur le conseil de Mouzalon lui-même, fit appel, pour s'occuper des affaires publiques, au questeur Nicéphore Choumnos, qu'il promut alors *μυστικός* et à qui il adjoignit Jean Glykys, maître des requêtes (8). Après la mort de Mouzalon, Nicéphore Choumnos, promu *ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου*, dirigea les affaires publiques (9).

(1) SATHAS., *Mes. Bibl.*, I.9.

(2) ZACH. v. LINGENTHAL, *op. cit.*, III.350.354.

(3) F. CHALANDON, *Jean Comnène et Manuel Comnène*, Paris, 1912.638.

(4) ZACH. v. LINGENTHAL, *op. cit.*, III.440, note I et 442.

(5) F. DÖLGER, *Regesten*, n° 1484.

(6) F. CHALANDON, *op. cit.*, 650.651.

(7) Cf. J. VERPEAUX, *Nicéphore Choumnos, homme d'État et humaniste byzantin*, Paris, 1959.33.

(8) PACHYM., II.164.

(9) ID., II.193.

Il est probable que le questeur cité dans un acte de 1276 est Nicéphore Choumnos (1).

N., Questeur. Sous le règne d'Andronic II Paléologue, Manuel Philès adresse une poésie à un questeur (2).

Paris. R. GUILLAND.

(1) F. DÖLGER, *Regesten*, n° 2024.
(2) E. MILLER, *Manuelis Philae carmina*, Paris, I,1855, p. 310.

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WHO WAS THE REAL "LEO THE ISAURIAN"?

In 1896, in a study published in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, Karl Schenk set forth evidence to show that the epithet "Isaurian" applied to the Emperor Leo III since Byzantine times is a misnomer (1). The term is derived from early manuscripts of Theophanes' *Chronographia* and, Schenk believed, probably from Theophanes himself. There is much evidence, however, to indicate that Leo III (717-741) was not an Isaurian at all, but came originally from Germanikia in Syria. Even Theophanes, in the same phrase in which he calls Leo an Isaurian, names "Germanikia" as Leo's home city (2); while the ninth-century Latin translation of Theophanes' work ascribed to Anastasius, the papal librarian, plainly speaks of Leo as *genere Syrus* (3). Later scholars have called attention, also, to the fact that Leo III was bilingual in Greek and Arabic, and that such knowledge of Arabic, while perfectly possible in one who grew up on the Syrian frontier, is highly unlikely in an Isaurian (4). In summary, Schenk's hypothesis has been almost universally accepted by modern Byzantinists : the epithet "Isaurian" applied to Leo III is mistaken.

But why, it may be asked, did Theophanes (or whoever was responsible for the insertion of the phrase *ἐκ τῆς Ἰσαυρίας* in his *Chronographia*) have this false idea concerning Leo's place of origin? According to Schenk, the error stems from

(1) Karl SCHENK, *Kaiser Leons III Walten im Inneren*, in *B.Z.*, V (1896), 296 ff.

(2) THEOPHANES, *Chronographia*, I, 391, ed. de Boor.

(3) SCHENK, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

(4) See for example Romilly JENKINS, *Byzantium : The Imperial Centuries* (New York, 1966), p. 61.

Theophanes' confusion in geography : he mistook the Syrian town of Germanikia, Leo's real birthplace, for Germanikopolis, a city of Isauria in southern Asia Minor. Theophanes, Schenk felt, wrote : *Λέων ἐβασίλευσεν ἐκ τῆς Γερμανικέων καταγόμενος ἐκ τῆς Ἰσαυρίας.* Then some early copyist of the *Chronographia*, realizing that Germanikia was not in Isauria, attempted to explain the matter by emending the phrase to read : ... *ἐκ τῆς Γερμανικέων καταγόμενος τῇ ἀληθείᾳ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰσαυρίας*, an emendation which only confused the issue further (1).

While Theophanes' alleged geographic blunder is altogether possible, it is likely that there is another, even more immediate reason for the origin of the "Isaurian" misnomer ; there really was a Byzantine Emperor who rightly could be called "Leo the Isaurian" and who reigned only a few years before Leo III. This is the Emperor Leontios (695-698).

The fact that Leontios officially changed his name to "Leo" has come to be recognized only in modern times and is based largely on numismatic evidence, for the Byzantine chronicle sources invariably refer to him as "Leontios". It was Lodovico Laffranchi who first identified Leontios' coinage as distinct from that of Leo III (2). Both series give the imperial name as Leon, yet the realistic likenesses of the fat, round-faced Leontios are so completely different from the highly stylized, very thin Leo III as to show conclusively that two different Emperors are depicted. Laffranchi, however, believed that in Leontios' case, Leon was merely an abbreviation of his full name. It was J. P. C. Kent who showed in an article some years after Laffranchi's study that "Leo" was the official name adopted by Leontios upon his accession to the throne (3). The important contemporary and near contemporary Latin sources such as the *Liber Pontificalis* and Paul the Deacon invariably refer to the

(1) SCHENK, *op. cit.*, pp. 296-297.

(2) L. LAFFRANCHI, *La numismatica di Leonzio II* (Perugia, 1940).

(3) J. P. C. KENT, *The Mystery of Leontius II*, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, VI series, XIV (1954), 217-218.

Byzantine Emperors by their official regnal names only, and in these works the Emperor we know as "Leontios" is always called "Leo".

Although Kent did not reflect upon the psychological reasons that must have prompted this name change, they are easy enough to guess. The only Leontios who had ever come close to the imperial throne was a pretender who had risen against the Emperor Zeno and who was speedily dispatched (1). "Leontios" was thus a name of ill omen, and would seem particularly so to a man who was a usurper himself. "Leo", on the other hand, was a name with imperial precedents, recalling the long, successful reign of Leo I (457-474), to say nothing of Leo II (474).

Thus we can be sure, the Emperor Leontios preferred to be known as "Leo". As for his being an Isaurian, the evidence is to be found in the *Breviarium* of the Patriarch Nikephoros, in the passage recording how Justinian II imprisoned the future Emperor *Λεόντιον δέ τινα πατρίκιον ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἰσαύρων ὁρμώμενον χώρας* (2). There is no parallel notice of Leontios' place of origin in Theophanes' *Chronographia*. Hence we can readily believe that Theophanes, in preparing his note on the origin of Leo III, remembered there was an Emperor Leo from Isauria but was confused as to which one he was.

There is in addition one other fact which could lead to further confusion between Leontios and Leo III: each of these men, prior to his accession to the throne, held for a time the position of *strategos* of the Anatolikon theme. This similarity in their background along with the similarity in their names could well have contributed to Theophanes' misapplication of the epithet "Isaurian" to Leo III.

In summary, while Schenk's hypothesis on geographic confusion between the Syrian town of "Germanikia" and

(1) Numismatists have often counted this pretender as Leontios I, and thus have accorded the seventh-century Leontios the imperial number II. This practice, however, is no longer widely favored. For details see Philip GRIERSON, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, II (Washington, D.C., 1968), p. 610, n. 3.

(2) NIKEPHOROS, *Breviarium*, p. 37, ed. de Boor.

the Isaurian "Germanikopolis" appears valid, the existence of a real Emperor Leo the Isaurian less than twenty years before Leo III's accession to the throne is probably an even more immediate reason why the great iconoclastic Emperor, who was not an Isaurian, came to be known as one.

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SUR UNE FRESQUE DE LA PÉRIODE DES PALÉOLOGUES (*)

La peinture murale représentée sur l'hémicycle de l'abside d'une église (1) du Magne (2) vient enrichir le répertoire iconographique classique (3) des illustrations qui, se référant à l'Office liturgique, sont intitulées d'habitude Ἀμνός (4), « Agneau de Dieu », Μελισμός (5), « Fraction de l'Hostie », sans

(*) Sous le titre : Sur une fresque de la période des Paléologues représentant d'une manière originale la partie majeure de l'office liturgique, ce texte a fait l'objet d'une communication au XIVe Congrès international des Études byzantines (Bucarest, 6-12 septembre 1971).

(1) Il s'agit de l'église des Saints-Théodore, située aux abords du village de Kafiona. La fresque en question fait partie de la seconde couche de peintures murales dont fut décorée l'église. Cette couche daterait de la fin du XIIIe ou du début du XIVe siècle.

(2) Région située sur le mont Taygète, au Sud du Péloponnèse.

(3) Tel que celui-ci était constitué à partir de la fin du XIIe siècle. La mise en scène adéquate à ce genre d'illustrations comprenait d'habitude (d'après des variantes iconographiques très limitées), en dehors de la représentation du Christ : a) celle des anges tenant des *rhipidia* ; b) celle des évêques officiants, vêtus de *polystavria*, tenant entre leurs mains des rouleaux déployés ; c) celle de divers ustensiles liturgiques, etc.

(4) Il fut plus ou moins conventionnellement admis que la dénomination « Amnos » devait désigner le plus souvent, dans le langage iconographique, le moment de la liturgie où les dons, une fois préparés dans la Prothèse et transportés à l'autel pendant la Grande Entrée, vont être consacrés pendant l'Épiclèse, prière secrète de l'Anaphore. Plus particulièrement, il s'agit du moment où les dons sont convertis en sang et corps du Christ, et non pas de celui où ils sont partagés (Mélismos), pour être ensuite distribués aux fidèles (Communion). Voir n. 3, pp. 110-111.

(5) Le thème du Mélismos se réfère au passage liturgique qui fait suite à l'Anaphore et précède la Communion. Il s'agit plus particu-

pour autant constituer par elle-même un schéma iconographique complètement étranger au leur.

L'intérêt de cette fresque (pl. I) consiste en ce que certains détails hardis et révélateurs ont presque complètement estompé ici la difficulté d'interprétation iconographique exacte que présente, dans de nombreux cas, la transposition picturale de certains passages liturgiques (1), telle a) celle de chacun des plus importants moments de l'Anaphore (2) : Institution de l'Eucharistie, Anamnèse, Épiclèse ; b) celle du passage se référant au Mélismos (3) ; c) et aussi, parfois, celle qui

lièrement du moment où le prêtre, après avoir récité la Prière Dominicale et prononcé deux prières secrètes, élève le Pain consacré au-dessus de la patène, puis le rompt en quatre parties qu'il y remet en les disposant en croix et en prononçant les paroles suivantes : *Μελίζεται καί διαμερίζεται ὁ Ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ.*

(1) Les concordances signalées au cours de cette analyse entre les diverses illustrations et les passages liturgiques auxquels celles-ci se réfèrent sont établies à partir du texte de la liturgie de Chrysostome.

(2) L'Anaphore, en tant que partie liturgique, suit la Grande Entrée et la récitation du Crédo et précède la Prière Dominicale et le Mélismos. Elle débute par l'invitation diaconale *Στῶμεν καλῶς, Στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου. Πρόσχωμεν τὴν ἁγίαν Ἀναφορὰν ἐν εἰρήνῃ προσφέρειν*, et comprend : diverses ekphonèses qui précèdent la première prière secrète, celle qui a trait à la Sainte Trinité ; l'hymne des Séraphins ; une deuxième prière secrète commémorant la Cène ; des ekphonèses ayant trait à l'institution de l'Eucharistie ; la prière secrète de l'Anamnèse qui se réfère au supplice du Christ ; la prière secrète de l'Epiclèse, dont les parties, en plus de la consécration des dons, évoquent la grâce ainsi accordée aux communiants, aux Pères de l'Église ; le Mégalynaire de la Vierge ; des diptyques pour les vivants et pour les morts ; des prières secrètes et des ekphonèses en l'honneur des Saints, de l'Archevêque, de la ville. L'Anaphore se termine par l'ekphonèse : *καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν ἐν ἑνὶ στόματι καὶ μίᾳ καρδίᾳ δοξάζειν.*

(3) L'insertion dans l'histoire de l'iconographie chrétienne du thème du Mélismos, due à l'influence grandissante de certaines théories émises dès les premiers siècles de notre ère, eut lieu à partir de la fin du XIIe siècle. Ainsi, le thème iconographique du Mélismos est de beaucoup postérieur à celui de l'Amnos, qui, créé dès le début de l'ère chrétienne, faisait cependant, avant le VIIe siècle (692), appel à un type d'illustration tout à fait différent (agneau), par rapport à celui qui prévalut après la décision du Concile Quinisexte (représentation du Christ Lui-même). Pour des raisons citées plus loin dans le texte, fréquents étaient les cas où les artistes ne procé-

évoque chacune des phases de la préparation des espèces pendant l'Office de la Prothèse (1).

Effectivement, les doutes que soulève souvent l'illustration des passages mentionnés ci-dessus, du point de vue de l'identification, sont dus au schéma iconographique qui, dans de nombreux cas, ne comporte pas une différenciation adéquate au contexte du passage illustré. Les allusions picturales ainsi faites au passage présumé sont parfois tellement générales et abstraites qu'elles auraient pu se référer à deux ou,

daient pas à une différenciation explicite des thèmes du Mélismos et de l'Amnos du point de vue iconographique. Parfois, tout simplement, soit les paroles inscrites sur les rouleaux déployés des évêques, soit une inscription, soit la présence de la seule dénomination « Amnos » ou « Mélismos » indiquent le moment représenté. Cependant, même dans ce cas, les procédés ci-dessus mentionnés entrent souvent en contradiction avec certains détails de l'illustration. Ainsi, sur l'aër n° 5 de Chilandari (G. MILLET, *Broderies religieuses de style byzantin*, Paris, P.U.F. 1947, pl. CLVIII et pp. 73-75), le titre Mélismos, brodé au-dessus de la patène, ne correspond pas au moment représenté. Il est, en effet, en contradiction avec les paroles inscrites sur les rouleaux des deux évêques représentés de part et d'autre du Christ. Plus particulièrement, le rouleau de l'un des deux évêques constitue un extrait de la prière secrète prononcée par le prêtre pendant que le chœur, au moment de la Grande Entrée, entonne l'hymne des Chérubins. De même, l'éventuelle différenciation iconographique des deux thèmes, proposée par certains byzantinologues d'après le type des figures encadrant immédiatement le Christ (évêques plutôt dans le cas du Mélismos, car c'est l'officiant qui rompt le Pain ; anges diacres tenant des *rhipidia* dans le cas de l'Amnos, car, c'est surtout pendant l'Épiclèse qu'on évente les dons), se révèle inadmissible. A l'encontre de ce genre de différenciation, on citera ici l'exemple offert par une illustration de l'émail Strogannof (G. SCHLUMBERGER, *Mélanges*, Paris, 1895, p. 191, pl. XI), qui, tout en se référant au Mélismos, comprend, de part et d'autre du Christ, la présence de deux anges tenant des *rhipidia*. La référence au passage du Mélismos est faite ici au moyen d'une inscription dont le sens très explicite n'entre pas, dans le cas présent, en contradiction avec le reste de la composition. Le texte de l'inscription, telle que celle-ci fut déchiffrée par G. MILLET, *Recherches sur l'Iconographie de l'Évangile*, Paris, 1960, 2e édition, p. 499, note 4) est le suivant : *Χριστὸς προκειται καὶ μελίζεται Θεός*.

(1) *Προσκομιδή*, préparation des espèces ; extraction des parcelles.

à la rigueur, à trois passages à la fois (1), sans illustrer l'un d'entre eux en particulier. Cette neutralité d'ordre pictural, constituant, dans le domaine iconographique, le reflet de l'enchaînement immédiat, lors de l'Office, des passages qui, tout en se succédant, se font écho les uns aux autres, devenait encore plus sensible chaque fois que les artistes étaient ignorants du processus exact de la pratique rituelle (2). Certains détails de celle-ci auraient pu aider ces derniers à différencier iconographiquement les thèmes en question et à éviter ainsi la connexion de plusieurs d'entre eux dans le contexte d'une seule illustration.

Or, sur la peinture murale qu'on étudie ici, les procédés iconographiques employés par l'artiste ne se réduisent ni a) à de simples signes allusifs et équivoques ne désignant, dans le cadre d'une composition, aucun moment de la liturgie en particulier ; b) à des compositions annexes, éclairant le sens de l'illustration en question ; c) à une simple inscription révélatrice du passage représenté (3) ; ils contribuent au contraire à illustrer de la façon la plus réaliste, du point de vue pictural, le sacrifice humain du Christ en tant que tel, et par là même éliminent toute difficulté d'interprétation concernant le passage liturgique représenté. Ainsi, le motif

(1) A titre d'exemples, on citera ici deux peintures murales seulement : a) celle de l'église de l'Évangélistria de Mistra, où la représentation du Christ dans un calice aurait pu indiquer aussi bien l'Institution de l'Eucharistie que l'Épiclèse et le Mélismos : b) celle de l'église de Saint-Nicolas d'Argès, se référant aussi bien à plusieurs moments de l'Anaphore à la fois qu'au Mélismos. Les exemples cités dans cette note sont tirés du livre de J. ŞTEFĂNESCU, *L'Illustration des Liturgies dans l'Art de Byzance et de l'Orient*, Bruxelles, 1936, pp. 113 et suiv.

(2) Tel est le cas des illustrations se référant soit à l'Amnos, soit au Mélismos, dans les églises de Sopočani, de Studeniča (Kraljeva), de Nagoričino, de Gračaniča, etc. Voir J. ŞTEFĂNESCU, *op. cit.*, pp. 112 et suiv. et G. MILLET, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.

(3) Tel, le cas de l'émail Strogannof (voir n. 3, p. 110-111) et celui de la peinture murale de l'église de Samari (voir n. 5, p. 119) et également : G. MILLET, *Évangile*, p. 499, note 4, et H. GREGORIADOU, *Peintures Murales du XIIe siècle en Grèce*, Thèse de IIIe Cycle, Paris, 1968, pp. 18-23.

central de notre fresque (1) : le Christ adulte, étendu dans une patène géante dans laquelle il est représenté mort, le sang jaillissant de son flanc droit percé, constitue l'illustration la plus éloquente, la plus directe et par là même la moins douteuse du point de vue pictural de l'essence même du dogme chrétien, telle que celle-ci est révélée au cours de l'Épiclèse prière secrète de l'Anaphore constituant le passage majeur de l'Office liturgique. C'est effectivement au cours de cette prière (2) que les dons (Pain et Vin) qui, jusqu'à présent figuraient sur l'autel par « prolepse » et en « figure » (3) sont convertis, moyennant l'invocation du Saint-Esprit, en « véritables » sang et corps du Christ.

Nombreuses sont, en effet, les représentations figurées sur des monuments ou sur des tissus liturgiques, qui contiennent certains des détails de notre fresque suggérant un ordre d'idées analogue, sans pour autant constituer des illustrations identiques à celle-ci.

En ce qui concerne, en premier lieu, la représentation du Christ adulte, on doit noter que celle-ci est rare dans le répertoire iconographique des thèmes de l'Amnos et du Mélis-

(1) Le Seigneur est encadré ici de deux Archanges, Uriel et Gabriel, qui, tenant des *rhipidia*, sont à leur tour accompagnés de deux évêques officiants (un de chaque côté). Les deux prélats (Saint Grégoire le Théologien à droite, et Saint Jean Chrysostome à gauche), vêtus de *polystavria*, tiennent entre leurs mains des rouleaux déployés.

(2) Les paroles de l'Épiclèse, prononcées par le prêtre sont les suivantes : "*Ετι προσφέρομέν σοι, τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν, καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν σε καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ ἱκετεύομεν Κατάπεμψον τὸ Πνεῦμά σου τὸ Ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα ... Καὶ ποίησον τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον, τίμιον Σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ Σου ... Τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τούτῳ τίμιον Αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ Σου... Μεταβαλὼν τῷ Πνεύματί σου τῷ Ἁγίῳ... Ὥστε γενέσθαι τοῖς μεταλαμβάνουσιν εἰς νῆψιν ψυχῆς, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ Ἁγίου Σου Πνεύματος, εἰς βασιλείας οὐρανῶν πλήρωμα, εἰς παρρησίαν τὴν πρὸς σέ, μὴ εἰς κρῖμα ἢ εἰς κατάκριμα. Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην λατρείαν, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν πίστει ἀναπαυσαμένων Προπατόρων ... καὶ παντὸς πνεύματος δικαίου ἐν πίστει τετελειωμένων.*

(3) Pour la traduction en français, voir J. ŞTEFĂNESCU, *op. cit.*, p. 73, note 1.

mos (1), par rapport à celle où le Seigneur figure enfant, mode d'illustration qui prévalut à partir du XIIIe siècle (2). N'ayant point la prétention de résoudre ici le problème d'antériorité de l'un de ces deux modes iconographiques par rapport à l'autre (3), on se contentera simplement de rappeler que le 82e Canon du Concile Quinisexte *in Trullo* (4), par lequel le Concile a, en 692, prescrit, dans les illustrations du thème de l'Amnos, la substitution de la figure du Christ à celle de l'Agneau, ne précise pas si le Christ devait figurer adulte ou enfant (5). Les écrits des théologiens et des Pères de l'Église

(1) Pour les raisons expliquées dans la n. 3, pp. 110-111, on considère, dans le cas présent, l'illustration de ces deux thèmes sous le même angle du point de vue iconographique.

(2) Type d'illustration qui répond aux écrits de certains Saints et Pères de l'Église, rédigés dès les premiers siècles de notre ère : voir a) S. Cyrille de Jérusalem (IVe siècle) « Je vois un Enfant qui sur terre reçoit le sacrifice ... » (J. ŞTEFĂNESCU, *op. cit.*, p. 113) ; b) S. Jean Chrysostome : « Et ce corps, Jésus nous l'a donné à manger ... ce corps, les Mages l'ont adoré dans la crèche, toi tu le vois, non pas dans la crèche, mais sur l'autel... » (*In Math. Hom.*, 1 : 7.5). Plus particulièrement, c'est dans la vogue qu'a connue de nouveau auprès des théologiens byzantins du Moyen Âge l'aspect du Christ Enfant offert en don dès Sa naissance (voir N. CABASILAS : « Nous l'y voyons, en figure, enfant... et le flanc percé... », dans MIGNE, *Patr. Gr.*, vol. 150, col. 449 et suiv.) qu'on doit chercher l'origine de la grande faveur qu'a connue, à partir du XIIIe siècle, le schéma iconographique en question, dans les transpositions picturales des thèmes considérés ici.

(3) Voir ci-dessus, n. 5.

(4) Voir le texte dans : MANSI, XI, 977, 980.

(5) Plusieurs savants ont opté en faveur de l'antériorité de l'un des deux modes iconographiques par rapport à l'autre, soutenant le point de vue que c'était l'illustration de l'un d'entre eux qui avait immédiatement suivi la décision du Concile. G. MILLET défend, dans *Byzantine Painting in Trebizond*, Londres, 1936 (p. 43), la thèse que dans les illustrations du thème de l'Amnos, le Christ figura tout d'abord, non pas en enfant, mais en adulte. Ce mode iconographique céda, d'après MILLET, pendant un certain temps, la place à la représentation du Christ Enfant, pour réapparaître de nouveau au XIVe siècle. A. GRABAR, par contre, dans *L'Iconoclasme Byzantin : Dossier Archéologique*, Paris, Collège de France, 1957 (pp. 42 et suiv.), s'appuyant sur la représentation du Christ Enfant sur une série de monnaies émises sous le règne de Justinien II (pen-

qui se multiplient au cours des siècles (1) et, plus particulièrement encore, diverses considérations d'ordre idéologique, ainsi que certaines pratiques, forgées dès les premiers temps du christianisme, portent à croire que l'accent mis sur la mission terrestre du Christ ainsi que l'idée qu'il fut offert en don dès sa naissance exigeaient plutôt la représentation du Christ Enfant (en tant que Verbe-Logos) (2), tandis que le souvenir du dénouement dramatique de la vie terrestre du Seigneur faisait pencher plutôt vers la représentation du Christ adulte, mode iconographique plus approprié que le précédent à la notion du tragique. Fort révélateur est à ce sujet l'usage, lors de certaines processions solennelles (3),

dant lequel eut lieu le Concile in Trullo) est de l'avis que c'est plutôt ce schéma iconographique qui devait correspondre aux prescriptions du 82e Canon. V. COTTAS, dans l'*Influence du drame du Christos Paschon sur l'art chrétien d'Orient*, Paris, 1931 (p. 98 et suiv.), ainsi que dans sa *Contribution à l'étude de quelques tissus liturgiques*, dans *Studi*, VI, 1940 (p. 92 et suiv.), soutient la théorie que c'est le Christ Adulte qui orna dès le lendemain du Concile le thème de l'Amnos. Elle défend cette thèse en s'appuyant sur certains usages des premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne : fêtes ayant lieu dans les cimetières ; fête de l'égorgement d'un agneau à laquelle se substitua, d'après Cottas, à une époque contemporaine de celle du Concile, la présentation, lors de certaines processions solennelles, de tissus à l'image du Christ mort (*op. cit.*, p. 97).

(1) Voir n. 2, p. 114, et également a) PSEUDO-CYRILLE (Chap. 3, p. 63, l. 5 et 10) : « La Sainte Table est l'endroit où le Christ fut placé dans Sa Sépulture... » ; b) THÉODORE D'ANDIDA (Chap. III) : « ce qui se fait dans la Liturgie est la figure de la Passion... » ; c) Gr. PALAMAS (MIGNE, *P. G.*, vol. 151, col. 272) ; d) N. CABASILAS (*op. cit.*, col. 380-1 et 449).

(2) A. GRABAR, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

(3) A. DE NOVGOROD nous donne une information (à vrai dire très vague) sur l'existence de processions semblables, à l'occasion de la mention d'un aër appelé *Jérusalem*, qu'il avait vu lors de sa visite à Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople, vers 1200 (*Itinéraires Russes*, I, I, 94, et D. PALLAS, *Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz*, *Miscellanea Monacensia*, Heft 2, München, 1965, p. 254). C'est de Syméon de Thessalonique (XVe siècle) qu'on tient des informations précises sur ces processions qui avaient lieu généralement le soir des jours fériés, des Samedis, ainsi que du jour réservé à la commémoration de la mort du Christ pendant la Grande Entrée (MIGNE, *loc. cit.*, col. 608 et 728). Ces processions ont également influencé l'iconographie

de porter l'image du Christ adulte, mort, brodée sur des tissus liturgiques (*aërs*) (1), dont certains gardèrent, dans quelques régions de la Grèce, jusqu'à une période très tardive, la dénomination caractéristique d'« amnos » (2). C'est sans doute dans cet usage qu'il faut chercher l'explication du fait que la majorité des représentations que l'on possède actuellement du Christ mort (3), à l'âge qu'Il avait lors de Son supplice, se trouve parmi les tissus liturgiques (4) et non pas sur les monuments, où ce mode iconographique est rare par rapport à celui dans lequel le Christ est représenté enfant.

du thème de la Divine Liturgie, dans l'illustration duquel on voit les anges porter l'étoffe liturgique avec la représentation du Christ mort.

(1) Il s'agit d'étoffes de type processionnel, désignées d'habitude sous la dénomination d'aërs. (Sur les problèmes que pose l'origine de ce tissu, voir : V. COTTAS, *op. cit.*, p. 88 et suiv.) ; G. SOTIRIOU, *Τὰ Λειτουργικὰ Ἄμφια τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας*, Athènes, 1949, p. 8 et suiv. ; G. TREMBELLA, *Αἱ Τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι*, Athènes, 1932, pp. 92-93. Voir également SYMÉON DE THESSALONIQUE, *op.cit.*, col. 288, où l'écrivain se réfère très explicitement à la destination de l'aër. D'après certains savants, la source d'inspiration de ces tissus serait le Suaire qui avait, autrefois, enveloppé le corps même du Christ et sur lequel étaient miraculeusement apparus les contours du corps du Seigneur. Le chroniqueur français ROBERT DE CLARY prétend avoir vu le Suaire en question dans l'église de la Vierge des Blachernes, à Constantinople, entre 1202 et 1204 (*Les Classiques Français du Moyen Âge*, publiés sous la dir. de M. ROQUES, Paris, 1924, 90), et également D. PALLAS, *op. cit.*, p. 256, note 800) ; d'après les mêmes savants, le Suaire qui apparut à Turin pour la première fois vers 1353, était probablement le même que celui de Constantinople (P. VIGNON, *Le St Suaire de Turin*, Paris, 1939, pp. 95 et suiv. ; D. PALLAS, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-7).

(2) COTTAS, *op. cit.*, p. 96, note 4. Ce détail semble confirmer le fait que la présentation de cette étoffe perpétuait le souvenir de l'égorgement d'un agneau, fête qui avait lieu la nuit du jour réservé à la commémoration de la mort du Christ. (Voir St JEAN CHRYSOSTOME, MIGNE, *P.G.*, 49, col. 393, 397).

(3) Dans le contexte des transpositions picturales des thèmes étudiés au cours de la présente recherche.

(4) Aërs processionnels : voiles de calice et de patène. Ici, on doit noter comme exemple très éloquent du reflet de la pratique liturgique dans le domaine iconographique, la fresque de Samari (n. 3, p. 112), où le Christ mort est étendu sur un tissu à franges (aër).

Considérons à présent les représentations du Christ mort sans les relier, en premier lieu, au service liturgique ; nous procéderons à une énumération de celles qui, parmi les tissus liturgiques (1) tout d'abord, sont les plus caractéristiques : a) l'Epitaphios de Salonique (2) (XIVe siècle) ; b) celui d'Ochrid (3), datant de l'époque d'Andronic Paléologue ; c) l'aër de la Grande Remeta (4) (pl. II) ; d) le voile de Vatra-Moldovitei en Bucovine (5) (1398) : e) l'aër du Trésor de Poutna (6), connu sous le nom d'épitaphios de Sučevita ou des reines Euphémie et Eupraxie. On peut également citer, à titre de simple information, la présence d'illustrations analogues sur de nombreux aërs utilisés comme voiles de patène et de calice, ainsi que sur des antimensia conservés aujourd'hui, qui, bien que d'une époque tardive (7), doivent cependant garder (8) la tradition d'illustrations analogues sur des voiles qui leur étaient chronologiquement antérieurs. Mentionnons ici, à titre d'exemples parmi les nombreux voiles tardifs du Musée Byzantin d'Athènes, les aërs classés sous les nos 1026 (9), 1029(10), l'aër de Paros(11) : les antimensia nos 1129(12),1148 (13), 1115 (14).

(1) Les cinq exemples cités datent d'avant la chute de l'Empire. Effectivement, après 1453, sous l'influence de l'Office de la Passion, les illustrations brodées sur les tissus processionnels revêtent une autre signification : celle du Thrène, notamment (COTTAS, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-88).

(2) La partie centrale du tissu : les deux extrémités se réfèrent à la Ste Communion, G. MILLET, *Broderies*, pl. CCXXI.

(3) *Ibid.*, pl. CLXXVIII.

(4) *Ibid.*, pl. CLXXVIII (aër de Milutin Uroš ou de Fruska-Gora (282-1321).

(5) J. ŞTEFĂNESCU, *op. cit.*, pl. LV.

(6) O. TAFRALI, *Le Trésor byzantin et roumain de Poutna*, Paris, 1925, pl. XXI (XIVe-XVe siècle).

(7) Généralement, à partir de la fin du XVe siècle (COTTAS, *op. cit.*, p. 93).

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 93 et suiv.

(9) *Ibid.*, pl. XXV.

(10) *Ibid.*, pl. XXIX (2).

(11) *Ibid.*, pl. XXVI (1).

(12) *Ibid.*, pl. XXIX (1).

(13) *Ibid.*, pl. XXIX (3).

(14) *Ibid.*, pl. XXX (2) ; il date de 1755.

On rencontre également le Christ adulte, représenté mort, dans le contexte des illustrations présentant un sens eucharistique, sur l'émail Strogannof (1), datant du XIIe siècle (pl. III) ; sur le triptyque Hopa (2), au Caucase ; sur la patène de la Vierge, dite de la reine Pulchérie, appartenant au Monastère de Xéropotamou (Mt Athos) (3) ; sur le sakkos de Photius (4).

En ce qui concerne, à présent, les représentations du Christ mort en dehors du domaine des arts mineurs, dont il a été question, on citera les peintures murales suivantes : a) celle de l'abside de l'église de Samari, en Messénie (5), datant du XIIe siècle ; b) celle du mur ouest du narthex de l'église de Déčani (6), datant du XIVe siècle (pl. IV) ; c) celle de la Prothèse de l'église de Saint-Nicolas d'Argès (7), datant du XIVe siècle (pl. V) ; d) celle de l'abside de l'église de Théosképastos (8), à Trébizonde (XIVe-XVe siècles) ; e) celle de l'abside extérieure de la chapelle ouest de l'église de St-Sabbas (9), à Trébizonde (pl. VI), datant des XVe-XVIe siècles ; g) celle de Kurt-Boghan (10), datant de XVIe siècle, et, en dernier lieu, celles de la Prothèse des églises des Monastères St-Paul (11) (pl. VII) et Dochiariou (12), au Mt Athos.

(1) Voir n. 3, pp. 110-111 ; SCHLUMBERGER datait la partie de l'émail correspondant à cette illustration de la fin du Xe -début du XIe siècle.

(2) N. KONDAKOFF, *Pamjatniki Christianskago Iskusstva na Afonje*, St-Pétersbourg, 1902, p. 264.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 225, pl. XXX.

(4) XIVe-XVe siècles, Moscou, Sacristie Patriarcale : Gd. Sakkos de Photius, n° 2, photo Barcevskij 531, *Vjestnik*, p. 46 ; G. MILLET, *Évangile*, p. XLVIII.

(5) Voir n. 3, p. 112 et n. 5, p. 119.

(6) V. PETKOVIĆ, *Le Monastère de Dečani*, Belgrade, 1941, vol. I, ph. XCV-XCVI.

(7) O. TAFRALI, *Les Monuments byzantins de Curtéa d'Argès*, Paris, 1931, pl. 83 (I).

(8) G. MILLET et T. RICE, *Byz. Painting in Trebizond*, p. 43.

(9) *Ibid.*, p. 27, pl. XXXI.

(10) *Ibid.*, p. 43.

(11) J. ȘTEFĂNESCU, *op. cit.*, p. 48 et suiv., pl. XV (la peinture murale date du XVe siècle).

(12) *Ibid.*, p. 48 et suiv., et pl. XIV. La fresque datant du XVIe siècle fut repeinte au XIXe s.

Un examen attentif des exemples cités, à la lumière, cette fois, du service liturgique, nous aidera à en tirer, en ce qui les concerne, les trois conclusions suivantes :

Certains illustrent exclusivement d'autres passages que celui de l'Anaphore. Telles la composition de l'émail Strogannof, qui se réfère au Mélismos (1) ; l'illustration du Christ sur la Patène de Pulchérie, où le Seigneur est représenté dans le contexte de la transposition picturale du moment de la Grande Entrée (2) (pl. VIII) ; et, en dernier lieu, les fresques de St-Paul et de Dochiariou qui se rapportent à l'office de la Prothèse (3).

Le caractère « neutre » de certaines autres compositions aurait pu indiquer, d'une manière générale, aussi bien l'Anaphore (sans pourtant mettre en évidence un moment particulier de celle-ci) que d'autres passages liturgiques, tel le Mélismos, par exemple, comme c'est le cas pour les peintures murales de Dečani, Théosképastos, St-Sabbas.

En dernier lieu, bien que certaines de ces illustrations concernent uniquement l'Anaphore, elles mettent en évidence parfois un autre moment que celui de l'Épiclèse ; ainsi, par exemple, l'Hymne Séraphique (4) (Ép. de Salonique), ou l'Institution de l'Eucharistie (Samari) (5) ; parfois, elles se rapportent à l'Épiclèse d'une façon également conventionnelle, se trouvant aux antipodes du schéma iconographique explicite (6) de la peinture murale des Saints Théodore de Kafiona.

Sur cette dernière, on ne se borne pas simplement à deviner le moment représenté à l'aide d'accessoires schématiques,

(1) Voir n. 3, pp. 110-111.

(2) J. ŞTEFĂNESCU, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 45.

(4) On y lit : *Ἅγιος, Ἅγιος*, à côté de l'illustration des chérubins.

(5) Voir p. 112, note (3). L'inscription peinte au-dessus du Christ se référant à l'institution de l'Eucharistie est la suivante : *Ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν Σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα ἐν ἐμοὶ μένει κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ.*

(6) La seule erreur relevée par rapport au contexte liturgique (la partie inférieure du corps du Christ couverte du voile ; les dons sont découverts pendant l'Épiclèse) est largement compensée par le détail, explicite par excellence, de la représentation du sang. La présence de celui-ci ne laisse aucun doute sur le moment représenté : la consécration des dons.

tels que les *rhipidia* tenus par des anges ou des extraits des phrases récitées lors de l'Épiclèse, inscrites sur les rouleaux des évêques, mais on « voit » la conversion des dons en corps et sang réels du Christ. C'est effectivement grâce au détail iconographique du sang qui coule du flanc percé du Seigneur que la transposition picturale du contenu idéologique de la prière de l'Épiclèse trouve sur la fresque de Kafiona son illustration la plus explicite dans le domaine de la peinture monumentale.

Nombreuses, en effet, ont été les allusions faites au sang du Seigneur versé pour le salut du monde, tant de la part des théologiens (1) que de la part des artistes, sans pour autant que ces derniers illustrent ce détail, dans le contexte d'une scène se référant à l'Amnos ou au Mélismos, d'une manière aussi explicite qu'à Kafiona. Ainsi, les allusions faites au sang du Christ se réduisent dans les autres illustrations analogues soit à une inscription (2), soit, si l'on considère le répertoire iconographique des mêmes thèmes dans lequel le Christ figure en Enfant, à la présence d'un calice (3) (pl. IX) ou bien à la représentation du Christ dans le calice même (4).

(1) N. CABASILAS : « Enfant ... et le flanc percé ... » (*op. cit.*, col. 449 et suiv.), SYMÉON DE THESSALONIQUE, *op. cit.*, col. 264 CD, etc.

(2) Samari.

(3) Parmi les très nombreuses illustrations de ce type, on citera ici la fresque de Kraljeva Studéniča, de Sopočani, de Gračaniča, de Chilandari, etc.

(4) Cf. peinture murale de l'abside de l'église de l'Évangélistria à Mistra (voir G. MILLET, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra*, Paris, 1910, p. 135, fig. 3). Ce schéma iconographique connut une très grande vogue, surtout après la chute de l'Empire. Dans ce cas, la représentation du Christ fut souvent remplacée par celle du Christ adulte dans le calice. Cette variante iconographique, particulièrement fréquente sur les voiles liturgiques (cf. étoffes du Musée Bénaki d'Athènes, nos 76, 94, datant respectivement du XVIIIe et du XIXe siècle ; voir E. VEIS-CHATZIDAKIS, *Broderies ecclésiastiques du Musée Bénaki*, Athènes, 1953 ; et également l'antimension no 1169 du Musée Byzantin d'Athènes, daté de 1725 ; voir COTTAS, *op. cit.*, p. 98, note 4), fut également très répandue dans le décor mural des églises post-byzantines, où elle est souvent appelée *Ζωοφόρος Ἄρτος*. Parmi les exemples qui, ressortissant au domaine de la peinture, sont les plus représentatifs du point de vue artistique, on citera ici celui qui est offert par la composition peinte sur l'abside de l'église

Dessin schématique de la peinture murale de l'église des Saints Théodore à Kafiona (abside).

PLANCHE I

Par rapport au type du symbolisme iconographique adopté pour ce genre d'illustrations, le caractère « direct » du procédé pictural utilisé dans la fresque de Kafiona (pl. X) reflète d'une façon très significative la subtilité symbolique et mystique qui caractérisait par excellence la renaissance des Paléologues.

La marque patente du supplice que porte sur Lui le Christ de Kafiona, ainsi que le fait qu'Il est représenté adulte, suggèrent certaines analogies avec le mode d'illustration du thème du Christ *Ἄκρα Ταπείνωσις* (1) (Christ de Pitié) ; ces analogies sont déjà très étroites sur le plan de la symbolique. Effectivement, ce dernier thème était, tout comme les thèmes de l'Amnos et du Mélismos, pourvu d'un sens eucharistique (2). Plus particulièrement encore, la parenté « idéologique » qui existe entre les thèmes mentionnés ci-dessus, s'étant accentuée au cours des siècles, eut comme résultat de rendre leur illustration interchangeable à partir d'une certaine époque (3). Or, la représentation du Christ adulte, et non pas enfant, et, surtout, l'allusion picturale directe faite au sang du Seigneur — celle-ci ne se réduisant pas à la présence d'un simple calice — nous font deviner, à travers cette fresque, l'existence possible d'une variante, suggérant d'une façon très éloquente, dans le domaine iconographique également, la parenté symbolique de ces thèmes.

Athènes. Dora ILIOPOULOU-ROGAN.

de Saint-Georges des Grecs à Venise. Celle-ci, œuvre du peintre Michel Damaskinos (datant de 1579 et probablement refaite en 1853), représente le Christ adulte dans un calice tenu par deux anges. Voir M. CHATZIDAKIS, *Icônes de Saint-Georges des Grecs et de la Collection de l'Institut Hellénique de Venise*, chap. III, p. 69, note.

(1) Notons que le Christ figure dans la transposition picturale de ce thème, non pas étendu, mais debout et de face (en buste ou à mi-corps), devant une croix. L'indication du côté percé est toujours présente. Souvent aussi, on voit le sang jaillir de la plaie (voir COTTAS, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-102, et G. MILLET, *Évangile*, pp. 483-488.

(2) COTTAS, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-102 ; G. MILLET, *op. cit.*, pp. 483-488 ; MYSLIVEČ, *Due Studie*, 28 ; D. PALLAS, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

(3) V. COTTAS, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-102 ; voir, à ce propos, l'illustration sur l'antimension n° III du Musée Byzantin d'Athènes (COTTAS, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXI). La substitution en question est particulièrement fréquente sur les tissus.

IMBERIOS AND MARGARONA: THE MANUSCRIPTS, SOURCES AND EDITION OF A BYZANTINE VERSE ROMANCE :

Anyone who is rash enough to undertake the edition of one of the Byzantine verse romances in the popular language rapidly finds himself in a morass of hypotheses. One is forced to speculate on the date, on the place of composition, on the provenance of the manuscripts — on virtually every topic connected with the poem. These problems, of which we were well aware in theory, have become only too apparent in practice, when making an edition of the more than 10,000 lines of the *Πόλεμος τῆς Τρωάδος*, with its 5 differing manuscripts and 2 fragments, and close relation to the French sources. Faced with the manuscripts of *Πόλεμος* which obviously depend on a single original version but which are difficult to reconcile into one text, and perplexed over the interpretation of the situation observed there, we have looked to *Imberios and Margarona* to test *in parvo* principles and techniques that might be valid *in extensissimo*.

It is a truism, but it must be said, that in editing a text two aims must be borne in mind : on the one hand, to produce a version that is clear to a modern reader, and on the other, one that represents faithfully the author's intention. In an edition of a mediaeval vernacular text, two problems frequently occur which make it difficult to be certain of the author's words. The numerous dialects within each mediaeval vernacular, and still more the restless evolution of forms and vocabulary, mean that we often do not know what the author would have recognised as current usage. The second problem partly arises from this : those responsible for the transmission of these texts did not apparently feel for them the reverence appropriate for the distant masters

of classical antiquity. Since the language was already close to their own, they tended to alter the forms to those of their own period and region. In Greek at least, the copyists of vernacular texts seem by their hands often less educated and practised than the copyists of classical and liturgical texts. In verse, as we shall see, clichés often seem to be substituted in one manuscripts for better phrases in the remainder. Thus, two manuscript of a given text may present two versions of a sentence which are equally viable, and we may have insufficient knowledge to say which would have seemed more appropriate to our author. In fact our knowledge of the development of the language is almost all derived from texts to which this problem applies. The situation is thus very different from that of classical texts, where the language is stabilized and is treated with greater respect by the copyists. Mediaeval vernacular texts need to be handled by rules far more flexible than those which have been formulated for their classical counterparts (1).

Thus in *Imberios*, the problem presents itself in a fundamental way. There have survived several manuscripts and a French original, all telling what is recognizable as the same story, but with some variations. What should an editor do? Is it possible to find among the one manuscripts or more which reflect the words and linguistic forms of the author? If none such exists, is there a process of reasoning that can recover the wording that has been lost (2)? If neither

(1) E.g. by P. MAAS, *Textcritik*, 2nd ed. Leipzig, 1950 : a basic statement of the attitude to classical texts. For mediaeval texts, see e.g. A. CASTELLANI, *Bédier avait-il raison?*, Fribourg, 1957 ; J. A. ASHER, *Truth and Fiction in the Text of Mediaeval MSS*, in *Journal of the Australasian Universities Modern Language Association*, 25, 1966, pp. 6 ff. ; J. RYCHNER, *La critique textuelle de la Branche III du 'Roman de Renart' et l'édition des textes littéraires français du Moyen Âge*, Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 15, 1967-8 (1969).

(2) A. SIGALAS recognizes the special nature of the problem for the Byzantine verse romances, and proposes an extreme and not very satisfactory solution in *Révision de la méthode de restitution du texte des romans démotiques byzantins* in *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, 11, 1951, pp. 305-410.

of these is possible, should he change his objective, and seek to produce a text conflated from all manuscripts which will be clear and readable to a modern public? If none of these alternatives is praticable or acceptable, the editor must print all the manuscripts separately, which will usually mean print from one manuscript only.

There is nothing new in these introductory statements. But it seemed useful to make our assumptions plain at the beginning of a discussion in which misunderstanding might be all too easy. We hope that in what follows we will be able to say something more interesting both about the general problems of editing these texts and the special difficulties of the poem we have chosen as our example (1).

It is generally accepted that the source which lies behind *Imberios* is the French prose tale of *Pierre de Provence et la Belle Maguelonne* (2), though there is some disagreement over this (3). Discussion of the sources has, however, largely revolved round the 'folk-tale' core to the poem and its other

M. I. MANOUSSACAS, *Les romans byzantins de Chevalerie et l'état présent des études les concernant* in *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 10, 1952, pp 70-83, does not discuss the precise nature of the difficulties awaiting prospective editors. Although most of the romances have now received careful and scholarly editions we do not know of any detailed discussions of the special problems presented by them : Hesseling, Pernot and Lambert were plainly aware of the problems.

(1) L. POLITES, *L'Épopée byzantine de Digénis Akritas, Problemi Attuali di Scienza e di Cultura : La Poesia Epica e la sua formazione*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Anno CCCLXVII, 1970, Quaderno N. 139, pp. 551-581, makes a similar study of *Digenis Akritas*. But as *Digenis* is a very different poem from *Imberios*, Polites begins from different premisses and reaches different conclusions.

(2) Ch. GIDEL, *Études sur la littérature grecque moderne*, Paris, 1866, pp. 269-288 ; K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*², München, 1897, p. 868 ; B. KNÖS, *Histoire de la littérature néo-grecque*, Stockholm, 1962, pp. 121-4 ; C. Th. DEMARAS, *Histoire de la littérature néo-hellénique*, Paris, 1966, p. 30.

(3) H. SCHREINER, *Der geschichtliche Hintergrund zu Imberios/ Pierre de Provence...* in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 44, 1951, pp. 524-533 where he argues against *Pierre* as the source, and for a Catalan base ; but see M. PICHARD, *Sur les fondements historiques des romans d'Imbérios et de Margarona et de Pierre de Provence et de la belle Maguelonne* in *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 10, 1952, pp 84-92 for a contrary view

European manifestations (1); recent comments, apart from those of H. Schreiner, have tended simply to repeat that information. N. Béès in his monograph on the poem accepted the literary antecedents as established and concerned himself with the subsequent fate of the legend (2). As far as we know, no comparative analysis of the French and Greek texts has been made since that published by Gidel in 1866 (3), which seems to have provided the basis for later attitudes towards *Imberios* (4). Gidel was working from imperfect texts in both French and Greek (but particularly in Greek, as he used the late printed rhymed text and can have had no idea of the complexity of the unrhymed version). We propose therefore to present a short analysis of the two texts and discuss some of the implications that arise.

Imberios is preserved in rhymed and unrhymed forms. The unrhymed exists in five manuscripts, the rhymed in a series of printed editions emanating from Venice; the earliest surviving is dated 1553. We list for convenience the manuscripts and the sigla we have employed:

N *Naples*, III B 27, ff. 76r-99v.
V *Vindob. Theol. Gr.*, 244, ff. 108v-115v.
O *Oxford Misc. Gr.*, 287, ff. 1-39v.
G *Vatican Palat. Gr.*, 426, ff. 65r-72v.

(1) W. Söderheljm, *Pierre de Provence et la Belle Maguelonne* in *Mémoires de la Société néo-philologique de Helsingfors*, 7, 1924, pp. 1 ff.

(2) N. A. Béès, *Der französisch-mittelgriechische Ritterroman 'Imberios und Margarona'*, Berlin, 1924.

(3) Ch. Gidel, *Études*, p. 279 refers to *Pierre* from an edition in the Bibliothèque Nationale printed in Lyon in 1453; presumably he based his information on the date in the opening paragraphs which refers to the time of composition of the version, and not the publication.

(4) E.g. E. Kriaras, *Βυζαντινὰ Ἱπποτικὰ Μυθιστορήματα*, Athens, 1955, pp. 200-209; Söderheljm's comments are based on Gidel for the Greek text; H. Schreiner has ignored the folk-tale element in his studies of *Imberios* and concentrated on the possible historical references; A. Coville, *La vie intellectuelle dans les domaines d'Anjou-Provence de 1380 à 1435*, Paris, 1941, pp. 462-481 discusses *Pierre* and its origins, though without detailed reference to the versions made later in other European languages.

H *Vatican Palat. Gr.*, 426, ff. 73r-93v.
R Rhymed text.
K E. Kriaras, *Βυζαντινὰ Ἱππότικὰ Μυθιστορήματα*, Athens, 1955, pp. 215-249 (1).

Rhymed versions of Mediaeval Greek popular verse works are normally taken to be later in date than the unrhymed, though it has been argued elsewhere that of the unrhymed manuscripts, G certainly and possibly H depend in this instance on a rhymed version. The date at which the translation was made can only be guessed at; the *terminus post quem* is provided by *Pierre*; the *terminus ante quem* is derived from the manuscripts, of which O can be put with certainty to 1515-16, V to c. 1510-20 and the remainder simply to the sixteenth century by hands and watermark (2).

Pierre also exists in both manuscripts and printed versions. Two versions have been identified: B represented by four manuscripts in Paris, all of the fifteenth century, a printed text of 1480, and a modern edition; and C represented by a manuscript in Cobourg, also of the fifteenth century, and a printed text of 1485. There are in addition other fifteenth century printed editions (3). The C texts and some of the B state that

(1) Editions: E. KRIARAS, all the MSS (but he has conflated the variant readings and the apparatus is difficult to use); V.: W. WAGNER, *Histoire de Imberios et Margarona* (Paris, 1874); O: S. P. LAMBROS, *Collection de Romans grecs*, Paris, 1860, pp. 239-288 (also using N and V). Rhymed text 1638 ed.: É. LEGRAND, *Bibliothèque Grecque Vulgaire*, I, Paris, 1880, pp. 283-320; 1666 ed. G. MEYER, *Imberios und Margarona*, Prague, 1876; the text of the rhymed edition is remarkably stable throughout its printings. For the present study we have worked from fresh collations, and would like to thank the librarians who permitted microfilms to be made of the MSS. All the MSS have lacunae, and H and G are very fragmentary: the line references attached to the analysis will, we hope, indicate for which sections the MSS are extant. The line numbering follows the individual MSS.

(2) O: S. P. LAMBROS, *Collection*, pp. CVIII-CXIV; V: G. MORGAN, *Three Cretan Manuscripts*, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά* 8, 1954, pp. 61-71. Cf. N. BÉÊS, *Ritterroman*, pp. 33-35; H. SCHREINER, *Der älteste Imberios-text* in *Akten 11. Int. Byz. Kong. 1958*, pp. 556-563.

(3) B. WOLEDGE, *Bibliographie des romans et nouvelles en prose française antérieurs à 1500*, Geneva, 1954, pp. 96-7; B MSS: Arsenal

the romance was put 'en cestuy langaige l'an mcccccliii ...', which gives a firm date for the time when the French form of the tale began to circulate. This version seems to have been the basis for the subsequent translations into other European languages, but this does not preclude the possibility that the Greek came from a prior version in another language, possibly Provençal, Latin or Catalan ; the phrase 'en cestuy langaige' suggests that such a version, or versions, existed (1).

Here follows a short analysis of the Greek and French texts, noting the significant discrepancies between the Greek manuscripts and between them and the French version. References are made for *Imberios* to Kriaras' text and to the individual manuscripts as this indicates for which portions the various manuscripts are extant ; for *Pierre* references are made to Biedermann's edition, but not to the individual versions (B and C) as the differences between them are not of the same magnitude as for the Greek text. We are not concerned to argue that *Imberios* derives from one version of *Pierre* rather than the other.

3354, BN Fr. 1501, 1502, BN Nouv. acq. 19167 ; B ed. : A. BIEDERMANN, *La Belle Maguelonne*, Paris, 1913 ; C MS : Cobourg Bibl. Ducale S IV 2 ; early printed editions : e.g. Bouteillier, 1487, J. de Pré, 1489. We have used Biedermann's edition and the copy of the 1485 text in the British Museum.

(1) Cf. A. COVILLE, *La vie intellectuelle*, pp. 462-481. We shall return to this point later.

Imberios (NVOGHR ; K) (1)

1. Introduction ; summary of the plot : the sorrows and separation of Imberios and Margarona.
N 1-15 ; V 1-14 ; O 1-12 ; R 1-13 ; (GH) ; K 1-15.

2. a) The King and Queen of Provence are grieved for their childlessness, but after 40 years of marriage Imb. is born amid universal rejoicing. The child is brought up to excel in learning and battle ; his physical beauty is remarkable.
N 16-91 ; V 15-76 ; O 13-84 ; H 1-55 ; R 14-96 ; (G) ; K 16-93.

b) One day, unknown to his father, he joins in a tournament against a stranger knight, and is victorious. His father is displeased, because the heir is endangered unnecessarily. Imb.'s anger is not mollified by the counsellors sent to him, and he decides to depart.
N 92-179 ; V 77-159 ; O 85-163 ; H 56-140 ; R 97-202 ; (G) ; K 94-182.

c) Imb.'s parents are again upset but finally consent to his leaving ; both give him much good advice. His mother presents him with a precious amulet.
N 180-229 ; V 160-220 ; O 164-213 ; H 141-190 ; R 203-262 ; (G) ; K 183-240.

3. Imb. sets off with much treasure alone (with a slave : R), and after 7 years (endless time : H ; a few months : R) his reputation has spread, but he is weary of wandering. As he is returning home he happens on Anapolis.
N 230-250 ; V 221-240 ; O 214-234 ; H 191-211 ; R 263-291 ; (G) ; K 241-261.

4. NVOHR : The King of Naples and his beautiful daughter Margarona are now introduced. The King is urging his daughter, his heir, to marry — but she is unwilling.

a) NVO : Marg. catches sight of Imb. and is struck by his splendour ; she sends him a ring ; he reciprocates. The two meet and swear eternal fidelity.

NVOHR : Marg. suggests to her father that a tournament be held, the victor of which she will marry.

(1) *Abbreviations.* — Imb. = Imberios ; Marg. = Margarona ; M. = Maguelonne ; P. = Pierre

N 251-301 ; V 241-296 ; O 235-282 ; H 212-243 ; R 292-336 ; (G) ; K 262-316.

a) N 274-288 ; V 267-283 ; O 258-270 ; (G ; HG missing after H 229, R 320).

Pierre (Biedermann)

1. Introduction ; parentage and family of Pierre (pp. 1-2).

2. Pierre is the only child of the Count and Countess ; he is an excellent knight and excels in tournaments, and all knightly attainments (pp. 2-3).

P.'s companions tell him of the beauty of Maguelonne in Naples ; he decides on a journey to win her. His parents are upset but finally consent to their son's departure ; both give him much good advice. His mother gives him three precious rings (pp. 3-7).

3. P. sets off alone, secretly, and reaches Naples after hard riding (p. 7).

4. Once in Naples, P. takes part anonymously in the jousts, and defeats all comers ; he catches M.'s attention then, and on later occasions (pp. 8-10). He is invited by the King to the palace, which allows M.'s interest to be strengthened (pp. 10-13). M. confesses her love for P. to her nurse, who meets P. in a church. On two successive occasions the nurse brings back a ring (pp. 14-27) ; on the third, the lovers meet and exchange vows of eternal fidelity. P. discloses his identity, and presents M. with the third ring. M. presents P. with a chain and locket (pp. 27-34).

The nurse warns M. that she and P. must continue to behave discreetly (pp. 34-7).

5. a) The tournament is prepared and competitors assembled.

b) The German is the most formidable contestant — and is favoured by the King. Marg. looks eagerly for Imb. who has delayed arming; he carries her favour, a handkerchief (R : Marg. is wearing a ring; V : no account of Imb. 's appearance). Imb. defeats the German, whose life at the King's request is spared.

c) Marg. insists that she will marry only Imb. He is taken to the palace and robed. The couple are married and rule in the Kingdom for over a year.

a) N 302-330; V 297-323; O 283-312; H 244-271; R 337-369; (G); K 317-344.

b) N 331-419; V 324-382; O 313-399; H 272-363; R 370-480; G 1-24; K 345-446.

c) N 420-453; V 383-415; O 400-432; H 364-396; R 481-528; G 25-57; K 447-482.

6. Imb. wishes to visit his parents, and tells Marg. who they are. He decides to leave secretly, lest he should be prevented. Marg. insists on accompanying him. They take much treasure and are accompanied by one slave. Marg.'s parents discover their absence and are much grieved; they institute a search which lasts 10 days.
N 454-492; V 416-450; O 433-468; H 397-432; R 529-583; G 58-94; K 483-520.

7. They wander for 30 days; the slave dies, and is buried. The lovers eventually pause. Marg. rests her head in Imb. 's lap. He decides to hunt and gives Marg. his amulet, wrapped in red cloth. Marg. puts it in her breast and sleeps. An eagle swoops down and snatches up the amulet, thinking it is meat; it flies off to perch on a rocky island. Imb. returns, cannot find the amulet but sees the bird with it in its beak; both he and Marg. pursue it until Imb. finds a boat and puts out to sea. He is swept away by a storm, until after 5 days pirates seize him. He is taken to Cairo and sold to the Sultan.
N 493-538; V 451-495; O 469-512; H 433-476; R 584-636; G 95-137; K 521-567.

5. Ferrier de la Corone, an aspirant for M.'s hand, comes to Naples. Jousts, the most splendid ever held in the city, are given in connection with his visit. P. distinguishes himself in bravery and courtesy, and finally defeats Ferrier. M. watches with secret support. P. receives much honour, though still without breaking his anonymity. The opponent whom P. wounded grievously is rapidly healed (pp. 37-45).

6. P. wishes to visit his parents ; M. will not remain without him, as her father has plans to marry her off. They have therefore to leave secretly. They depart taking gold and food for the journey (pp. 45-49). Their absence is discovered by the nurse. M.'s parents are furious and a search is instituted, which takes the parties 10, 15 and 20 days (pp. 51-53).

7. At the end of the first day's wandering P. and M. rest in a wood ; M. rests her head in P.'s lap (p. 50). As she sleeps P. contemplates her beauty and unfastens her bodice. There he finds his three rings wrapped in red cloth. He lays them on the rock behind him and continues to gaze on M.'s beauty. A bird swoops down, seizes the rings which it thought were meat, and flies off. P. puts his coat beneath M.'s head and rushes in pursuit, flinging stones. The bird perches on a rock in the sea ; P. hurls stones at it until it drops the rings in the sea and flies away. P. finds a boat and puts out to sea, but is swept away by a storm. He reflects bitterly on his folly. Pirates seize him (pp. 53-8). They take him to Alexandria, where he is sold to the Sultan to wait at table. At the end of the year he had learnt Greek and Moorish and was treated kindly by the Sultan. His thoughts were always of M. (pp. 58-60).

8. Marg. wanders until she comes to a monastery, where she is welcomed. She changes her garments for a nun's habit and though the nuns press her to stay, she wishes to go to Provence, the home of Imb.
N 539-557 ; V 496-515 ; O 513-532 ; H 477-494 ; R 637-657 ; G 138-155 ; K 568-586.

9. Marg. reaches Provence ; she obtains permission from the King (without revealing her identity) to found a monastery in a suitable place that she has discovered. The monastery is built on the sea-shore by the harbour.
N 558-568 ; V 516-525 ; O 533-542 ; H 495-505 ; R 658-667 ; G 156-166 ; K 587-598.

10. A fish had eaten the amulet as it was dropped by the eagle ; it is caught by some fishermen who present it to the monastery as it is so splendid. As the nuns are preparing it they find the amulet and give it to Marg., their abbess. She mourns bitterly at this sign of Imb.'s death.
N 569-592 ; V 526-548 ; O 543-566 ; H 506-526 ; R 668-695 ; G 167-187 ; K 599-622.

11. Imb. is sent first to the Sultans' stable, but then made to wait at his table. He rapidly becomes favoured and acquires a position of authority ; he still longs to find Marg. He therefore fills 3 barrels with treasure and conceals it with salt, after he has found a ship (R : he tells the captain the barrels are for a monastery of which he has heard). He spends 7 years (GHR : 3) in the land of the Saracens, and learns the language. Ultimately he boards the ship, taking his clothing with him, and sets off without the Sultan's knowledge. After 12 days (in NVO ; GHR : 14), he comes to an island where he goes ashore to rest awhile. There he falls asleep, thinking of Marg. He cannot be found when the ship comes to leave, and so is abandoned. The ship continues to Provence where, after discussion, the captain gives the clothes and barrels to Marg. The nuns are distressed to learn of the stranger's fate. Marg. discovers the treasure hidden beneath the salt and uses it to enlarge the hospital.
N 593-678 ; V 549-636 ; O 567-653 ; H 527-606 ; R 696-803 ; G 188-272 ; K 623-709.

8. M. awakes to find P. gone. She reproaches him bitterly for deserting her, though when she finds the horses she realizes he had not left her willingly. She passes the night in a tree (pp. 60-64). Next day she persuades a pilgrim to change clothes with her, and gradually journeys to Rome. There she goes to pray in St. Peter's, avoiding her uncle, and waits in a hospital for the poor (pp. 64-7). She decides to make for Provence and travels by Genoa and Aigues-Mortes (pp. 67-8).

9. At Aigues-Mortes, M. is sheltered by a poor woman; she learns of P.'s family and of P.'s abrupt disappearance. She builds a hospital with 3 beds and a chapel at Port Sarrasin. The Count and Countess come to hear of her sanctity, visit her and tell her of the sad loss of their son (pp. 69-72).

10. A splendid fish is caught and presented to the Countess. Her cooks discover a package inside, which, when the Countess opens it, reveals the 3 rings she has given P. She assumes that this indicates P. is dead and mourns bitterly, as does the Count. Shortly after, she visits M. and tells her of the fish and shows her the rings. M. recognizes them and mourns for P. also, in secret (pp. 72-6).

11. P. still longs for M.; he asks the Sultan for leave to visit his parents. This is granted, though the Sultan wishes him to return. He is given a pass, and much treasure. He goes to Alexandria where he finds a ship. He stores the treasure in 14 barrels, concealing the contents with salt. He loads this and his clothes on a boat from Provence, telling the captain that it was bound for a certain hospital. The captain remarks that it is unnecessary to take salt to Provence. They arrive at the island of Sangona (pp. 77-80). Pierre goes ashore but falls asleep, and is thus abandoned when he cannot be found. The boat comes to Port Sarrasin and hands the barrels over to M. after a discussion among the crew. M. finds the treasure and uses it to enlarge the hospital, which the Count and Countess continue to visit (pp. 80-85).

12. a) After many days of patient waiting Imb. sees a ship and attracts its attention, though he is unable to speak. He is taken straight to Provence and put into the hospital, where the nuns take great pity on him. The Queen comes to admire the building but fails to recognize her son. Imb. fails to recognize Marg. because of her habit, and she him because of his weakness.

b) Marg. is so sorry for Imb. that she asks his story. Imb. describes all that has befallen him, adding that the King is his father but that he still wants secrecy because of his search for Marg.

c) Marg. faints for joy and is roused by the nuns to whom she explains the situation. She produces the amulet found in the fish. Amid great rejoicing Marg. tells the King and Queen ; Imb. is taken to the palace and re-united with his parents to the joy of all. Imb. and Marg. are married again (omitted in R), and rule for many years.

a) N 679-718 ; V 637-674 ; O 654-692 ; H 607-643 ; R 804-851 ; G 273-313 ; K 710-749.

b) N 719-804 ; V 675-761 ; O 693-781 ; R 852-968 ; G 314-394 ; (H) ; K 750-837.

c) N 805-858 ; V 762-817 ; O 782-802 ; R 969-1046 ; (GH) ; K 838-893.

12. P. spends four days on the island until he is rescued by fishermen and taken to a hospital in Trapana (pp. 86-8). When he has recovered sufficiently he finds a boat from Provence, and goes on board. He hears talk of the hospital of St. Pierre de Maguelonne, names which attract his attention. He vows not to reveal himself for one month to his parents, but to spend the time in the hospital, hoping to recover and hear news of M. The sailors encourage him as he is not yet fully recovered (pp. 88-90). M. receives him, though neither recognizes the other. His sighs attract her attention and he tells her his history. M. puts on her royal robes and reveals her identity to P. (pp. 91-96). After his month's vow is up, the Count and Countess are told of their son's return. A feast is held to celebrate the occasion, at which M. reveals her identity to the Count and Countess. P. and M. are married amid great rejoicing; they become rulers of Provence in succession to P.'s parents (pp. 97-104).

It is apparent from this analysis that, although the Greek poem and the longer French novel are telling what is recognizably the same story, there are some striking divergencies. Some are on a small scale and have little effect on the working of the plot, though they can be significant, as will appear later, for the process which brought the poem into being; others, which are much larger, do materially change the structure, and to a certain extent the tone of the story. It should be remembered always that the Greek reads as though it were a breathless summary of the more leisurely and infinitely more sophisticated French tale.

The first major variant concerns the childhood of the hero. Pierre's infancy and childhood and boyhood (§ 2) are barely mentioned: we are merely told who his parents were before plunging into his first adolescent adventures in the joust. In the case of Imberios, the manuscripts are unanimous in describing his parents' prolonged childlessness, the care taken to rear and educate the child, and then of his taste for jousting (§ 2).

Next, the amulet given Imberios by his mother (§ 2c), though different from the three rings given to Pierre, has

a very similar implication at the time of presentation : they are expressions of maternal affection and solicitude. But whereas in *Pierre* the rings are handily available for presentation to his beloved, the amulet is not so obviously appropriate : hence, presumably, the confusion in *Imberios* at the point where NVO awkwardly introduce the ring exchange (§ 4a), while it is ignored in HR. In fact in NVO it is inserted into the middle of a conversation between Margarona and her father, abruptly cutting the sequence of dialogue. O has other variants of its own. Margarona's interest in Imberios at the tournament is completely unmotivated in GHR, for she has never previously set eyes on him. This does not explain why the rings should be transmuted into an amulet in the first place (nor have we an explanation to offer), especially as rings are used in *Phlorios* with similar protective properties (expressed in similar terms) (1). R, with its reference to a prominent ring worn by Margarona at the tournament might be harking back to the use of rings in the French, although R has omitted all mention of the rings to this point. The subsequent history of the rings, or amulet, is so different in detail in the two languages that it is easier to sum up the points in which they are similar than list differences. However the basic structure of the episode is retained : thus the Greek poet is aware that a precious object wrapped in red is snatched from the heroine's bosom, after she had rested her head in the hero's lap ; the eagle is pursued but drops the objects into the sea ; it is swallowed by a fish which is caught and whose stomach contents are ultimately revealed to the heroine. The different versions can be compared in § 7 and § 10 above. Thus the salient features are repeated in the Greek, although the interconnection has been blurred. The question of the marriage of hero and heroine also demonstrates the divergences between the two versions. Margarona is first introduced (in all the Greek MSS) discussing with

(1) *Phlorios*, 1193-1201 (ed. E. Kriaras), *Imberios* 229-235 (K) ; this passage has been discussed by E. KRIARAS, in *Die zeitliche Einreihung des 'Phlorios und Platzia-Phlora'-Romans im Hinblick auf den 'Imberios und Margarona'-Roman* in *Akten d. 11. Int. Byz. Kong. 1958*, pp. 270-272.

her father the business of her marriage : Maguelonne's projected marriage is only mentioned briefly by Maguelonne herself as an additional factor compelling her secret departure with Pierre. The elaborate marriage ceremonies of *Imberios* after which the hero is officially recognized as heir to the Kingdom of Naples make nonsense of the secret departure for Provence, upon which he insists with a somewhat feeble excuse (§ 6) ; the secrecy is perfectly logical in *Pierre* as the betrothal between hero and heroine is unofficial. The complications that ensue in *Imberios* can be seen at the end where plainly the need is felt to represent the marriage that is found in the French. Of the Greek manuscripts extant at this point, in V the ceremony becomes *ἑτέρους γάμους*, N mentions *γάμους* in an unmetrical line, while R ignores the marriage altogether.

A further instance of the type of complication and divergence found in the Greek has a less drastic effect on the plot, but does nevertheless upset the balance of the story. When Imberios has been rescued from the island on which he was abandoned he is taken to Provence and ensconced, unrecognized, in Margarona's hospital (§ 12). The complications which in *Pierre* ensure the hero's anonymous arrival in Provence are carefully worked out and culminate in Pierre vowing a month's silence before revealing himself to his parents. This fact emerges crudely in *Imberios*, where the hero, at the end of his explanations to the unrecognized Margarona, asks for her silence as he wishes to continue his search for his beloved. The fact of the concealed identity has been preserved, but not the reasons for it. Here the Greek manuscripts, where they are extant, agree in the sequence of events, though GHR, like the French, note that as Imberios was loading the treasure, he intended it for a certain famous monastery ; it was in fac tMargarona's, though the Greek does not make it clear if Imberios knew this.

These are the points where the plot of the Greek poem diverges most markedly from the plot of the French novel. The translation is not literal. Though it is possible to point to parallels in individual episodes, one cannot find individual words and phrases which have been followed. In this, *Imberios* is unlike both *Phlorios* and *Πόλεμος*. In *Phlorios*, the

stanzas of the original Italian can be followed in the Greek text, with only slight alterations to the plot (1). In *Πόλεμος* the French *Roman de Troie* is followed line by line, and changes to its story are rare.

Perhaps we may pause here to speculate about the original from which *Imberios* was translated. As a general rule, the Greek text presents a compressed version of the French (N 860 lines, the longest unrhymed text, or 18 pages in Kriaras' edition ; R 1046 lines, where a certain amount of padding to contain the rhyme lines has been added ; while the French prose text covers 171 folios in the edition of 1480, and 104 pages in Biedermann's reprint). Most of the homilies and soliloquies (2) which are an important feature of the French are omitted. By contrast the account of the hero's childhood is expanded from the brief statement of the French to over 100 lines (in all the manuscripts extant for this passage). This may suggest that the Greek translator was following a form of *Pierre* that differed significantly from the one known today : we have mentioned already the uncertainties over the formation of *Pierre*, and the possibility of its early circulation in a different version (though it must be said that the later translations, e.g. Spanish of 1519, German of 1545 are remarkably faithful to the French printed text) (3). There appears to be little published information about manuscripts translations of *Pierre* which could pre-date the appearance of the French printed text. The English 15th century manuscript fragment, for example, while not so slavis has the printed translations, corresponds to the French text more closely than do the Greek manuscripts (4). But the theme of the hero's childhood is

(1) D. C. HESSELING, *Le roman de Phlorios et Platzia-Phlora*, Amsterdam, 1917, p. 14 ff.

(2) E.g. BIEDERMANN, p. 56 : Pierre in the boat ; p. 61 : Maguelonne after she had been deserted ; p. 86 : Pierre on the island.

(3) *Pierre* was translated in the 16th century into most European languages ; cf. A. COVILLE, *La vie intellectuelle*, p. 479. Where we have been able to check, the translations do not appear to deviate from the French text as violently as does the Greek.

(4) Ed. F. J. FURNIVALL, *Political, Religious and Love Poems*, London, EETS, 1903, 2nd ed., pp. 293-300 : *Peare of Provence and the fair Maguelone.*

one that seems to be peculiarly Greek (1) : the epic romance *Digenis Akritas* deals at great length with the parentage and education of Digenis. But more relevant to our purpose are the openings of the *Achilleis* and *Phlorios*. In the *Achilleis*, the hero's parents are childless to the point of estrangement when Achilles is born ; we are then told of his education in the arts of learning and war, and of his precocious delight in tournaments. *Phlorios* is a little more complex ; for it is the heroine's parents who are long childless, while it is the hero's education (shared admittedly by the heroine) which is described. In view of these parallels, it would seem surprising to find an earlier Provençal, Latin or Catalan version of *Pierre* which contained this element in language similar to that found in the Greek. H. Schreiner's suggestion of a Catalan original must remain a conjecture in the absence of a Catalan version : the names and possibly crypto-Catalan phrasing of N might be attributed simply to scribal distortion (2). Therefore, despite the uncertainty that surrounds the origins of *Pierre*, it is valid to use the French form of the novel, which seems to be the basis of the available European versions, as a standard for comparison with the Greek.

We have been talking of the similarity in treatment of the hero's childhood in *Imberios*, *Phlorios*, and the *Achilleis*.

(1) In this particular form at least ; other European epics admittedly also treat of their hero's family : e.g. CLIGÉS, *El Cid*.

(2) The only Catalan version of *Pierre* which seems to exist is translated from the Spanish after 1519 (and is therefore both too late to be relevant for the Greek text and also virtually identical with the French). The sentence in N which Schreiner cites as an example of Catalan could possibly be Provençal instead, as could be the names he suggests. We are very grateful to Professor A. H. Terry for this information. Schreiner's hypothesis of a Catalan original for *Imberios* remains therefore an inconclusive idea. We have however a further shred of evidence to support it. The opening of *Paris et Vienne* (composed by Pierre de la Cypede in September 1432) states that it was translated from 'ung aultre livre, escript en langaige prouvensal, qui fut extraist d'ung aultre livre, escript en langaige cathalain' (ed. R. KALTENBACHER, *Der altfranzösische Roman Paris et Vienne*, Erlangen, 1904, p. 72). *Paris et Vienne* has close connections with *Pierre* and might well lead one to suppose a Catalan original for *Pierre* too.

More striking than this thematic similarity between the three poems (1) is the extent to which the very words of the poems are identical. A number of examples have been pointed out, notably by D. C. Hesseling (2) and H. Schreiner (3). Hesseling points out eleven passages of between one and three lines where the words in the *Achilleis* and *Imberios* are either identical or show a really striking similarity. He rejects the obvious solution that one poet has been directly influenced by the other. He adds a number of other passages where the *Achilleis* shows similarly convincing correspondences with several other Greek vernacular texts, and ends with this conclusion :

> Nous nous sommes contentés de comparer des vers entiers de l'*Achilléide* avec des passages correspondants de quelques autres poèmes du moyen âge ; si l'on voulait étendre la comparaison à des expressions détachées, on pourrait en citer un très grand nombre qui se rencontrent dans presque tous les romans en grec médiéval. Il ressort de tout cela que les poètes en langue populaire ont un style peu individuel, qu'ils se servent, pour m'exprimer comme M. Wartenberg, « des mêmes matériaux linguistiques », et que les ressemblances signalées ne nous autorisent pas à établir un rapport de dépendance (4).

In his discussion of *Belthandros and Chrysantza*, Hesseling went further :

> Nombreux sont les vers de facture populaire que les romans du genre de *Belthandros et Chrysantza* ont en commun, et qu'on retrouve dans les chansons du peuple d'aujourd'hui.

(1) Other such similarities are discussed by H. Schreiner, *Neue Quellen zur Komposition und Entstehungsgeschichte des mittelgriechischen Romans Imberios und Margarona* in *BZ*, 30 1929/30, pp. 121-130.

(2) D. C. Hesseling, *L'Achilléide Byzantine*, Amsterdam, 1919, p. 12.

(3) H. Schreiner, *Die zeitliche Aufeinanderfolge der im Cod. Vindob. Theol. Gr. 244 überlieferten Texte des Imberios, des Belisar und des Florios, und ihr Schreiber*, *BZ* 55, 1962, pp. 213-223.

(4) D. C. Hesseling, *L'Achilléide Byzantine*, p. 14.

> L'identité de ces vers ... a fait supposer une certaine confrérie des poètes, comparable, peut-être, aux rhapsodes des temps homériques (1).

Schreiner's explanation for the verbal parallels between *Phlorios* and *Imberios* is rather different. He shows that the two poems share a number of common lines, for example in passages describing magic rings. He insists that the common lines will provide information for assessing the sequence of composition (2). E. Kriaras similarly attempts to argue from this passage for a chronologically sequential relationship between the two (3). Schreiner extends this argument to include the versions of *Imberios*, *Phlorios* and *Belisarios* found in *Vindob. Theol. Gr.*, 244, and believes he can assign the order in which 'Demetrios', the scribe of the manuscript, produced them (4). The influence of the scribe has been paramount and has affected the material they share.

Of these two we find Hesseling the more persuasive. It would be reckless to follow him in his suggestion of a Homeric confraternity of oral poets — a suggestion which it is almost impossible to prove in the absence of a direct historical record of their activities — but the sheer number of common lines between these vernacular texts suggests that they are unlikely to have been the product of conventional literary composition.

We have made a study of *Imberios* searching for repetitions, both within the poem itself and between it and a selection of vernacular texts. The texts used were, *Callimachos and Chrysorrhoe* (*Call.*), *Belthandros and Chrysantza* (*Bel. and C.*), *Phlorios and Platzia-Phlora* (*Phl.*), two versions of the *Achilleis* (*Ach.* N and *Ach.* O), *Belisarius* (*Bel.*), the *Chronicle of the Morea* (*Chron.*) and the published portions of *Πόλεμος* (*Pol.*) (5). We have used Kriaras' text of *Imberios* as a basis,

(1) D. C. Hesseling, *Le Roman de Belthandros et Chrysantza*, *Neophilologus* 23, 1938, p. 378.

(2) H. Schreiner, *Der älteste Imberiostext*, p. 560, p. 562.

(3) E. Kriaras, *Die zeitliche Einreihung*, p. 272.

(4) H. Schreiner, *Die zeitliche Aufeinanderfolge*, p. 222.

(5) Editions: *Call.* M. Pichard, *Le Roman de Callimaque et de Chrysorrhoé*, Paris, 1956: *Bel. and C.* E. Kriaras, *Βυζαντινὰ Ἱπποτικὰ*

although it is a conflation from the different manuscripts, for several reasons ; in the first place because, despite its faults, it is the most conveniently available edition for reference. Reference to transcriptions is infuriating and unverifiable, if the trancriptions are not generally available and do not correspond to the line-numberings of the published editions. Then, Kriaras' edition shows an obvious wish to include as many different lines of thought as possible : so far from cutting out any unusual ideas, Kriaras often prints successively lines from different manuscripts, which a more rigid and severe critic might treat as alternatives. Thus the diversity of his text probably means that it shows a less uniform and solid texture of repetitions than would a single manuscript. Finally there are reasons of space : the table which follows, if repeated 5 times for 5 manuscripts, would try the patience of its readers too much.

The repetitions tend to be thickest at the points which Hesseling and Schreiner have mentioned — that is, during the hero's youth and during his father's homily at his departure from home. We have chosen p. 217 from Kriaras' text — an intermediate passage containing only one of Hesseling's examples, line 104. In spite of some care we have taken in the search, especially in the second half of the line, other examples of repetitions probably exist. Other examples of similar phrases do certainly exist of shorter length than we have included : our criterion of acceptance has been a convincing similarity over at least half a line. This table does not have the same purpose as those produced by e.g. Parry and Lord as evidence for the oral-formulaic texture of the poems with which they are dealing (1). Since no

Μυθιστορήματα, Athens, 1955, pp. 101-130 ; *Phl.* E. KRIARAS, *ibid.*, pp. 141-196 ; *Ach.N* D.C. HESSELING, *L'Achilléide Byzantine*, Amsterdam,1919 ; *Ach.O* C. SATHAS in *Annuaire pour l'encouragement des études grecques*, XIII, 1879, pp. 126-175 ; *Bel.* R. CANTARELLA, La *Διήγησις ὡραιοτάτη τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ ἐκείνου τοῦ λεγομένου Βελισαρίου*, *Studi byzantini e neoellenici* 4, 1935, pp. 155-172. *Chron.* J. SCHMITT, *The Chronicle of the Morea*, London, 1904 ; *Pol.* D. I. MAVROPHRYDES, *Ἐκλογὴ μνημείων τῆς Νεωτέρας Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης* Athens, 1866, pp. 183-211.

(1) See A. PARRY (ed.), *The Making of Homeric Verse; The Collected Papers of Milman Parry*, Oxford, 1971 ; A. B. LORD, *The Singer of Tales*, Harvard, 1960, *passim.*

competitive percentages are being adduced, it seemed an unnecessary waste of space to print the words for which we can find no parallels elsewhere — as well as a likely reason for a loss of clarity.

93. *ὅλοι δειλιάζουν τρέμουσιν κοντάριν τοῦ παιδίου* NVO
(cf. *ὅλοι δειλιάζουν τρέμουσιν κοντάριν τοῦ 'Αλαμάνου Imb.* 359).

94. *εἷς καβαλλάρης θαυμαστὸς ἦλθεν ἀπὸ ἄλλον τόπον* NVH
(cf. *εἷς καβαλλάρης ἔφθασεν ἦλθεν ἀπ' ἄλλον τόπον Phl.* 616).

97. *εὑρίσκει ἐκ τὰ φουσσάτα του καὶ ἐκ τὰς παραταγάς του* NVH(O)
(cf. *νὰ ἐπάρω ἐκ τὰ φουσσάτα σου καὶ ἐκ τὰς παραταγάς σου Ach.N* 164 ; *ἔβλεπαν τὰ φουσσάτα του καὶ τὰς παραταγάς του Imb.* 31 ; *ὅρισε τὰ φουσσάτα σου καὶ τὰς παραταγάς σου Imb.* 309 ; *νὰ τάξω τὰ φουσσάτα μου καὶ τὰς παραταγάς μου Ach.N* 413 ; *νὰ φτάσουν τὰ φουσάτα μου καὶ ἡ παραταγαῖς μου Ach.O* 219).

98. *πρῶτον κοντάριν θαυμαστόν φρικτὸν καὶ ἀνδρειωμένον* NVHO
(cf. *καὶ ἕναν κοντάρι θαυμαστόν, φρικτόν, ἀνδρειωμένον Imb.* 345 ; *τὸν μαῦρον του τὸν θαυμαστόν, φρικτὸν καὶ ἀνδρειωμένον Ach.N* 567).

101. *ἐστρώσασίν του τὸ φαρίν* NVOH
(cf. in 2nd half of line *νὰ στρώσῃ τὸ φαρίν του Imb.* 379 ;
νὰ στρώσῃ τὰ φαρία Imb. 507).
πηδᾷ, καβαλλικεύει
= *Imb.* 104 ; *Ach.N* 120, 568 ; *Phl.* 537, 1388 ; *Ach.O* 79 ; *Chron.* 4829, 5785. (Cf. *πηδοῦν, καβαλλικεύουν Ach.*N 356, 618, 1126, 1216, 1460 ; *Ach.O* 182, 404, 411 ; *Pol.* 452 ; *Chron.* 1060, 5146, 5313) (cf. *πηδοῦν, καβαλλικεύουσιν* in lst half of line *Ach.N* 1096, 1296, 1417 ; *Ach.O* 510, 608).

102. *λαμπροαρματωμένος* NVOH
(cf. *λαμπροαρματωμένον Imb.* 406).

103. ἠλλοιώθην ἡ μορφή του NO
(cf. ἠλλάγην ἡ μορφή του *Bel. and* €. 1266).

104. ἐσπάραξαν τὰ μέλη του VOH
(cf. ἐσπάραξαν τὰ μέλη της *Imb.* 402 ;
ἐσπάραζαν τὰ μέλη του *Ach.N* 119 ;
ἐσπάραξαν τὰ μέλην του *Ach.O* 78).
πηδᾷ, καβαλλικεύει
(See under line 101).

106. κουβέρταν χρυσοτσάπωτη O
= Imb. 385
(cf. κουβέρτα χρυσοκόκκινον *Ach.N* 348).
ἐσάγισεν τὸν μαῦρον ON
= *Ach.O* 178
(cf. ἐσάγισαν τὸν μαῦρον *Ach.N* 348).

107. καὶ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος ἄστραψεν ἀπάνου εἰς τὸ φαρίν του V(NO)
(cf. ἔστραπτεν ὡς ὁ ἥλιος ἐπάνω 'ς τὸ φαρίν του *Ach.O* 243).
ἀπάνου εἰς τὸ φαρίν του
(cf. ἀπάνω εἰς τὸ φαρίν του *Chron.* 5061 ; ἀπάνω εἰς τὰ φαριά τους *Chron.* 6540, 6890 ; ἀπάνω εἰς τὰ φαρία *Chron.* 1109 ; ἀπάνω ἐκ τὸ φαρίν του *Imb.* 128 ; ἀπάν' ἐκ τὸ φαρίν του *Ach.O* 283 ; ἀπάνω ἐκ τὰ φαριά τους *Chron* 4046).

109. δίχως βουλήν καὶ θέλημαν πατρός του καὶ μητρός του NVOH
(cf. δίχως βουλήν καὶ θέλημαν πατρός σου καὶ μητρός σου *Imb.* 492, *Ach.N* 1669).
πατρός του καὶ μητρός του.
= *Imb.* 486
(cf. πατρός μου καὶ μητρός μου *Imb.* 790 ; πατέραν καὶ μητέραν *Imb.* 240, 502, 740 ; *Ach.N* 288, 352, 1188 ;

πατέραν καὶ μητέραν του Bel. 446 in the 1st half of line; *πατέρας καὶ μητέρα μου Ach.N* 1268; *πατέρα καὶ μητέρα μου Ach.N* 1384; *πατέρας καὶ μητέρα τους Ach.N* 1513).

112. *πατέρας τοῦ Ἰμπέρη* NO(H)
(cf. *πατέρας τοῦ Ἰμπερίου Imb.* 122).

113. *κρυφά, σιγὰ καὶ ἀνόητα* NOH
(cf. *σιγὰ κρυφὰ καὶ ἀνόητα Imb.* 297, 508;
τότε σιγὰ καὶ ἀνόητα Imb. 115).
κανεὶς νὰ μὴν τὸ μάθῃ
= *Imb.* 247; *Ach.O* 656
(cf. *κανεὶς νὰ μὴ τὸ μάθην Ach. O* 238).

114. *μὴν τὸ μάθ' ὁ πατέρας του* OH(N)
(cf. *κι' ἂν τὸ μάθ' ὁ πατέρας σου Imb.* 490;
κι' ἂν τὸ μάθ' ὁ πατέρας μου Imb. 832).
καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐμποδίσῃ
(cf. *ἐμένα ἐμποδίσῃ Imb.* 180).

115. *τότε σιγὰ καὶ ἀνόητα* NOH
See under line 113.

117. *ἐπάνω του ἐκατέβηκεν μὲ φοβερὸν τὸ ἦθος* VOH
(cf. *ἀλλὰ ἐκατέβη ἀπάνω του ὡς φοβερὸς τὸ ἦθος Ach.N* 1523).

118. *ἐδώκασιν τὰ βούκινα καὶ ὅλα τὰ παιγνίδια* V
(cf. *ἐδώκασιν τὰ βούκινα καὶ τὰ παιγνίδια ὅλα Imb.* 412).
ἐδώκασιν τὰ βούκινα NVOH
= *Ach.N* 620; *Ach.O* 182, 404
(cf. *ἂς δώσουσιν τὰ βούκκινα Chron.* 6999).

119. *τρουμπέττες καὶ ἄλλα μουσικὰ ὄργανα τοῦ πολέμου* O
= *Imb.* 413.
ὄργανα τοῦ πολέμου
= *Bel.* 273.

120. τριγύρωθεν ἐστέκασιν λαὸς πολὺς νὰ βλέπῃ VO
(cf. τριγύρωθεν νὰ στέκεται λαὸς πολὺς νὰ βλέπῃ *Phl.* 548).

121. νὰ βλέπουσιν τὴν ταραχὴν τὸ τίς θέλει νικήσει NO
= *Imb.* 344, *Phl.* 637.

122. πατέρας τοῦ 'Ιμπερίου NVOH. See under line 112.

123. ὑπάγει εἰς τὴν ρέντανNV
(cf. ἐπῆγαν εἰς τὴν ρένταν *Imb.* 783 ; καὶ ὑπάσιν εἰς τὴν ρένταν *Ach.N* 1457).

125. ἐθέκαν τὰ κοντάρια τους καὶ οἱ δύο πρὸς τὴν μάχην NVOH
= *Imb.* 420
(cf. ἴσασιν τὰ κονδάρια τους οἱ δύο πρὸς τὴν μάχην *Phl.* 666).

126. καὶ πιλαλοῦν τὰ ἄλογα νὰ δώσουν κονταρέας NO
(cf. καὶ πιλαλοῦσιν τὰ φαριὰ νὰ δώσουν κονταρέας *Imb.* 415).
καὶ πιλαλοῦν τὰ ἄλογα
= *Imb.* 422
(cf. καὶ πιλαλοῦν τὰ ἱππάρια των *Phl.* 667).
νὰ δώσουν κονταρέας
= *Imb.* 311 ; *Chron.* 1123, 5034, 7047
(cf. νὰ δώσῃ κονδαρέας *Ach. O* 649 ; κ' ἐδῶκεν κονταρέαν *Chron.* 4020 ; κ' ἐδῶκαν κονταρέαν *Chron.* 5123 ; ἔδωκαν κονταρέας *Pol.* 456).

128. σύσσελλον τὸν ἀπέταξεν VH
(cf. σύσελλον τὸν ἐπέταξεν *Ach.N* 1499 ; καὶ σύσσελλον τὸν πέταξεν *Ach. O* 574).
ἀπάνω ἐκ τὸ φαρίν του See under line 107.

130. . *μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι* VH
= *Imb.* 242, 336, 883; *Phl.* 135, 409, 1840; *Bel.* 32, 176, 232, 350, 361, 495; *Pol.* 356; *Chron.* 906, 980, 1012, 1497, 2101, 2466, 2975, 2979, 3543, 4432, 5254, 5869, 6177, 6211, 7221, 7856, 7869, 8623.
(cf. *μικρά τε καὶ μεγάλα Imb.* 608; *μικρούς τε καὶ μεγάλους Call.* 674; *Chron.* 2018, 2311, 2407, 2895, 3720, 4333, 6169; *μικρών τε καὶ μεγάλων Bel. and C* 144; *Chron.* 8632, 8661).

132. *ἔμαθέν το ὁ πατέρας του* OHV
(cf. *ἔμαθέν το ὁ πατέρας της Imb.* 515).
πολλὰ τὸ ἐλυπήθην
(cf. *μεγάλως τὸ ἐλυπήθην Chron.* 459: line 459 in *Chron.* MS P is *πολλὰ τὸ ἐλυπήθην*).

133. *μέσον χαρᾶς καὶ θλίψεως ἐκείτετον ὁ νοῦς του* NVOH
(cf. *μέσον χαρᾶς καὶ θλίψεως νὰ κείτεται ὁ νοῦς του Phl.* 761; *μέσον χαρᾶς καὶ θλίψεως ἐκείτετον ὁ νοῦς μας Phl.* 1528).

135. *μετὰ πολλῆς ἀγάπης* V
= *Call.* 70, 1777; *Ach.O* 535.

136. *ψυχή μου καὶ ζωή μου* N
= *Ach.N* 1171, 1271, 1662; *Ach.O* 682.

138. *ὀπίσω μου ν' ἀφήσω* N
(cf. *καὶ ὀπίσω μου τ' ἀφῆκα Phl.* 1538).

139. *δίχως τὸ θέλημά μου* NVH
= *Imb.* 146.

142. *τὴν σὴν πικρὰν ὑστέρησιν πῶς νὰ τὴν ὑπομένω* H
(cf. *πῶς νὰ 'χω τὴν ὑστέρησιν πῶς νὰ τὴν ὑπομένω Imb.* 198).
πῶς νὰ τὴν ὑπομένω

(cf. *πῶς νὰ τὴν ὑπομένουν Imb.* 188 ; *πῶς νὰ τὸν ὑπομείνω Imb.* 201 ; *πῶς νὰ τὸ ὑπομένω Phl.* 1037, 1385.

143. *ἀτός μου μὲ τὰ χέρια μου* NVOH
(cf. *ἀτή μου μὲ τὰ χέρια μου Imb.* 456).

We hope that this list is enough to show that this group of poems is full of repetitions — that is, full of formulas and clichés. These occur both within the individual poem and between poems in the group. The first result of this list is to confirm Hesseling's words quoted above, which warn against the temptation to assume 'un rapport de dépendance' between poems with considerable verbal similarities. Where so much can be shown to be common — derived, presumably, from some sort of common stock of formulas — there seems to be considerable danger in assuming contact between poems where there are large areas of similar material. Where half-lines, single lines and pairs of lines can be used with so much freedom in poem after poem, even the close parallels found by Schreiner and Kriaras between *Phlorios* and *Imberios* may not prove significant inter-relationships between the poets or scribes. What part of these poems is more likely to be conventional and traditional in wording than a homily given by father to son on the son's departure into the world, or the details of a magic ring?

But in talking of the formulaic and traditional nature of this poetry we are straying into a field which has been much discussed in connection with several literary traditions and several other languages. The techniques of oral poetry, first defined formally by Milman Parry in the years around 1930 and since examined by large numbers of scholars, including some work in Mediaeval and Modern Greek (1), would

(1) For Milman Parry see A. PARRY, *op. cit.*; see also J. A. NOTOPOULOS, *Homer and Cretan Heroic Poetry : a study in comparative oral poetry* in *American Journal of Philology*, LXXIII, 1952, pp. 225-250 and *Studies in Early Greek Oral Poetry* in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 68, 1964, pp. 1-77 ; and D. A. PETROPOULOS, *Τοῦ Δασκαλογιάννη τὰ τραγούδια*, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά* 8, 1954, *σελ.* 227-37 ; *οἱ ποιητάρηδες στὴν Κρήτη καὶ στὴν Κύπρο*, *Λαογραφία* 5, 1953, *σελ.* 374-400.

certainly tend to produce repetitions and clichés of the type shown in the lists above. But as we have already said, it is foolhardy to try to prove without direct historical confirmation the existence of singers of the type on which Hesseling seems to speculate. Work is in progress on an attempt to define the influence of oral poetry on works written in early demotic Greek, but its results will have to be supported by much more rigorous argumentation and much more detailed statistics and lists of examples than are possible here. We are at present concerned to state a minimum position, which we hope will be of use in the study of *Imberios*.

A. C. Baugh has presented several analyses of Middle English verse romances to which reference will be made at some length in the following paragraphs (1). In the first of these he takes a group of Middle English romances and analyses them for formulaic and thematic repetitions (2). He discovers that these are present 'to a degree fully as great as in the Greek Epic and the French chanson de geste'. Thus, he continues, the first reaction is to place them at the side of the *Iliad* and the *Chanson de Guillaume* as oral poems created afresh by their poets at the moment of recitation, just as has been studied in modern oral situations like that of Yugoslavia. But a careful examination of the Middle English romances shows that a number of them are close translations of French originals, whose relationship is manifestly much closer than is that of *Imberios* to its original.

(1) A. C. Baugh, *Improvisation in the Middle English Romance* in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 103, 1959, pp. 418-454; *The Middle English Romance: Some Questions of Creation, Presentation and Preservation*, in *Speculum*, 42, 1967, pp. 1-31.

(2) The best definition of a formula is Parry's 'une expression qui est régulièrement employée, dans les mêmes conditions métriques, pour exprimer une idée essentielle', *L'Épithète traditionnelle dans Homère*, Paris, 1928, p. 16. The only way to study formulas is to collect repetitions and examine the metrical conditions in which they are used, the degree of regularity of use, and the idea expressed. A theme has been defined as 'a recurrent element of narration or description in traditional oral poetry', A. B. Lord, *Composition by theme in Homer and Southslavic Epos*, in *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXXXII, 1951, p. 72.

Equally, the English works often refer to themselves as 'books' and talk about poets 'writing' them. Thus it is very difficult to believe that they are oral poems in the rigorous sense of the word. Baugh's solution to the problem is to say that improvisation has had a share in the publication of texts by singers and reciters, who can be called minstrels, for want of a less loaded technical term. The texts were translated by a man of some learning — perhaps a cleric — but not disseminated by the regular processes of book production. They became the property of minstrels, who would either read from a prompt copy or recite them by heart. The effect of this process on the text is interesting. Baugh's clearest statement is the following :

> To a minstrel, verbal accuracy is not important so long as he keeps the meter. He is not reciting Shakespeare. He is telling a story. Even if his memory is a good one, he may have occasional lapses, be forced to improvise, may drop out a couplet or a stanza, may substitute a familiar rime-tag or formula without even being aware of it, may alter a particular passage through equally unconscious contamination with a similar incident in some other romance which he is accustomed to recite, may insert at times a couplet or whole passage if it is part of his general stock of conventional descriptions and incidents, commonplace lines and phrases. Of course, he is corrupting the text, but that is a modern notion. The important thing for him is to keep going (1).

He continues by explaining the limitations of textual critics who approached the edition of these romances on lines more appropriate to the edition of classical texts. All errors are traditionally assumed to be scribal. But if the scribe is responsible for all the changes in these texts, he is not making errors, he is acting as a separate poet who throughout the romance which he is copying feels the need to change and improve words and even whole lines. It is especially difficult to understand the tradition from this point of view when one

(1) A. C. BAUGH, *The Middle English Romance*, p. 29.

discovers that 'many of these "improvements" consist in substituting banalities, clichés and rime-tags for something which as other manuscripts show was already better expressed' (1). Somehow then, by a process which Baugh tries to imagine, our surviving manuscripts have been through this treatment, and the result is a group of texts, each of which is dependent on the original written version, but has been stored in the mind of a separate 'minstrel' and changed by the deficiencies of his memory and by the other contents of that memory into a different version. From these different versions the critic must seek the original.

Far more Middle English romances survive than their early demotic Greek equivalents. From this enormous field of study Baugh is able to draw a good deal of confirmation for his views. How far are we justified in assuming that the position in the comparatively sparse field of Greek resembles that in English? Let us list the similarities. The two literatures share a chaotic textual tradition which is all but impossible to explain by scribal changes. The subject matter in both traditions is similar — knightly deeds in a context which is often antique or chivalrous or both. They share a fondness for translations from the French. The surviving texts in both languages contain large numbers of formulaic expressions. We are making a suggestion only, and not offering proof, but the similarities between the two situations seem to be illuminating.

The equation we are making is not a startling one, but it does raise a number of questions which we do not propose to answer here. Among the most difficult is the identification of suitable people in Mediaeval Greek society to be the carriers of these texts, the 'minstrels' of Baugh's description. Perhaps the most satisfactory answer that can be given here, though it must be received with the eye of imagination rather than that of scholarship, is provided by two of the poems themselves :

(1) A. C. Baugh, *ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

Δεῦτε προσκαρτερήσατε μικρόν, ὦ νέοι πάντες (*Bel. and Ch.* 1)

and :

κὶ ἂν ἔχῃς ὄρεξιν νὰ ἀκούσῃς πράξες καλῶν στρατιώτων,
νὰ μάθῃς καὶ παιδεύεσαι, ἃ λάχῃ νὰ προκόψῃς.
εἰ μὲν ἐξεύρεις γράμματα, πίασε ν' ἀναγινώσκῃς,
εἰ τε εἶσαι πάλι ἀγράμματος, κάθου σιμά μου, ἀκφράζου.
(*Chron.* 1349-52).

The thorough application of Baugh's methods and conclusions to Mediaeval Greek poetry would be an enormous task. To carry full conviction, they must be applied to the whole range of texts, and not just one short poem. Perhaps the task is impossible to complete satisfactorily whilst some of those texts remain unedited. Such an attempt is certainly beyond our purposes. But arguing from one poem only, and building our case on foundations which we fully realize are makeshift, we are willing to trust our own conclusions thus far : the theories set out by Baugh for Middle English seem to us far more credible than any others we have found expressed as explanations for the textual tradition of *Imberios*, and of other similar poems. Let us take as our working hypothesis that *Imberios* was translated into Greek, perhaps from memory, and written down ; the language of the translation was probably already in the repetitious and formulaic style favoured by 'minstrels' to assist their memories ; it was then learned by heart by the 'minstrels' for performance — probably the only way for poems to reach the popular audiences for which they were plainly intended. Our manuscripts have been formed from these memorised versions, and their complex inter-relationships and irreconcilable differences arise from the inadequacy of the 'minstrels' memories.

This hypothesis must now be put into action. By using the tools put into our hands by Baugh, we hope to clarify the problem, and at the same time to support the validity of the tools themselves. Can we find detailed signs in the texts of the processes he describes ?

The table of repetitions printed earlier gives many examples of the clichés on which Baugh bases much of his argument. But that was based on Kriaras' text. What of the differences

between the manuscripts? We have taken, more or less at random, the 5 consecutive lines of text that follow. We print them again from Kriaras' text, recording the variant manuscripts readings for each line (including R). It would have been easy to find other passages with more marked differences, but this seems to represent a fair average.

515. *ἔμαθέν το ὁ πατέρας της μετὰ καὶ τῆς μητρός της* (VOGH)
N *μανθάνει*; R *τῶμαθεν ὁ πατέρας της μετὰ καὶ τὴν μητέρα.*

516. *τρισχίλιους ἀπέστειλεν νὰ ὑπᾶσιν ὄπισθέν τους* (N)
O *ἔστειλε νὰ πᾶσιν*; VHG *ἀπέστειλαν καβαλλαρίους καὶ*; G *πᾶσιν*; R *ἀπέστειλαν καβαλλαρίους ξοπίσω τους κινοῦσιν.*

517. *καὶ δέκα ἡμέρας ἔλειπαν, ἀλλὰ οὐκ ηὕρασίν τους* (N)
καὶ om. OVGHR; O *ἐποῖκαν ἀ. ο. εὑρηκάν*; V *ποσῶς οὐδὲν τους εὕραν*; GH *ὁποῦ ἐπερπατοῦσαν*; R *δέκα ἡμέραις περπατοῦν διὰ νὰ τοὺς εὑροῦσιν.*

517*α*. GR *ἀλλὰ ποσῶς οὐκ εἶδαν τους οὐδὲ γι' αὐτοὺς ἀκοῦσιν*; H *ἀλλὰ ποσῶς οὐκ ηὕρηκάν τους.*

517*β*. R *ὀπίσω πάλιν γύρισαν τοῦ ρήγα νὰ τοῦ ποῦσιν*

518. *ἐβγάνουν κλάηματα πολλά, βρυχοῦνται ἀπὸ καρδίας* (VGH)
N *ἐβγάζουν κ. π. β. μοιρολόγι*; O *ἐβγάζουν κλαίματα πικρῶς, βρυχοῦν μοιρολογοῦσιν*; R *μεγάλας δὲ λαλίας.*

519. *ὁ ρήγας καὶ ἡ ρήγαινα ποσῶς οὐκ ὑπομένουν* (NO)
HV *ὁ πατήρ της καὶ ἡ μάννα της*; G *πατήρας καὶ ἡ μήτηρ της*; R *πατέρας καὶ μητέρα της βρυχοῦνται ἐκ καρδίας.*

It is very difficult to explain the textual tradition of these lines in purely scribal terms. The copyist of each manuscript seems to be relying on memory — memory of the sense and not of the exact words. A brief examination of these lines reveals

that the different wording of the manuscripts does not materially affect the sense ; in no case has a new idea been added ; even the additional line in GHR (517a) simply expands into 2 lines the information given by NVO in one. 517b, found in R alone, is a typical addition for the sake of rhyme in couplets. Such an examination also indicates the dangers of attempting a choice between the variants in preparing an edition. Apart from the obvious criteria of metrical irregularity (e.g. O 516) and implausibility of grammar or sense, how can one state categorically that the original version of 518 is the wording of N, or O, or VGH? or that *ρήγας* or *πάτηρ* is more likely in 519? Simple headcounting is not really a satisfactory principle. That Kriaras in producing his text has had to make a series of such choices demonstrates the quandary in which an editor finds himself.

Baugh discusses the substitution by 'minstrels' and scribes of clichés of their own for the wording of the version that was originally learnt (1). It is possible in the manuscripts of *Imberios* to find this process at work. Thus, to take a few examples : at K 49 *ἐχάρηκαν ἐνήδονα* (1st half), where all the manuscripts conflict, V has resolved part of the problem with the cliché *εἶχαν χαρὰν ἀνέκφραστον* (cf. *Ach. N* 1425, and K 471 where all the manuscripts agree with *νὰ εἶδες χαρὰν ἀνέκφραστον* ; at K 339 all except H agree with the same phrase). At K 59, N is alone in inserting a line which is an obvious filler *μετὰ δὲ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τῶν ἡμέρων ἐκείνων* (cf. *Ach.N* 1759 ; and *Ach.N* 679 with *παρέλευσιν* for *συμπλήρωσιν*). At K 60, while VH use *ὁρίζει δὲ ταῖς βαγίαις* NO agree in using *ὁρίζει ὁ ρήγας ὁ φρικτὸς* (which Kriaras prints), which is found again at K 408 (in OH) and K 327 (all manuscripts). At K 508, ONH agree with *τινὰς μὴν τὸ νοήσῃ* (printed by Kriaras), while V has *κανεὶς νὰ μὴν τὸ μάθῃ* which is also found at K 113 (NOH), K 247 (V), *Ach.O* 656 and *Ach.O* 238 (see earlier list) ; at K 106 (K *ἐσάγισεν*) NO agree with *ἐσάγισαν τὸν μαῦρον* ; H has a variant *ὡς ἥλιος ἀστράπτει* which represents the 1st half of the next line, while V has *πηδᾷ καβαλλικεύει* (for other instances see earlier list), which is not only

(1) A. C. BAUGH, *The Middle English Romance*, p. 29.

a frequently found repetition in itself but has already been used twice in the preceeding 5 lines. From V again, at K 82 (VO), one finds another instance of a commonplace replacing an acceptable phrase on which the other manuscripts agree ; for *χιόνιν προσομιάζει* (NOH), V writes *δμίως τοῦ κρουστάλλου*, a case where although we have no examples with which to back our statement, the nature of the phrase is enough to justify the assumption that it is a cliché. From O come two neat instances of line filling through clichés ; between K 283-4 O is alone in writing *νὰ τιμηθῇς νὰ δοξασθῇς, παιδί μου εἰς τὸν κόσμον* which, by a stretch of the imagination can be made to yield sense in that context ; the 1st half however has been used already 3 lines previously (at K 280, O 250) ; the scribe of O has therefore begun a line falsely, but rather than alter it has filled in with a vocative and cliché (some 40 examples of *εἰς τὸν κόσμον* in this position can be found in our sample poems). This we would interpret as the reaction of a man working in a oral tradition who 'keeps going', covering up for his errors rather than crossing them out. Again at K 127-8, O agrees with NV (and approximately with H) for the 1st half of the line, but where the other manuscripts continue : *κρούει τὸν εἰς τὸ στῆθος* O has *κρουεὶ τὸν κονταρέαν ἀπάνου εἰς τὸ στῆθος του* before continuing correctly with the 1st half of the next line ; *κρούει τὸν κονταρέαν* occurs also at *Ach.O* 282 ; *Ach.N* 555, 1474, 1494. Here O has completed the fifteen-syllable line with a cliché introduced by mistake, for *κονταρέαν* follows *κρούει* nearly as surely as *μεγάλοι* follows *μικροί* ; the scribe corrected himself by interjecting a correct octosyllable first half line, which cannot have satisfied the eye on the page, but may have been less jarring to the ear. It should also be noted that in the example quoted above, at 519 R substitutes *πατέρας καὶ μητέρα της* for the less common *ὁ ρήγας καὶ ἡ ρήγαινα*. Thus R, which must have been consciously and purposefully rhymed, also uses clichés.

It must be emphasized that we have here chosen a few examples from a random selection of passages from the poem. A further extension of this list would turn into a discussion of all the textual cruces of the poem, and thus into an edition. We are merely trying to establish the way

in which many of the most puzzling complications came about and, as we are not here attempting an edition, we hope the list is adequate. We are not claiming that the process of oral transmission is responsible for all the differences between our manuscripts ; it is very difficult to establish criteria to distinguish between a manuscript written down from dictation or from memory and a conventional scribal copy. Most of the scribal errors in a loose tradition like this could have occurred equally well through the confusion of the ear and the oral memory as from the eye and the visual memory ; this would be particularly the case in a culture where reading was hardly ever silent.

By a logical extension the process of variation which we have demonstrated at work with phrases of very similar meaning extends to produce differences of content and can even slightly affect the plot. This is particularly apparent when numbers are involved in the story. Thus, as we noted in the analysis, Imberios' years of wandering are 7, or an endless time (H), or a few months (R ; at K 251), whereas Pierre rides directly to Naples (p. 7) ; Imberios is adrift for 5 days in the boat (3 in R ; at K 560) while searching for the amulet, but only 1 morning in the French (p. 58) ; he spends 7 years (3 in R ; at K 646) in slavery, while in the French the number is unspecified, but is clearly more than 1 (p. 77). Imberios fills 3 barrels (in all versions ; at K 639) with salt, and not 14 as in the French (p. 80) ; he spends 12 days (14 in R ; at K 650) sailing to the island where he is accidentally abandoned, against an indeterminate time in the French (p. 81). The French texts, and the translations derived from the printed French editions, seem to present an unaminous version at these points, in contrast with the discrepancies of the Greek.

Before continuing, however, there is one further piece of evidence which must be mentioned, though its significance is not clear. The fragment of an English *Pierre* survives in one manuscript of the fifteenth century (1). Its temporal connection with the French romance is not clear, but it may well antedate

(1) See earlier, p. 138 and note 4.

the printed texts. It differs markedly from what appears to be the 'received version' of *Pierre*, but also agrees with some, though not all of the discrepant features of the Greek accounts. The most obvious of the variants where English and Greek agree is that Peare takes 3 barrels of salt-concealed treasure away with him, with the permission of the Sultan, to equal the 3 years he spent in slavery in the Sultan's service. Amongst other details, Peare takes 14 days to reach the island where he is abandoned. Unfortunately the English fragment is very brief, but enough is extant to show that the Greek version does not follow this any more closely than the other texts. Margarona's actions on arriving in Provence correspond neither to those described in the French or in the English text. Perhaps the most one can say is that the form of *Pierre* available to the Greek translator was closer to the English than to the French in certain details. (We mentioned earlier the difficulties over the original language of *Pierre*). We would hasten to point out that we are not proposing that the source used for *Imberios* was written in English ; the English text seems to us a further example of the operation of a faulty memory. Whether the English and Greek are derived from a lost Provençal (Latin or Catalan) version, or whether they are both inadequate versions of the French, it is impossible to say.

Numbers are not the only details over which the Greek manuscripts differ. Thus, N O comment some what critically on the King of Provence, both for his attitude towards worldly possessions *ὅλα ὡς ἀράχνην ἔβλεπεν* (K 20-21), and his purchasing of knights (at K 25-6). V is silent over these aspects, but NOV all agree on the knightly prowess of the King. NO (at K 33-38) are more expansive than V in praise of Imberios' mother ; in NO (at K 65-66), but not V, the King promises to make Imberios' nurses into ladies (*ἀρχόντισσας*). When Imberios is educated, V gives a short list of 2 names of the authors he has read ; NO lengthens it (at K 74-75), while R 73-6 expands it still further (1). V alone omits the fact that

(1) Various implications have been attributed to these lines ; see K. MITSAKIS, *Palamedes*, *BZ*, 59, 1966, pp. 5-7 ; E. M. JEFFREYS,

Imberios sulked in his room when his father reproved him for rashness (at K 155). When Margarona is described on her first appearance in the story, H (at K 265-8) omits the passage, while VN concur in their statements and O diverges. Again V omits the long passage (K 377-404) dealing with Imberios' splendour as he prepares his horse and rides out to tourney; though V's reading makes sense, the transition at K 377 is sufficiently abrupt to give rise to the suspicion that the variant could be due to a page missing in an exemplar as much as to a genuine alternative interpretation. At R 510, the marriage ceremony is given at far greater length than in any of the other accounts, and again at R 532, Imberios' speech to Margarona explaining why he wishes to return to Provence is expanded. HG alone (at K 509) says that Margarona regarded the goods she and Imberios took with them as part of her dowry. R 675 specifies against all the rest that the fish that swallowed the amulet was a λοφής. As we have mentioned before, HGR (at K 636) give point to Imberios' departure from Egypt and directions to the ship's captain, for he is aware of Margarona's monastery, though it is not clear whether he is supposed to connect it with Margarona. Similarly, at the final reunion Imberios and Margarona are married a second time, according to V (at K 889). R however omits all reference to this (at R 1037), while N has a reference to γάμους, but in an unmetrical line.

This last example is something of an exception. The reason for diversity here seems to be a difference of sensitivity to the changed situation in the Greek tradition caused by the introduction of an earlier marriage in Naples. The rest of the items on this list, though they may seem at first sight like changes in plot, or in the author's attitude to the story's characters, are all explicable in Baugh's terms. Additions, omissions and minor alterations alike seem much more likely to be the result of a faulty memory than of inefficiency in

Further notes on Palamedes, *BZ*, 61, 1968, pp. 251-253; P. SPECK, *Der Schriftsteller Palamedes*, in *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 18, 1969, pp. 89-93. But in view of the occurrence of other author-lists following the same pattern, it is surely unwise to press the cliché too hard for a hidden meaning.

the copying process. Thus far, Baugh's results seem applicable in this poem. We would suggest that wider research in the related texts would be profitable.

This study began as an enquiry into methods of edition, and we must end by giving our conclusions on this point. *Imberios* is a translation from a Western European original : but much of the poem, especially the section on Imberios' childhood, is markedly Greek in flavour and cannot be an accurate translation from French, Provençal or Latin. Thus it is reasonable to assume that the Western original was not very different from the French printed text published by Biedermann. Since there must have been considerable changes during the translation process, we suggest that the translation was made from memory. Since the Greek MSS are very similar in their plots compared to the great gulf which separates them all from the French, we suggest that there can only have been one process of translation.

Thus there must have been one single original version to which we may aspire to attain. Unfortunately, again through the intervention of memory, that single version has been lost beyond all recovery. In the attempt to find the correct original version, the editor is forced to make numerous impossible decisions between forms of equal validity. Kriaras, in the production of his conflated text, has often made such decisions. As often, he has printed consecutively lines which are really alternatives. His text is readable, but its approximation to the original version is very much a matter of luck. The philologist cannot be satisfied by such a text, though it may be the best available for the modern reader. The only defensible course seems to us to admit defeat in the search for the original. One must print one of the manuscripts only, and indicate in the apparatus the readings of the others. This will leave open the impossible decisions about the readings of the original version (1).

(1) This is in effect the practice followed by D. C. HESSELING for the *Achilleis*, by D. C. HESSELING and H. PERNOT for the *Prodromic poems*, by J. SCHMITT for the *Chronicle of the Morea* and J. LAMBERT for *Libistros*.

In *Imberios* the manuscripts seem to fall into two groups. It is plain from the textual discussion in this study that there are regular differences between GHR and VNO; further study confirms this. The most convincing difference between the families comes in the passage about the ring exchange, which is ignored by (G)HR and inserted awkwardly in VNO. It will be argued in a forthcoming article that G at least, and possibly H also, are strongly influenced by a rhymed text very similar to R. Thus many of the differences between the two families derive from the changes and insertions made in R to enable that text to rhyme. G and H may be of value in dealing with VNO, but care must be taken to disregard any of their variants attributable to the rhymed text. This family is excluded from possible choice as the text of the edition.

Of the remaining manuscripts, O is appallingly written and pelt, with a number of small lacunae. Often it is so incoherent that the meaning canonly be recovered by comparison with V and N. Between these last two the choice is more difficult. V has more lacunae at the beginning in comparison with all the other manuscripts, and gives us an impression, difficult to substantiate, that it has been changed by its scribe to fit his own linguistic prejudices. N seems to us, as to Schreiner, the oldest and the most authentic version, though it is certainly not without obvious errors. We would print N, with a minimum of necessary corrections, and record in the apparatus all variants from V and O. Variants from R we would ignore. Variants from G and H we would certainly record at points where they seem unaffected by R. Where their variants are derived from R, they should either be ignored, or clearly marked as insignificant.

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THE UNIVERSITY : ORIGIN AND EARLY PHASES IN CONSTANTINOPLE

The institution of learning, the University as we know it today (1), is the result of a long evolution. This development, which began in Antiquity, was given meaning and its earlier contours in the Middle Ages, but its ultimate form was crystalized in modern times in western Europe after the eighteenth century. Its beginnings however and its earliest formulations took place in the eastern portion of the Roman Empire, the later Byzantium, or more precisely in Constantinople. Historians and other scholars have hitherto begun their study of University beginnings with the twelfth, or thirteen century A.D. overlooking on the one hand developments in Byzantium and on the other point — to the Carolingian Age as having "... laid the groundwork for the rise of universities in the West" (2). At the same time they have insisted that the "... earliest universities in Europe were those of Bologna and Paris". In contrast Byzantinists and specialists of East European history keep referring to a

(1) I.e. with its Schools (Faculties or Colleges), hierarchy of officials, professors and instructors, its administrative staff, many students (local, native and foreign), with its programs of study, with its granting of Degrees, or Diplomas.

(2) See HASTINGS RASHDALL, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, Oxford UP, 1895 ; new edition 1936 (ed. F. M. Powicke & A. B. Emden), 3 vols, (I : XLIV, 593 ; II : IX, 342 ; III : XXVI, 558) ; Helene WIERUZOWSKI, *The Medieval University*, Princeton, 1936, pp. 207 ; Charles HASKINS, *The Rise of Universities* (Cornell UP), 1923 and 1957, pp. IX, 107 ; James WALSH, *The Thirteenth Greatest of Centuries* (Catholic Summer Press), New York, 1929, pp. XXIX, 490.

"university of Constantinople" whose beginnings went back to the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. (1). Other scholars in opposition to those latter views have denied the existence of any such University in Byzantium (2), but adding "... except that something of a university existed in Constantinople in the reign of Theodosius II, in the early part of the fifth century". One also noted that the "... nearest approach to a fully organized university was attained in 1050" (3). In view of these different notions and divergent explanations concerning the beginnings and evolution of the University it seemed necessary to re-examine the existing evidence and attempt a synthesis of these interesting, though sometimes seemingly diametrical, views. In such an attempt the important development which took place in both portions of the former Roman Empire (West and East) should be related so that we might follow the developments, which led to the moulding of the University, in their totality. In such an undertaking, without emphasizing one area or phenomenon over the other, the foundation and evolution of the University could be clearly followed and understood.

It is the intention of this paper to briefly review the historical background of the University, as an institution and center of learning, and to bring into sharper focus the available evidence, also to relate the views of scholars and specialists including the information provided by medieval manuscripts. At the same time this paper intends to bring together the distinctive contributions made by Byzantium, the beginnings and the early phases of the University which took place in that (East Roman) Empire.

It might be mentioned in passing that while the Roman Empire, from the beginning with Augustus (B.C.27-14A.D.) into the fourth and fifth centuries formed a unity of two parts (a western and an eastern) there inevitably existed a

(1) See further on p. 163 sqq.

(2) See: Stephan D'IRSAY, *Histoire des Universités françaises et étrangères* (des origines à nos jours), 2 vols., Paris (I, 1933, pp. XII, 372; II, 1935, pp. VI, 451); Ernest BARKER, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium*, Oxford, (Clarendon P.) 1957, pp. XVI, 239.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 50.

number of fundamental differences. Then as the West was overrun by barbarians and passed into two chaotic ("dark") periods, A.D. 476 to ca. 800 and from ca. 850 to 1000, the eastern portion of the Roman Empire knew no such catastrophe. Indeed that area, the later Byzantium, though confronted by external enemies and disastrous internal strife, did not pass through any "dark ages". Instead it endured for over a thousand years and was able to sustain and cultivate its Graeco-Roman heritage. Furthermore it was able to give form and direction to Christianity and the Church, and to mould out of a diversity of elements (Greek, Roman, Christian and Eastern) a distinctive and colorful civilization (1). During the "pre-Byzantine" period (fourth, fifth and early sixth centuries) the pagan schools of Antiquity, the Academy of Plato (2), the other schools of Philosophy, of Rhetoric, of Grammar, of Law and Medicine continued to function in the Near East, while a number of Christians attended their classes (3). These "pagan" schools, which during the early centuries A.D. carried on the cultural traditions of Greece and Rome, but in modified forms, contributed directly to the moulding of the University. Those currents from Athens, Rome and the Near East were taken up and developed further in the eastern portion of the Roman Empire. Therefore, despite the views of some contemporary historians who have assumed that "... no university ... no continuous organized system of a university existed in the East Roman Empire (or Byzantium) contrarily we find in the Eastern capital ("New Rome", the later Constantinople) the following :

1. A *Μέγα Διδασκαλεῖον* (i.e. a Higher School of Learning) organized in Constantinople before the middle of the Fourth century A.D.
2. An "Auditorium" or what has been called a "University"

(1) Considering the important and positive achievements ; but not overlooking the many complex and unresolved internal problems.

(2) Closed by Justinian : 529 A.D.

(3) Among them was Julian, later emperor (361) of the Roman Empire. Also a number of Easter Church Fathers : Basil, Gregory, etc.

which was a re-organization (in A.D. 425) of the above School.

3. Cultural currents and influences moving westward from the Roman and Hellenistic East were continuous and never suspended. These moved, passed through Italy (southern and northern) and through other areas. Furthermore Roman law (Theodosian, Justinian, etc.) was commonly shared by both West and East.
4. During the long Ikonoclastic conflict (726-789 and 810-843) thousands of Byzantine monks fled to Italy carrying with them manuscripts and other cultural influences to the West.
5. In the mid-Ninth century the School of Higher Learning ("University") was re-established in the imperial palace of Magnaura (Constantinople). There Photios, Leon the Mathematician (1) and others gave courses.
6. In the early decades of the eleventh century a new and important advance took place in the evolution of the University as two separate schools were established in Constantinople. These consisted of a School of Law and a School of Philosophy. The former, as it will be noted further on, appears to have had important links and to have influenced the School of Law, University of Bologna.
7. After the conquest of Byzantium by the Fourth Crusade (1204) and the establishment of a Latin Empire upon its ruins, scholars from the West went to Constantinople and to Greece to study Greek and to collect manuscripts. A number of these, including various texts of Aristotle, were now translated directly from Greek into Latin.
8. During the Latin stay in Byzantium (1204-1261), Nikaia, the «Greek kingdom in Exile" across the Bosporos from Constantinople, became an important cultural center where teachers and students from the Near East and from western Europe would gather.

(1) He was renowned throughout the East and the Arab (khalif) Ma'moun of Bagdad (813-833) invited the Byzantine mathematician to his capital to teach, promising him honors and wealth. But the emperor Theophilos did not let him go ; but instead appointed Leon to a teaching post in Constantinople. Later on (after 842) the Caesar Bardas appointed him to the "University", as Rector.

9. After 1261, and the recovery of a gutted Byzantium, from the Latins, the "University of Constantinople" was re-established in the capital by Michael VIII. During that period there was along with the "University" another important center of learning at Mistra in southern Greece (Peloponnese). There the Neoplatonist George Plethon gave courses in Philosophy and was renown in Italy and the West.
10. In the fourteenth century the above mentioned Byzantine philosopher George Plethon (1) was invited to Florence where he gave courses in Philosophy. As a consequence, by 1459 the Platonic Academy was established in Florence by Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499) with the support of Cosimo de Medici.

Although Greek and Roman antiquity with their schools of Philosophy, of Grammar, Law, Rhetoric and Medecine contributed greatly to the moulding of the University, it was actually the newer conditions of the Middle Ages in Europe from the fourth century A.D. on that gave impetus and a newer direction ot those earlier developments. Thus it was in a different, more populous, multiracial world with its needs for civil servants, trained officials, scribes teachers and others (2) that the imperial School of Higher Learning (or "University") was constituted (3). Inevitably the founding of an advanced center of higher learning, like the University, presupposed a number of conditions. Among them it needed a fairly stable economic and social environment in order to exist and evolve. While those conditions did not exist in western Europe, prior to the eleventh century because of historical reasons already noted above (4), matters were favorable in the eastern portion of the Roman Empire, (the later Byzantium). It was there that circumstances sustained the beginnings of the University.

(1) See further on p. 179, etc.
(2) Including judges, priests, theologians, etc.
(3) I.e. in its early form. Note : in Byzantium the "University" was a secular institution under the supervision of Emperor and State.
(4) See p. 163.

The word "university" is derived from the Latin *universus* (meaning entire or whole, and by extention the cosmos). The later word *universitas* (1) (also *universitas facultatum*) applied to a center of learning wherein all the branches of Science were studied. Furthermore the word *universitas* was developed with its particular meaning late in the Middle Ages. Earlier, (fourth century A.D.) those centers where teachers (*Magistri* or Masters) and students (*studii* or *studiosi*) would gather were simply called "School" or Great Higher School (*Μέγα Διδασκαλεῖον*) or *Studium Generale* in the West. They were also referred to as *Auditorium*, *Museum* (2) or *Πανδιδακτήριον* (3) (i.e. a place where all knowledge was taught). In the fourth century A.D. the Higher School of Learning in Constantinople (4) was called *Μέγα Διδασκαλεῖον*; and when it was reorganized in the fifth century (425 A.D.) it was referred to as the *Auditorium*. Subsequently, however, that School or "University of Constantinople" was called *Οἰκουμενικὸν Διδασκαλεῖον*; but by 1045 that School passed on to a newer phase, as it was separated into two Faculties: the School of Law and the School of Philosophy; each one housed in different buildings.

In the West, the center of higher studies (which had its roots in the Carolingian Age and in the later Benedictine monastic centers (5) was known as the *Studium Generale*. There in time the adjective *generale* was first associated with and then replaced by its synonym *universale*. The above mentioned word *universitas* which was ultimately developed meant in lower Latin (LL) a legal term applied to a corporation or organized legal body. It also referred to a group or founda-

(1) Note the Greek equivalents *πανδιδακτήριον* and *πανεπιστήμιον*.

(2) I.e. center where all the Muses (arts) are gathered and studied.

(3) See Phaedon KOUKOULES, *Vie et Civilization Byzantines* (in Modern Greek), 6 vols.; vol. VI in particular p. 157, Athens, 1952-1955, Institut Français.

(4) See L. BRÉHIER, *Notes sur l'histoire de l'enseignement supérieur à Constantinople*, in *Byzantion*, vols. III & IV (pp. 73 ff; 13 ff.); also his *Les Institutions de l'Empire Byzantin* (Paris, 1949, A. Michel pb.), ed. 1970, pp. xxv, 643.

(5) During the period from 800 A.D. to 850 ,to 1000.

tion of teachers and students organized for educational and religious purposes. It has already been noted that in Byzantium the University was an imperial institution : organized, supported and supervised by the State (1). It was, in a sense, a "higher administrative school". Its directors (Rectors, Masters, etc.) held official titles such as *Νομοφύλαξ*, *Ὕπατος* (i.e. Chief) of philosophers, *Ματστωρ* (or *Μάγιστρος*) and they were paid by the government.

From those beginnings the University developed in the eastern portion of the Roman Empire, from the early fourth century A.D. to the eleventh. The establishing of an institution of Higher Learning in Constantinople, like the founding of a second capital ("New Rome" in 330, A.D.) was part of the changes and important historical events ushered into the Roman Empire by Constantine I (the Great), who ruled from 324 to 337 A.D. Then as the Empire kept shifting toward its eastern, hellenized, more populous, cultured and wealthy provinces, the rise of Byzantium was assured. Thus as the eastern capital of the Roman Empire became increasingly prominent as a political, economic and cultural center, teachers (2) and students (3) kept swarming there. That environment of private schools, competing teachers, of students and turbulence caused the imperial government, for motives of its own and existing needs to

(1) We are told that the Emperor would occasionally visit the classrooms and listen to the discussions.

(2) Among the most famous were Libanios and Themistios.

(3) I.e. the young men (for there is no question of girls studying at public, or imperial, schools at this time) were called *μαθηταί* (learners, or pupils) and not students (*φοιτηταί*). See : Ph.KOUKOULES, *op. cit.*, G. Buckler has noted, that "... every boy and girl who could afford to pay was educated ...", in her article on education in Byzantium ; in BAYNES-MOSS, *Byzantium* (pp. 200 ff), Oxford UP., 1948, and 1961, (pb. ed.), pp. XXX, 426. Note : Ph. Koukoules has also mentioned that teachers (professors) in Byzantium were called *Magistros* (Master) *Grammatikos*, *Logiotatos*, *Rhetor*, or *Philosophos*, according to the subject they would teach. The Master would be dressed in a garment or robe (black or gray). The sixth century historian Agathias in his work *Histories* calls it a *σεμνοτάτη στολή* (most dignified attire).

establish a School of Higher Learning. From these beginnings and for distinctly practical needs the School of Higher Learning (or the "University") was established in Constantinople. As that institution of learning evolved across the entire Middle Ages, from the fourth to the eleventh and on to the fifteenth century, it underwent a number of changes and developments. It expanded, passed through several phases, and on one or two occasions its continuity was briefly suspended. It has already been noted that the School of Higher Learning, or "University of Constantinople" underwent its first major reorganization in the fifth A.D. century. At that time it became a larger center, named the *Auditorium*, with thirty-one chairs and an equal number of "Masters" conducting classes on a variety of subjects. These included both Greek and Latin (language and literature), Law, Philosophy and Rhetoric. It has been said (1) that the wife of Theodosius II, the empress Eudokia (Athenaïs) (2), was responsible for the re-organization of that imperial school ("University") of Constantinople. The Theodosian Code of Law (3) states the following in Book XIV "title" 9, 3, dated 27 February 425 : "... Our *Auditorium* shall have specifically three orators and ten grammarians [these were to be of Latin] (4), also five sophists and ten grammarians [of Greek]. All of these shall be learned *Magistri* (5). Furthermore there shall be one teacher of Philosophy and two others who shall expound on Law and the Statutes ...". In view of the number of Masters gathered together under one roof and giving courses on a variety of subjects, that imperial School of Higher Learning has been called a "University" by a number of contemporary scholars. A. A. Vasiliev has referred to

(1) See L. Bréhier, *op. cit.*

(2) This was her pre-Christian name.

(3) See *The Theodosian Code and Novels*, translated from the Latin with notes and commentary by Clyde Farr and others, Princeton UP., 1952, pp. xxv, 643.

(4) Note : Latin was dropped and no longer studied in Byzantium (East Roman Empire) from the time of Leon III (717-741).

(5) I.e. Masters.

it as a "... School of Higher Learning, or University" (1). G. Ostrogorsky has pointed out that following its re-organization in the fifth century, in the reign of Theodosius II, that imperial school was "... virtually a new university" (2). L. Bréhier wrote that the Theodosian Code "... established two chairs of Law at the University of Constantinople" (3). Phaedon Koukoules pointed out that the "... University of Constantinople was a higher administrative school" (4).

That "University of Constantinople" had, Louis Bréhier noted, a long (occasionally and briefly interrupted) continuous existence from the fourth to the fifteenth century. Founded (5) in the early decades of the fourth century A.D. and re-organized in the fifth, it was temporarily neglected during the reign of Phocas (602-610) and restored anew during the time of Heraclius (610-645). Its subsequent history from the closing seventh century on, when Byzantium was warring against the expanding Moslems, into the eight and early ninth is not well known. Less is known about the "University of Constantinople" during the complex Ikonoclastic period. The opponents of Ikonoclastic emperors have maliciously written that the latter burned down the "University" along with its professors! But the study of letters and learning obviously must have been pursued during the Ikonoclastic period (726-843) else how can the appearance of Photios ("... humanist and forerunner of the Renaissance") along with a number of other Byzantine scholars and writers, also the new Second Golden Age (6), be accounted for? Nevertheless, the interval from 957 to 1025 (the reign of Basil II) was one of bloody and all-out warfare with Byzantium fighting the Bulgars.

(1) See A. A. VASILIEV, *History of the Byzantine Empire (324-1453)*, Wisconsin UP., 1952, pp. 846.

(2) See George OSTROGORSKY, *History of the Byzantine State* (trans. J. M. Hussey), Oxford, 1968, p. 56.

(3) *Op. cit. Byzantion*, III, IV.

(4) *Op. cit.* p. 115 ff.

(5) Note: the history of the "University of Constantinople" is related to the State and its imperial statutes.

(6) Which extended from about 845 to 857 and from 1025 to 1185.

On that occasion learning was neglected (1); but by 1045 the "University of Constantinople" was re-established by the emperor (2) Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-1055). On that occasion two separate schools were organized: the School of Law placed under the direction of John Xiphilinos (3), and the School of Philosophy under the guidance of Michael Psellos (4). The official titles held by those directors of their respective schools were: *Νομοφύλαξ* (i.e. Guardian of the Law) and *Ὕπατος* (i.e. Chief or Consul) of philosophers. John Xiphilinos directed the School of Law of Constantinople for some nine years, and it was he who organized its programs of study, spirit and general orientation. Furthermore he gave precise meaning to the function and purpose of Law by his teaching and writing. Consequently that Byzantine School of Law became an important model for similar schools which arose later in western Europe (5). Entirely different in character and interests than Xiphilinos was his friend and colleague Michael Psellos. The latter was a dynamic personality, imaginative, a man of the world and less bound by Christian dogmatic ties than his friend. At the same time Psellos was often inconsistent, but always colorful and interesting. He is known as a great admirer of Hellenism and of Greek philosophy, referring to himself in his letters as a "Platonist". As a result of his intellectual interests and his political involvements at the imperial court, he found himself in trouble. On one occasion, when his interests in Greek philosophy were under attack, he had to change his stand for the sake of defending his position before the

(1) Anna Komneni has mentioned (*Alexias*, 8) that the study of letters was neglected [954-1042], but did not die out completely.

(2) Not on his own initiative, but prompted by his officials, prominent among them being Michael Psellos.

(3) Erudite and "Aristotelian"; later elected Patriarch of Constantinople (1065-1075).

(4) He was a complex, "modern" personality, one of the "forerunners of the Renaissance". Also a voluminous writer in prose and verse. He was also a historian; while his influence on language, letters, and learning in Byzantium was great.

(5) See *infra*, p. 180 sqq.

Emperor and in order to preserve both Hellenism and Philosophy. Thus he conceded that above them was Theology! In a dispute with John Xiphilinos, Psellos insisted that he was a "good Christian" as he; and furthermore that he was able to reconcile the demands of his Faith with his interrests in Plato's ideas (1). On another occasion Michael Psellos was obliged to quit the imperial court and Constantinople and go into exile to a monastery in Asia Minor (Mount Olympos). He remained there only for a short period of time, for he was soon recalled to Constantinople and the Court by the empress Theodora. At the School of Philosophy Psellos gave courses in Philosophy and in eleven other subjects which included Geography, Music and Astronomy. Among the others who taught at the School, headed by Psellos, were his friend and former teacher, John Mavropous, and Niketas Byzantios. John Mavropous was one of the most prominent intellectual leaders of eleventh century Byzantium. At the "University" he gave courses in Rhetoric, but was subsequently appointed bishop of Euchaïta (Asia Minor) in 1045 or 1047. Niketas Byzantios taught both Grammar and Oratory.

As to the students of eleventh century Constantinople, they were much like students of any time and place. There is among the surviving writings of Psellos a complaint where he tells that some of those would be absent from his classes preferring to spend their time at the sideshows of the Hippodrome, or at the theatres of the capital (2). The students of Michael Psellos came to the capital from different regions, from the Near East and from Europe principally. Among those who came from the West was John Italos, who became Psellos' disciple and succeeded him at the School of Philosophy.

It was mentioned that along with the imperial and secular School of Higher Learning (or "University") there also existed in Constantinople the School (or Academy) of the

(1) See : B. TATAKIS, *op. cit.*, p. 190 ff.
(2) See Ph. KOUKOULES, *op. cit.*, p. 116, vol. VI.

Patriarch. We have little information about that School (1) and although it existed during the time of Justinian (527-565) it seems to have arisen into prominence after the seventh century. That School of the Patriarch was housed in the cathedral of Holy Wisdom (Hagia Sophia) and its head, or Rector, held the title of *Οἰκουμενικὸς Διδάσκαλος* (2). Details provided by the chronicle of George the Monk (3) tell that the School had twelve professors of "profane and religious studies", and all studies led to Theology. This domain was considered by the Byzantine Church as the "crown and summit of all knowledge". Among those who taught at the Patriarchal School was Michael Italikos (ca. 1118-1143). He was a friend and correspondent of Theodore Prodromos (4). At the School of the Patriarch Italikos held the title of "Ecumenical Magistros" (i.e. Master) and along with Philosophy (5) he also taught a number of sciences and letters. It is known that after 850 a number of reforms took place both in the "University of Constantinople" and in the School of the Patriarch. It was Photios (who was Patriarch : 858-867 and 877 to 886) who re-organized the religious institution, where emphasis was placed on Theology, Canon law and Church administration. Yet even among the high-ranking officials of the Byzantine Church, whether they were theologians, or churchmen of secular origin, they were scholars and interested in ancient Greek letters and learning (6). But on the whole the Byzantine Church was conservative, as were most if not all the institutions of its time, and under the control of emperor and State,

(1) See François Dvornik, *Photios et la réorganisation de l'Académie Patriarcale*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, tome LXVIII, pp. 108-125 (Mélanges Paul Peeters), Bruxelles, 1950 ; cf. L. Bréhier, *L'enseignement classique et l'enseignement religieux à Byzance*, in *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses*, 21 (1941) pp. 34-69 (specially, p 43 sqq.).

(2) We know the names of a number of these from the VIIth c. George Choirovoskos, to the XIIth c. Leon Valianites.

(3) See F. Dvornik, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

(4) A prominent intellectual and literary figure of twelfth century Byzantium.

(5) He was a Neoplatonist.

(6) As were Eustathios of Salonica, Michael Akominatos, Michael Autoreanos and many others.

whose history and outlook it closely followed. Although the secular "University" and the Patriarchal School (Academy) held a prominent place in the life and history of the Byzantine capital, there was actually little connection between them since their reasons for existing were different as were their programs of study (1).

It has been mentioned that Greek philosophy was also taught in the School of the Patriarch : but was considered merely as the "handmaid of Theology". At the same time there were both Neoplatonists and Neoaristotelians (2) in the "University", in the Church itself, and in the Patriarchal Academy. But Philosophy and Hellenism were cultivated in Byzantium for a number of reasons. They were vitally important not only to Theology and to religious thought, including Christian humanism ; not only were they cultivated as opposition to "oriental influences and barbarisms", but also because they served to enrich knowledge and to develop the (formal, official) Greek language of the Empire. They were also necessary for Byzantium in order to maintain its cultural predominence over East and West. It was principally for these reasons that Greek literature, philosophy and science were allowed to persist and were cultivated in Byzantium throughout its existence. Furthermore even though those ancient Greek traditions were occasionally neglected, they were never totally abandoned. It can therefore be ascertained that each cultural recovery and intellectual flowering in Byzantium, (of which there were three) were founded upon ancient Greek traditions. It has also been noted that persons who were considered "excessive admirers" of Hellenism and of Greek philosophy in particular found themselves in serious difficulties. The case of Michael Psellos has already been mentioned. Being a person of foresight and political ability Psellos was able to avoid any serious accusations. But his disciple John Italos, who succeeded him as ("chief" Consul of philosophers) at the "University" was not so fortunate or

(1) Yet several persons who were connected with the "University" were later appointed to high positions in the Church : John Xiphilinos, John Mavropous, Leon the Mathematician and others.

(2) But called "Platonists" and "Aristotelians".

able. His case is well known to us from a number of sources, including Anna Komneni's work the *Alexias*. Therein she tells that John Italos was brought to trial, condemned and dismissed from his teaching post (1) for his "... excessive devotion to Greek philosophy". However it is possible in this instance that the trial of Italos was not based exclusively on the reported charges, but also had other, political motives. As emperor Alexios I Komnenos presided over the trial, and saw to it that John Italos was removed from Constantinople since he had been an intimate friend of the powerful Doukas family, that had no liking for Alexios (2). Of the others who were accused of similar "errors", and who had a deep interest in Greek philosophy and Hellenism, the name of Nikephoros Basilakis has come down to us. In view of the increasing friction between Hellenism and Theology in Byzantium after the ninth century, the imperial government inevitably supported the Church. Yet neither that institution nor the imperial government had any actual intention of eliminating Greek philosophy, or uprooting the currents of Greek antiquity. Thus even though the influence of the Church on education in Byzantium increased from the twelfth century on to the Fall of the Empire (1453), nevertheless both Orthodoxy and Hellenism flourished side by side (3). After 1453, with the submersion of the Near East, Greece, and the Balkans under the Ottoman Turks, it was the Orthodox and Byzantine (Greek) Church, along with the exiles who had fled to Crete, the Ionian islands also to Russia and western Europe, that kept alive both the traditions of Byzantium and of Hellenism.

(1) He had succeeded his Master Michael Psellos at the "University" as "Consul of philosophers". When John Italos was dismissed from that post he was replaced by Theodore of Smyrna (see B. TATAKIS, *op. cit.*, p. 216).

(2) See E. SALAVILLE, *Le procès de Jean Italos*, in *Échos d'Orient* 29, Paris 1930, pp. 141-146.

(3) Indeed despite occasional opposition and criticism of "excessive Hellenism" in Byzantium there was actually no all out antagonism on the part of Church and State to Greek philosophy and learning. See above p. 172.

While the School of Higher Learning, or "University of Constantinople » was founded in the East early in the fourth century A.D., such efforts in the West had a later and different history. Those efforts were restricted by the first Dark Ages (from 476 A.D. on) while ultimately with the Age of Charlemagne (800 A.D.) there was a cultural flowering. At that time, as in Byzantium, the center of Carolingian learning was the Palace School (Aix-la-Chapelle). But those developments were ended abruptly as another period of Dark ages overwhelmed the West from about 850 to 1000 (1). Notwithstanding the chaos and destruction wrought by the newer invaders, education passed into the hands of monks and church-schools (known as the Benedictine Age). During that latter period it was the monks who preserved learning and the Graeco-Roman heritage in the West. Indeed, Benedictine efforts in monasteries and episcopal schools kept exerting their influence on education and learning in the West beyond the eleventh century, and also upon the rising universities.

In view of the historical conditions already mentioned, the second dark ages with the collapse of government and civilization in the West, as northern barbarians, Saracens and others destroyed life and entire cities, it was Byzantium that survived and was able to carry on the earlier cultural achievements. Therefore that Empire, with its continuity of government and its preservation of the Graeco-Roman traditions remained the source and direct influence on Europe and its institutions, including the University, from the eleventh century on. Those cultural influences were accelerated as Byzantium was brought into closer contacts with the West through Venice and northern Italy, which links were further multiplied with the Crusades. It might therefore be said that both the Byzantine School of Higher Learning ("University") and the monastic movement in western Europe contributed to the rise of universities in the West, to those of Bologna and of Paris in particular. However, because of a complex of conditions, the evolution of the University in Byzantium

(1) That period has been called "most chaotic and darkest" of any other.

and of the University in the West were different. Furthermore while learning (1) in Byzantium remained largely secular and under the control of the imperial government, contrarily in the West both schools and learning were controlled by ecclesiastical authorities. These conditions and influences were disliked and criticised by later Humanists and the Renaissance. Also, schools and learning in the West were influenced by Aristotelian notions, while in Byzantium learning and intellectual activities (2) were influenced principally by "Platonic" ideas (actually Neoplatonic). As to the curriculum in the "University" and the schools in Byzantium it was similar to that in the West. The Byzantine *ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία* (i.e. encyclopaedic, general, or comprehensive learning) was like the *Trivium* (i.e. Grammar, Rhetoric and Dialectics) and the *Quadrivium* (i.e. Geometry, Music, Astronomy and Philosophy). The program of study followed by John Mavropous (3) and preserved for us by Michael Psellos mentions those "two stages" (4) which culminated in Philosophy. But, it has been noted that in Byzantium, with the recurrent emphasis on Orthodoxy, many secular teachers had to concede that actually : Theology was "the culmination of all knowledge" ! In the West with schools and learning mostly under the control of the Latin Church, the emphasis was on Theology, on Law and on Medicine (represented by the three major, early universities of Paris, Bologna and Salerno). In time however and with the coming Renaissance, with changing political and economic conditions in the West, with the rise of Monarchy, the national state and the newer classes, including the influences of Humanism and Platonic ideas, the hold of Church and of Scholasticism were gradually broken.

Earlier, in mid-ninth century Byzantium, Caesar Bardas (5)

(1) I.e. higher learning.

(2) Including Theology, thought generally and art.

(3) See above p. 171. Also the "Monody" composed by Michael Psellos for his friend and former teacher John Mavropous.

(4) Advancing from the *Trivium* to the *Quadrivium* ; as it was also organized in the West.

(5) Brother of the empress (Theodora (II). He issued from the wealthy landed nobility and his father (Marinos) had been a general

re-organized the "University" of Constantinople in the imperial palace of Magnaura. There such renowed scholars as Leon the Mathematician (who was appointed Rector in 863), and Photios taught. Photios, who was an ardent admirer of Aristotle and his system of Logic, had among his pupils Arethas (later bishop of Caesarea) (1). Unlike his Master Arethas preferred Plato, and his manuscript of that philosopher's dialogues (with marginal notes) has come down to us. It has been mentioned that Michael Psellos, unlike his friend John Xiphilinos, was a Neoplatonist, as was his disciple and successor at the School of Philosophy John Italos. Interest in the writings and philosophy of Plato (2) increased in Byzantium during the following twelfth century. Among the "Platonists" of that century were Theodore Prodromos (3), Michael Italikos and others. The outcome of those philosophical preferences in Byzantium led to an intellectual dispute between the so-called "Platonists" and the "Aristotelians", which polemic had its parallel in western Europe between the Scholastics and "Platonists".

During the interval 1204-1261, when the Fourth Crusade had conquered Christian Byzantium and divided the Empire among its leading barons, its traditions and institutions were continued by the "Three Greek kingdoms in exile". It was in Nikaia (northern Asia Minor, across the Propontis from Constantinople), the most prominent and active of those three kingdoms, that the emperor Theodore I Laskaris (along with the Patriarch) (4) made a great effort to encourage

in the Byzantine army. When the emperor Theophilos died, (842) Bardas became guardian of the young prince (Michael), and later he took the title of Caesar (858). At the "University" Leon (its Director) taught Philosophy and other subjects of the *Quadrivium*, Theodore taught Geometry and someone named Kometas taught Greek philology.

(1) Another of Photios' pupils was Kyrillos (later "Apostle to the Slavs").

(2) The Plato known and understood at that time.

(3) See my thèse (Sorbonne, 1952) *Théodore Prodrome et le milieu intellectuel à Constantinople au XII*e *siècle.*

(4) Michael Autoreanos (1204-1212). He was a man of letters and an important Byzantine scholar of the thirteenth century.

public education and learning. The capital of that kingdom (Nikaia) was renowned in the thirteenth century as a cultural center, "a second Athens", where writers, scholars, teachers and students gathered. Furthermore, there were among the upper clergy of Nikaia both scholars and writers (1), who along with other, secular leaders, were devoted to the study and preservation of ancient Greek, and Byzantine cultural achievements.

As to the Patriarchs of Constantinople (including those of Nikaia) inevitably not all of them were scholars and humanists like Photios, Leon the Mathematician, Constantine (III) Likhoudis (2), John Xiphilinos, Tarasios and Michael (III) Anchialos. Indeed, after the eighth century, a number of ascetic, poorly educated monks, (including Euthymios : 907-912 and Basil the Skamandrian : 970-974) dominated the Patriarchal throne of Constantinople. Furthermore the first Patriarch after the Fall, Gennadios Scholarios (3) (1453-1468), a learned "Aristotelian" actually opposed Hellenism and had the works of George Plethon, the "last pagan philosopher of Byzantium, burned publically.

When Constantinople and the sorry remnants of the Byzantine Empire were recovered from the Latins (1261), the re-established (4) "University of Constantinople" was placed under the direction of the Court official George Akropolitis. Among his official duties, which included the administration of the "University", Akropolitis gave courses in Aristotelian philosophy and in Mathematics. Among the others who taught there was one of Byzantium's outstanding scholars and humanists : George of Cyprus (ca. 1283). The activity and reputation of that reconstituted "University" lasted

(1) From the Patriarch Autoreanos to Nikephoros Blemmydes, George Akropolitis and others.

(2) He had been a Court official and a fine administrator. He had retired, from the Court and presidency of the Senate, to the monastery of Manganes to become its Abbot. In 1059 he was chosen Patriarch of Constantinople by the emperor Isaac I Komnenos.

(3) He died in 1468 and is considered "the last great theologian" of Byzantium.

(4) Re-established by Michael VIII Paleologos.

into the fifteenth century. At that time the "Renaissance Pope" and scholar Pius II (1405-1464) referred to Constantiople as the "... home of Letters and of high philosophy" (1). The recovered Empire continued, despite its ruined and lamentable condition, from 1261 to 1453. Yet it knew a third and last Golden Age, a period when art, learning and intellectual activity flourished. During the period 1261 to 1453 there existed in Byzantium, along with the "University of Constantinople" a second center of learning and philosophy. It was in southern Greece (Peloponnese), at Mistra (2), where the renowned Lacedemonian school flourished and was possibly housed in the monastery Aphentiko. There the aforementioned famous teacher of philosophy, George Plethon, gave courses. His classes were attended by students from Italy and the Near East ; and among the latter was Bessarion, from Trebizond (Asia Minor), who later became a Cardinal in the Roman Church. The teacher of Philosophy George Plethon was a "Platonist" and also a formulator of political and economic theories (3). In the later part of the fifteenth century Plethon was invited by the De Medicis and went to Florence where he gave courses in Platonic philosophy.

The deep influence and the continuous cultivation of ancient Greek philosophy and learning is apparent in all the phases and expressions of the Byzantine civilization. It is evident in its (Greek) language, in its art, in its institutions including the Church (4), in its Theology and in its "University". It has been pointed out that the Greek Classics had a greater influence on Byzantium that those of Rome, and that they remained an essential and vital force on the cultural history of that Empire. While that civilization was permeated by Greek cultural elements it also assimilated along with the Roman many oriental influences : pagan, Persian, Jewish, Christian, also Syrian, Arabic and others. Furthermore all

(1) Indirectly he was referring to the "University".

(2) This was the former Frankish principality of the Morea.

(3) He sent a number of *memoranda* to the Byzantine emperor suggesting both political and economic reforms.

(4) See George EVERY, *The Byzantine Patriarchate (451-1204)*, London (2d ed.), 1962.

those elements, in their Byzantine fashion and transformation were transmitted throughout the existence of the Empire, westward (1). The same was true of the University. The influences of that institution of learning from its (fourth century A.D.) beginnings in Constantinople to its successive phases, in the fifth, ninth and eleventh centuries were continuous and of primary importance to the West. Therefore though the universities in western Europe may have well been "heirs of the High Middle Ages", their origins and beginnings nevertheless were in Constantinople and Byzantium. Furthermore, because of the historical conditions mentioned above, the symbol of stability and cultural continuity was the East Roman Empire (Byzantium). Therefore, just as each literary and intellectual recovery in Byzantium was based upon its ancient Greek heritage (2), likewise in the West each recovery was directly influenced by cultural currents preserved and cultivated by the Byzantine civilization. It was from there that both cultural influences and institutional elements kept moving westward, from the ninth century on. Unquestionably, after the eight and ninth centuries, the Moslems also made important contributions to the Latin West through Spain and through Saracen Sicily (3). But the original texts of Greek philosophy, of science, medicine and of ancient Greek learning were in the hands of the Byzantines, who, on repeated occasions, multiplied their number and commentaries. Therefore, just as Byzantium was the surviving source of the Graeco-Roman past, similarly it was also the wellspring of learning and the starting point of the University. It has already been noted that by 1045 the "University of Constantinople" passed into a newer, important phase, since two distinctive Schools were established, one of Law and the other of Philosophy. As the School of Law (of Constantinople) was re-organized and

(1) Through northern Italy and after the tenth century through Germany, etc.

(2) Not exclusively, but primarily.

(3) It appears that the Salerno School of Medicine was influenced by those currents.

developed by the jurist and *Nomophylax* John Xiphilinos, it made fundamental contributions to the historical evolution of the University. Here, it seems, is one of the direct links from Constantinople and Byzantium to Italy and the West. The eighteenth century German jurist and scholar, Zachariae von Lingenthal (1769-1843) in one of his lectures pointed out the need for further research in order to clarify the connections between the School of Law of Constantinople (1045) under John Xiphilinos, and that of the School of Law (University) of Bologna. The Italian translation of Zachariae von Lingenthal's commentary was given by S. C. Professor Contardo Ferrini and appeared in *Rendiconti del Reale Istituto Lombardo*, series II, volume 18, fasc. 18 (p. 899) (1) and its conclusion reads as follows :

> ... I fatti accenati provano l'uso frequente di fonti guridiche graeco-romane nell'Italia meridionale durante i secoli undecimo e duodecimo ; che poi si conoscessero anche nell'originale i libri legali di Giustiniano è reso assai probabile dalle Assise Normanne e dalla tradizione che un manoscritto delle Pandette prima del 1235 dovesse trovarsi in Amalfi. Posa il quesito sedi qui venisse l'impulso che determino il sorgere della scuola di diritto in Bologna essere oggetto di indagini ulteriori.

B. Tatakis mentions (2) that the jurisconsult John Xiphilinos contributed greatly « ... à la formation de l'École de Droit à Bologne. Les statuts de cette École offrent des resemblances frappantes avec ceux de l'École de Constantinople ». If the two "archtypal" institutions of the University in the West were the universities of Bologna and of Paris (both being "... founded around the same time") (3) and as one influenced the other, then the institutional link, not to mention the cultural one (4), between Constantinople and Bologna (or between Byzantium and the earliest universities in western Europe) appears to be clear and direct. It might therefore

(1) Milano, 1885.
(2) *Op. cit.*, see p. 182.
(3) See H. RASHDALL, *op. cit.*, p. 4 ff.
(4) Also the juridical codes (Theodosius, Justinian, the Basilika, etc.) shared by both East and West.

be said that the "University of Constantinople", with some six centuries of historical development behind it (going back to the *Auditorium* and the *Μέγα Διδασκαλεῖον*) was directly linked and influenced the "archtypal" University of Bologna, which was founded "... towards the last thirty years of the twelfth century" (1). Thus the historical developments and influences of the "University of Constantinople" passed to the West through northern Italy and France to England and northern Europe, where later on the modern universities, forerunners of our own, arose.

In summary the institution of the University is the result of a large number developments, influences, cultural currents and historical conditions from the times of Ancient Greece and Rome to the Christian Middle Ages in Europe, incorporating also influences from the East, the West, and from the Moslem world. Its beginnings and early stages, however, evolved in Constantinople and Byzantium across a thousand years of continuity. Thus if the earliest "archtypal" universities in western Europe were those of Bologna and Paris (which mutually influenced each other) and if Bologna had direct links with the School of Law ("University of Constantinople") then the connection between Byzantium and the University in western Europe must be sought in Constantinople. Yet, the evolution of the University to its more concrete and rounded out form was achieved after the Renaissance. It was not until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that its modern, familiar structure was achieved (2). The expanding world of monarchies, the national states and the Industrial "Revolution", the world of newer economic and political conditions, all these contributed in a variety of ways to the ultimate formation of the University as we know it today. If, however, we are to seek its origins and the early stages in its evolution, we need go back, beyond the "High Middle Ages" and the West, Byzantium and Constantinople, to the *Auditorium* and the *Μέγα Διδασκαλεῖον*.

New York. Michael J. KYRIAKIS.

(1) See H. RASHDALL, *op. cit.*

(2) See Margaret CLAPP (ed.), *The Modern University*, Ithaca N.Y., 1950 (Cornell UP.), pp. VII, 115.

L'INFLUENCE DU CULTE DE SAINT SYMÉON STYLITE LE JEUNE SUR LES MONUMENTS ET LES REPRÉSENTATIONS FIGURÉES DE GÉORGIE

La personne de saint Syméon Stylite le Jeune — qui vécut de 521 à 592 — et le monastère qu'il édifia sur le Mont Admirable (Samandağı), près d'Antioche — les principaux bâtiments en furent inaugurés en 551 (1) — ont exercé une séduction particulière sur les Géorgiens. Du vivant même du saint, de nombreux Ibères se rendirent en pèlerinage dans son monastère et certains s'y établirent comme moines. La *Vie ancienne* de Syméon le Jeune mentionne un premier pèlerinage dès avant 551 ; ce texte et la *Vie de Ste Marthe*, mère de Syméon, font diverses allusions aux relations entre le saint et les Géorgiens — mentionnant, notamment, les reliques et eulogies que les pèlerins ramenaient dans leur pays —, et la *Vie* de Syméon passa très tôt dans la littérature hagiographique géorgienne (2).

(1) Cf. P. VAN DEN VEN, *La vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune (521-592)*, I. *Introduction et texte grec*, II. *Traduction et Commentaire, Vie grecque de sainte Marthe, mère de S. Syméon, Indices* (*Subsidia Hagiographica*, n° 32), Bruxelles, 1962 et 1970 (cité plus loin : *Vie ancienne*) ; J. LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE (avec la collaboration de B. ORGELS), *Itinéraires archéologiques dans la région d'Antioche. Recherches sur le monastère et sur l'iconographie de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune* (Bibliothèque de *Byzantion*, n° 4), Bruxelles, 1967 (cité plus loin : J. L.-D., *Recherches*).

(2) Les chapitres 103, 130, 131, 136 et 253 de la *Vie* de Syméon, et les chap. 53, 54, 56, 57 et 65 de la *Vie* de Ste Marthe concernent les Géorgiens ; cf. aussi VAN DEN VEN, *Vie ancienne* I, pp. 53*-54*, 57* et note 5, 160*-162*, 216*-219*, et *Vie ancienne* II, surtout pp. 102 et note 1, 146-148 ; H. DELEHAYE, *Les saints stylites* (*Subsidia Hagiographica*, n° 14), Bruxelles, 1923, pp. LXXII sq., CXXIII ; J. L.-D., *Recherches*, pp. 71 et 174.

La traduction de la *Vie* de Syméon en géorgien est sûrement

Après la période de l'occupation arabe (638-969), le monastère reprit vie. Les Ibères retrouvèrent alors le chemin d'Antioche. Ils déployèrent une grande activité dans la région, où ils construisirent plusieurs églises (1). Une colonie de moines géorgiens s'établit à nouveau au monastère ; elle était si importante qu'elle y bâtit sa propre église, laquelle est encore mentionnée dans un texte de 1222 (2).

Il n'était donc pas sans intérêt de relever, en Géorgie même, les traces tangibles que pareilles relations n'avaient pu manquer d'y laisser, sur le plan des monuments et des représentations figurées. Lors d'un voyage d'étude en Géorgie, en mai 1969 (3), j'ai pu prendre connaissance de documents qui m'ont paru suffisamment révélateurs pour justifier un article qui constituerait, à la fois, un appendice à ma précédente étude et un témoignage de l'influence que put avoir notre ascète syrien dans ce pays, du VIe au XIIIe siècle et même au-delà.

*
* *

A vrai dire, les Ibères n'avaient pas attendu le VIe siècle pour entreprendre de véritables migrations dans les mona-

antérieure à 950 et elle peut même être antérieure au VIIIe siècle (alors qu'on n'en connaît pas de versions en syriaque, arménien ou arabe), cf. VAN DEN VEN, *Vie ancienne* I, pp. 53* sqq. ; K. C. KEKELIDZE, dans *Monumenta hagiographica georgica*, I. *Keimena*, t. 1, Tiflis, 1918, pp. 215-340.

(1) Cf. W. DJOBADZE, *Vorläufiger Bericht über Grabungen und Untersuchungen in der Gegend von Antiochia am Orontes*, dans *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 15 (1965), pp. 218-242 ; *Second preliminary Report on Excavations in the Vicinity of Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, dans *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*, XIII, 2 (1964), 1966, pp. 32-35, *passim* ; J. L.-D., *Recherches*, pp. 50-51, 57-59 et 71.

(2) Il s'agit du récit d'Olivier de Cologne, cf. P. PEETERS, *L'église géorgienne du Clibanion au Mont Admirable*, dans *Analecta Bollandiana*, 46 (1928), pp. 243 et 284 sq. ; VAN DEN VEN, *Vie ancienne* I, pp. 217* sqq. ; J. L.-D., *Recherches*, p. 131.

(3) Je me plais à remercier vivement ici le Professeur G. Čubinašvili, directeur de l'Institut d'histoire de l'art géorgien à Tbilisi, et les membres de cet Institut qui m'ont fourni une aide aussi amicale qu'efficace en me permettant de visiter différents sites et en me procurant des publications et des photographies.

stères grecs de Syrie et de Palestine (1). Saint Syméon l'Ancien (mort vers 459), le prédécesseur de Syméon le Jeune et l'inventeur du stylitisme, dont les ruines superbes du martyrium à Qal'at Sem'ān, près d'Alep, conservent le souvenir (2), avait déjà attiré des pèlerins ibères au pied de sa colonne, et sa *Vie* par l'évêque de Cyr, Théodoret, a également passé en géorgien (3). Aussi peut-on se demander si les plus anciennes traces du stylitisme syrien en Géorgie se rapportent à Syméon l'Ancien ou à Syméon le Jeune.

Le grand mouvement d'implantation du monachisme en Géorgie, sur les modèles syriens, se fit au VIe siècle. Il est dû à l'action des « treize pères syriens » — en réalité des moines géorgiens de Syrie — qui revinrent dans leur pays natal chassés par le monophysisme, et dont les noms sont liés à la fondation de plusieurs monastères (4). Les savants géorgiens mettent les représentations de S. Syméon Stylite en Géorgie en rapport avec les relations religieuses entre les deux pays à cette époque, mais la plupart ne font aucune distinction entre les deux Syméon, qu'ils confondent en un seul et même personnage (5). Cependant, au contraire de ce qui arriva à Qal'at Sem'ān, le monophysisme épargna le

(1) Cf. P. PEETERS, *Le tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine* (*Subsidia hagiographica*, n° 26), Bruxelles, 1950, pp. 115, 155 sqq. et 198 sqq. ; VAN DEN VEN, *Vie ancienne* I, pp. 53*-54*.

(2) Cf. G. TCHALENKO, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord. Le massif du Bélus à l'époque romaine*, Paris, I-II (1953) et III (1958), pl. LXXXII sqq. ; A. GRABAR, *L'âge d'or de Justinien. De la mort de Théodose à l'Islam*, Paris, 1966, pp. 48 sqq.

(3) Cf. G. GARITTE dans *Corpus Script. christ. orient.*, 171, *Iber.* 7, Louvain, 1957, pp. 1-77. Les différents récits de la *Vie* de Syméon l'Ancien ont été publiés ensemble par A. J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Antioche païenne et chrétienne. Libanius, Chrysostome et les moines de Syrie*, Paris, 1959.

(4) Cf. notamment G. N. ČUBINAŠVILI, *Pečernye monastyri David-Garedži. Očerk po istorii iskusstva Gruzii*, Tbilisi, 1948, pp. 23 sq.

(5) A. VOLSKAJA, *Relefy Šiomgvime i ich mesto v razvitii gruzinskoj srednevekovoj skulptury*, Tbilisi, 1957, pp. 39-42, et R. ŠMERLING, *Malye formy v architekture srednevekovoj Gruzii*, Tbilisi, 1962, pp. 111-112 et 142, attribuent au même saint le récit d'Antoine sur Syméon l'Ancien (avec son illustration dans les fresques de Zilvé, cf. G. DE JERPHANION, *Églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, I, Paris, 1932, pp. 557 sqq.) et la version géorgienne de la *Vie* de Syméon le Jeune publiée par Kekelidze (cf. note 2 de la p. 183).

monastère du Mont Admirable, qui demeura un bastion de l'orthodoxie (1). Les relations des Géorgiens avec ce centre n'en furent vraisemblablement que meilleures. Elles furent intenses, en tout cas, dans la deuxième moitié du VIe siècle, et le restèrent sans doute jusqu'à l'invasion arabe. Au VIe siècle, le seul grand stylite vivant, auquel s'attachait l'auréole de la sainteté, était Syméon le Jeune. Sans nier une influence possible de l'exemple de Syméon l'Ancien à une époque antérieure, il me paraît raisonnable d'admettre qu'au VIe siècle, c'est le modèle vivant fourni par Syméon le Jeune qui fut déterminant dans l'adoption de ce genre d'ascèse en Géorgie.

A cette haute époque, les monuments géorgiens ne sont pas d'un grand secours pour trancher la question. Le seul vestige conservé est le « pilier » de Kacchi, daté approximativement du Ve-VIe siècle (fig. 1) (2). En fait, aucune trace de colonne ayant servi de support à des stylites n'est connue en Géorgie ; il semble qu'ils aient adopté de préférence, soit un trou dans le rocher (3), soit une tour, à l'instar d'autres ascètes syriens (4) ; mais les savants géorgiens appellent ces tours en russe *stolp*, *pilier*, et le mot stylite se traduit par *stolpnik*. Le « pilier » de Kacchi est en réalité une aiguille rocheuse dont le sommet est occupé par des restes d'établissements religieux, dont deux chapelles à une nef. Ce pilier,

(1) Cf. VAN DEN VEN, *Vie ancienne* I, p. 167*, et surtout p. 168*, note 6. M. Čubinašvili a toutefois souligné les relations des « pères syriens » dans la deuxième moitié du VIe siècle avec le monastère de S. Syméon le Jeune, dans sa notice sur Šiomgvime de *Byzanz und der christliche Osten* (par W. F. VOLBACH - J. LAFONTAINE - DOSOGNE et d'autres auteurs, *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*, III, Berlin, 1968), n° 345, p. 324.

(2) Cf. V. CINCADZE, *Kacchy «stolp»*, dans *Soobščenija Akademii Nauk Gruzinskoy SSR*, t. VII, n° 8 (1946), pp. 587-594 ; V. BERIDZE, *Gruzinskaja Architektura s drevnejsich vremen do načala XX veka*, Thilisi, 1967, p. 39 (avec plan et coupe des chapelles) et pl. 39 ; cf. aussi VOLSKAJA, *Relefy Šiomgvime*, p. 41, qui énumère tous les exemples cités ici.

(3) Voir le relief de Šio à Šiomgvime, *infra*, p. 188 sq.

(4) Cf. J. LASSUS, *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie. Essai sur la genèse, la forme et l'usage liturgique des édifices du culte chrétien en Syrie, du IIIe siècle à la conquête musulmane*, Paris, 1947, p. 281.

qui se dresse devant un paysage escarpé, est à présent très informe.

Plusieurs tours-piliers sont conservées pour l'époque médiévale. On en signale du VIIIe-IXe siècle à Otlisi et à Martkopi. Celle qui s'élève dans l'enceinte du monastère de Martvili (1), au Sud-Ouest de l'église, et qui surplombe une falaise qu'elle semble prolonger, remonte au XIe siècle (fig. 2). Tout son côté sud s'est écroulé, et elle est actuellement inabordable. Le lierre la recouvre en partie ; du côté est, on distingue encore partiellement la haute baie de l'entrée et, dans le haut, une fenêtre. Il y avait sur cette façade un relief représentant S. Syméon Stylite. Grâce à des sources littéraires, on sait que le stylite qui occupa cette tour y copiait des manuscrits.

La tour du monastère d'Ubisi est la plus intéressante, par son état de conservation, ses aménagements et les données historiques qu'elle fournit (figg. 3-4). Une inscription rappelle, en effet, qu'elle fut bâtie en 1141 pour Syméon Škondideli, ministre de Dimitri, fils de David le Bâtisseur (2). Le reclus y occupait ses loisirs à copier et enluminer des manuscrits. La tour s'élève dans l'enceinte du monastère, à l'Ouest de l'église. Elle est donc, comme à Martvili, orientée vers l'Est, à l'instar du Mont Admirable. Elle comporte cinq niveaux, le dernier, en partie ruiné, étant en cours de restauration. Quoiqu'il s'agisse d'une tour et non d'une colonne, certaines caractéristiques s'apparentent visiblement aux dispositifs de la colonne du Mont Admirable (3). Un escalier de pierre extérieur permettait d'accéder à hauteur du deuxième niveau, réservé aux provisions ; cet escalier rappelle le pilier à degrés qui se trouve au pied de la colonne de Syméon le Jeune et qui permettait l'installation d'une échelle menant à l'habitacle du saint. De là, par une échelle amovible, on gagnait l'entrée du troisième niveau, celui du séjour, qui comportait un foyer ; à l'intérieur, la même échelle, qu'on enlevait lorsqu'on voulait protéger la solitude du reclus, servait à gagner le quatrième niveau, celui de la chapelle, qui s'ouvrait en façade par une

(1) Cf. CINCADZE, *Kacchy « stolp »*, p. 594.
(2) Cf. BERIDZE, *Gruzinskaja architektura*, p. 55 et pl. 112.
(3) Cf. J. L.-D., *Recherches*, pp. 99 sqq. et pl. XXIX.

baie pourvue d'un balcon, où Syméon pouvait apparaître à la manière de notre stylite (voir, par exemple, notre fig. 13). Cette chapelle conserve des traces de fresques, très fragmentaires, que je n'ai pu voir. Venait enfin l'étage des mâchicoulis, où l'on accédait également par une échelle intérieure. Le tout était couvert par une petite toiture conique en charpente.

Les tours-piliers durent connaître une vogue considérable et prolongée : on en signale encore une, du XVIIe siècle, dans le village de Rkoni.

L'influence du monastère du Mont Admirable en Géorgie dès la première moitié du XIe siècle — influence qui s'explique par le renouveau des relations évoqué plus haut — est révélée de façon péremptoire par une plaque de chancel de l'égl se Saint-Jean-Baptiste du monastère de Šiomgvime. Ce monastère, situé dans un endroit isolé, à environ dix kilomètres à l'Est de Mccheta, l'ancienne capitale de l'Ibérie, est une fondation de Šio, un ermite du VIe siècle qui fit partie du groupe des « treize pères syriens » (1). La barrière du chœur, en tuf vert clair, qui est une œuvre importante de la sculpture de l'époque, conserve quatre plaques de chancel sculptées, entourées d'une large bordure de feuillage stylisé ; elles représentent la Philoxénie d'Abraham et la Crucifixion, d'une part, S. Syméon Stylite et Šio, son élève et émule, de l'autre (2). Le panneau de Šio (fig. 5) montre celui-ci en buste, la tête couverte d'une cuculle, dans une anfractuosité de rocher ; une colombe, perchée dans un arbre, lui apporte sa nourriture, tandis que le Christ, apparaissant plus haut dans le rocher, bénit. Le seigneur Évagre, passant par là avec son garde, assiste au prodige et se convertit ; il devint le disciple de

(1) Cf. VOLSKAJA, *Relefy Šiomgvime*, pp. 8 sqq. qui cite G. ČUBINAŠVILI, *Die Schiomghvime-Lawra*, dans *Vestnik Gosurdarstvennogo Universiteta*, t. V (1925), Tbilisi, pp. 14-253 et pl. I-VIII ; ID., dans *Byzanz und der christliche Osten*, p. 324, avec phot. du monastère dans son site, pl. 345.

(2) VOLSKAJA, *Relefy Šiomgvime*, pp. 23 sqq. ; description du panneau de Šio pp. 45-53, avec la traduction en russe d'extraits de sa *Vie* géorgienne, pl. XIV-XVII, et description du panneau de Syméon pp. 39-45, pl. XI-XIII ; ŠMERLING, *Malye formy*, p. 136 et ensemble de la barrière pl. 39 ; description des panneaux de Šio et Syméon pp. 142-145, pl. 45-48.

Šio et, plus tard, l'higoumène de son monastère. Un petit édifice, dans la partie supérieure, figure sans doute la chapelle primitive bâtie par Šio. La position de ce dernier n'est pas précisément celle d'un stylite. De nombreux moines vivaient dans des anfractuosités de rocher et Syméon le Jeune lui-même se tint un temps dans son *clibanion*, sur un rocher que lui avait désigné le Christ, avant la construction de la grande colonne (1). Ce fait pourrait d'ailleurs être à l'origine de la présence du Christ dans le panneau de Šio.

La représentation de Syméon (fig. 6) est d'un intérêt tout particulier pour notre propos. La colonne n'est plus isolée, mais se dresse devant l'ensemble des trois églises que comptait le monastère du Mont Admirable, et sainte Marthe, mère du saint, se tient à gauche sur le pilier à degrés qui existe encore actuellement au pied de la colonne. Ceci constitue la preuve irréfutable qu'il s'agit bien de Syméon le Jeune. Cette iconographie a été mise en relation avec un des épisodes de la *Vie* de Syméon l'Ancien dans la version d'Antoine, celui où la mère du premier stylite retrouve son fils et meurt (2). Maintenant que le monastère du Mont Admirable est connu, il saute aux yeux que ce sont ses églises qui sont représentées ici. D'autre part, la présence et l'attitude de Marthe, vue de trois-quarts et les mains levées vers son fils, relèvent de l'iconographie des eulogies de plomb du XIe-XIIe siècle, lorsque sa mère intercède pour que Syméon rende la vie à son jeune disciple Conon (3). Conon, toujours figuré sur les eulogies de plomb, manque ici, de même que les anges couronnant le saint. Il s'agit avant tout d'une reconstitution, somme toute fidèle, du site et de son centre le plus sacré : la colonne et les trois sanctuaires. Et sans doute faut-il considérer cette image qu'a voulu en garder un pèlerin étranger comme un souvenir, qu'il a amalgamé avec le type des eu-

(1) Cf. VAN DEN VEN, *Vie ancienne* II, chap. 65-67, et surtout commentaire à la p. 73 ; J. L.-D., *Recherches*, pp. 104-105.

(2) Cf. *supra*, n. 5 p. 185. Il est d'ailleurs à remarquer que le nom de la mère de Syméon l'Ancien n'apparaît pas dans les récits de sa vie, pas plus que dans les inscriptions des peintures de Zilvé.

(3) D'où son attitude, calquée sur celle de la Vierge de la Déisis. Pour les ampoules de plomb, cf. J. L.-D., *Recherches*, pp. 140 sqq., et figg. 79a et 114.

logies de l'époque. Disons ici que, si aucune eulogie de Syméon le Jeune ne paraît s'être conservée en Géorgie, il y en eut à coup sûr au VIe siècle, d'après le témoignage des textes évoqués plus haut, et très certainement encore au moment de la reprise des relations, après la reconquête byzantine en Syrie.

La représentation des monuments offre un mélange un peu déroutant, mais attendu, de réalisme et d'ornementation fantaisiste. La colonne repose sur un monticule rocheux, qui est une bonne évocation du site ; mais elle affecte la forme d'un pilier de section polygonale, jaillissant d'une base ronde annelée, et s'orne de baies jumelées et de croix ; le chapiteau, sculpté de motifs végétaux stylisés, supporte un parapet dont la partie antérieure est coupée, de manière à laisser voir le buste du saint jusqu'aux coudes : le geste des mains ouvertes dans la prière et la cuculle sont traditionnels ; il n'y a pas de balustrade, ce qui est conforme, une fois encore, à l'iconographie des eulogies de plomb. Le pilier à degrés sur lequel est juchée sainte Marthe arrive à peine à hauteur du bas de la colonne, ce qui correspond à la réalité : on voit ainsi que le colonne dominait le pilier de toute sa hauteur (1). L'échelle qui, de là, permettait d'atteindre l'habitacle du stylite, n'est pas représentée. Le sculpteur a pu supprimer cet élément, gênant en l'occurrence, comme il l'a fait pour Conon et les anges ; à l'époque, une installation fixe avait pourtant déjà dû remplacer l'échelle amovible. D'autre part, Marthe paraît utiliser ce pilier comme un piédestal pour s'adresser à Syméon. La remarque de M. Djobadze, qui estimait que les visiteurs s'adressaient ainsi au saint, s'explique peut-être par ce document (2). Toutefois, ce témoignage n'est pas décisif, parce qu'il date du XIe siècle et que, dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, on ne peut affirmer que pareille figuration repose sur une tradition antérieure.

(1) Ce qui étaye notre hypothèse sur la hauteur de la colonne, contre l'opinion du P. Mécérian, cf. J. L.-D., *Recherches*, pp. 99-101, et pl. XXIX.

(2) Mais il ne donne pas les raisons de son interprétation, cf. *Vorläufiger Bericht*, p. 230. Cf. J. L.-D., *Recherches*, p. 104, et VAN DEN VEN, *Vie ancienne* II, note au chap. 67, pp. 72-73.

Derrière la colonne figurent les trois églises, en un groupe dont la compacité nuit quelque peu à la clarté de l'image. La vue est prise du Sud vers le Nord, la perspective n'est donc pas la même que celle de la colonne et du pilier, vus d'Est en Ouest, mais ce procédé ressortit à un rationalisme bien médiéval. Le mur d'enceinte est partiellement représenté en bas à droite, de façon fort précise (esthétiquement, il prolonge l'appareil de fantaisie du pilier). Le premier sanctuaire est l'église-martyrium de sainte Marthe, une basilique à trois nefs pourvue d'une abside en triconque (1). Le relief rend bien les dispositions du chœur et atteste en même temps la présence de la coupole dont on avait supposé l'existence. L'espace entre la triconque et la colonne n'est occupé que par la paroi de l'église centrale qui s'élève derrière la première : de la sorte, et c'est grand dommage, nous ne trouvons là aucune indication sur le mystérieux élément voûté (*προϊ-ποστολή*) mentionné dans la *Vie* de sainte Marthe (2). En revanche, à gauche de la colonne, l'église se continue par un édifice avec toiture à double rampant, donc à charpente, figurant la nef centrale, avec un étage éclairant et une haute baie d'entrée. On ne découvre pas de traces des nefs latérales, pourtant attestées par les ruines. De même que l'hiatus entre la triconque et la colonne, cette omission doit être due à la désinvolture du sculpteur ou plutôt à des difficultés d'ordre technique.

Les nefs latérales de l'église centrale ne sont d'ailleurs pas davantage représentées — peut-être sont-elles évoquées par un appareil à large quadrillé sous les fenêtres. Cette église, la plus ancienne, dédiée à la Sainte-Trinité (3), a été justement rendue suivant de plus vastes proportions, car elle dépasse l'église-martyrium à gauche, à droite et en hauteur (il ne faut pas voir là un effet de perspective inversée). Le chœur, surélevé, et la nef centrale ont une toiture en charpente à double rampant, en accord avec ce que révèlent les ruines.

(1) Cf. J. L.-D., *Recherches*, pp. 122 sqq., plan fig. 30, fig. 73.

(2) Cf. VAN DEN VEN, *Vie ancienne* II, note 2 au § 49 de la *Vie* de Ste Marthe, pp. 291-293 ; C. MANGO, *Isaurian Builders*, dans *Polychronion, Festschrift F. Dölger*, 1966, p. 365.

(3) Cf. J. L.-D., *Recherches*, pp. 108 sqq., plan fig. 56, figg. 53 sqq.

L'artiste a rendu les fenêtres d'une façon complexe : au-dessus de chaque baie, après une sorte d'étranglement, s'ouvre à nouveau une baie plus petite. Il semble qu'il s'agisse de deux registres superposés d'ouvertures, ce qui confirmerait l'hypothèse du P. Mécérian, qui avait supposé l'existence de deux registres d'arcs au-dessus de l'architrave (1).

Enfin, il paraît certain que la coupole qui se dresse derrière cette toiture appartient à la troisième église, pour le reste dissimulée par la grande église centrale (2). Ces couvertures respectives s'accordent bien avec les plans des édifices et les ruines qui en subsistent. L'église centrale était donc de type syrien, rappelant notamment, par son élévation, l'église sud de Roueïha, tandis que l'église nord, coiffée d'une coupole reposant sur quatre piliers et dont les nefs étaient plus courtes, relevait d'un type plus byzantin, encore qu'il ne soit pas inconnu en Syrie (Qalb Lôzé). La couverture à coupole de l'église nord répond cette fois à l'hypothèse de M. Lassus (3). Le fait que l'église nord ne soit nullement mise en valeur — bien au contraire — me paraît aussi confirmer qu'il ne s'agit pas de l'église géorgienne du XIe siècle, comme on a pu le supposer (4).

Šiomgvime a conservé une autre représentation de notre stylite (5), peinte cette fois et plus tardive (probablement XIIIe siècle), qui constitue un document intéressant sur le dispositif colonne-échelle du monastère du Mont Admirable (figg. 7-8). Le style accuse une influence orientale, et le buste

(1) Cf. J. MECERIAN, *Rapport 1935* (*Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*), p. 196, et sa reconstitution du Dossier du Collège de France ; J. L.-D., *Recherches*, pp. 116-117.

(2) Cf. J. L.-D., *Recherches*, pp. 129-131, plan fig. 30.

(3) Cf. LASSUS, *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie*, p. 134 ; le P. Mécérian avait reconstitué une basilique à trois nefs avec toit en charpente, dans le Dossier du Collège de France.

(4) Cf. J. L.-D., *Recherches*, p. 131. La représentation de ces églises n'est pas non plus liée à l'architecture géorgienne contemporaine, comme R. Šmerling en avait émis l'hypothèse (*Malye formy*, p. 143), encore que l'artiste leur ait imprimé un décor sculpté qui peut faire illusion.

(5) Les deux photographies reproduites ici m'ont été fournies par l'Institut d'histoire de l'art géorgien de Tbilisi, et sont probablement inédites.

et le visage de l'ascétique Syméon apparaissent bien empâtés ; le saint tient le livre de la main gauche et bénit de la droite, derrière la balustrade légère qui surmonte le grand chapiteau orné. A côté de l'épaisse colonne, reposant sur une base à trois degrés, s'élève un escalier ou une échelle, figuré à la manière d'une scie, s'élevant verticalement jusqu'à la hauteur du chapiteau, puis se courbant pour former une petite plate-forme protégée par un garde-fou ; la plate-forme repose sur un mince support vertical s'appuyant sur le deuxième degré de la base. L'échelle en dents de scie ne doit pas être confondue avec le pilier à degrés, qui n'est pas représenté ou l'était d'une manière vague, dans la partie abîmée au bas de la fresque (la copie n'est pas entièrement fidèle, comme on le voit à la forme des arcs de chaque côté du mince support). Si cette représentation n'est pas très exacte, elle n'en atteste pas moins avec certitude l'existence d'un dispositif fixe, permettant aisément l'accès au saint habitacle du stylite, pour les besoins du culte qui s'y déroulait. Le biographe de Georges l'Hagiorite, célèbre moine géorgien du XIe siècle, fait état de ces pratiques à propos des rebuffades que subissaient parfois les moines ibères de la part de la communauté grecque du Mont Admirable (1).

Ces deux représentations, si réalistes à certains égards, montrent le chapiteau de la colonne orné de sculptures, de même d'ailleurs que toutes les autres images de stylites. Ceci m'incline à penser, comme j'en avais déjà émis l'hypothèse en dépit du fait qu'aucune trace de chapiteau orné n'avait été retrouvée auprès de la colonne du Mont Admirable, que ce trait pouvait correspondre à la réalité et ne pas être simplement un embellissement dû à l'imagination des artistes (2). L'argument n'est pas décisif, mais il conviendrait, en tout cas, de ne pas écarter cette possibilité.

Les autres représentations de Syméon Stylite en Géorgie n'offrent guère que l'image traditionnelle du saint au sommet de sa colonne. A l'entrée du réfectoire d'Udabno, dans la région des monastères rupestres du David-Garedža, les

(1) Cf. VAN DEN VEN, *Vie ancienne* I, p. 217 : J. L.-D., *Recherches*, p. 103.

(2) Cf. J. L.-D., *Recherches*, p. 214.

deux Syméon se dressent de part et d'autre d'une arcade d'entrée (figg. 9-10) ; les inscriptions les désignent comme Syméon d'Alep (l'Ancien), à gauche, et Syméon du Mont Admirable (le Jeune), à droite ; ces peintures datent du début du XIe siècle (1). En cuculle et tenant un livre, ils émergent en buste d'un chapiteau à base arrondie, orné de vagues rinceaux, posé sur un pilier, et ils sont protégés par une légère balustrade. De telles images paraissent sortir d'un synaxaire byzantin et de fait, sur le plan de l'iconographie, elles ne diffèrent guère d'une miniature des fragments du Synaxaire de saint Euthyme, exécuté en 1030 dans un monastère géorgien proche de Constantinople (manuscrit *A 648* de Tbilisi, fol. 57) : un stylite traditionnel apparaît dans son chapiteau (le bas est coupé) avec la mention « Syméon de la sainte Montagne », qui l'identifie comme Syméon le Jeune (2). On peut en dire autant, par exemple, des stylites peints dans l'église d'Ateni (fin XIe siècle) ou intégrés à des décors de l'époque paléologue, comme le S. Syméon du Mont Admirable à Ubisi (fig. 11) (3).

Deux œuvres du XIe siècle offrent plus d'intérêt en raison de leur traitement du sujet et de leur qualité. La plus ancienne est une icône d'argent de Lagami (Svanétie), datée avec certitude des environs de 1015 par l'inscription et le portrait du donateur, l'évêque Antoni de Tsageri (fig. 12) (4). L'inscription accompagnant Syméon paraît bien désigner le stylite du Mont Admirable. Les bustes en médaillons ornant la bordure : Déisis, deux archanges, S. Pierre et S. Paul, les

(1) Cf. ČUBINAŠVILI, *David-Garedža*, pl. 16 en couleur et p. 76.

(2) Je remercie Mme E. Metreveli, directrice de l'Institut des manuscrits à Tbilisi, de m'avoir autorisée à consulter ce manuscrit. Les noms des saints représentés y sont généralement en grec, et de nombreuses inscriptions en grec apparaissent également au début et à la fin des chapitres. L'Institut possède plusieurs manuscrits, dont certains ornés de miniatures, exécutés dans la région d'Antioche.

(3) J'ai également signalé une représentation dans les fresques de Saint-Grégoire de Tigrane Honentz, à Ani, au XIIIe siècle, cf. *Recherches*, p. 198 ; pour la tradition byzantine, *ibid.*, pp. 196 sqq.

(4) Cette icône a été exécutée pour Iškhan (Géorgie turque), cf. G. N. ČUBINAŠVILI, *Gruzinskoe čekannoe iskusstvo*, Tbilisi, 1959, pp. 302 sqq. et pl. 205 (quatre détails) ; *Byzanz und der christliche Osten*, fig. 361 et notice p. 332.

évangélistes Matthieu, Jean et Luc, n'ont guère de rapport direct avec l'image centrale.

La colonne, reposant sur une base à trois degrés, est traitée avec une certaine fantaisie ; elle présente de larges cannelures festonnées et est coupée, en son milieu, par un motif sculpté rappelant celui du chapiteau. Celui-ci suit la ligne des deux feuilles épaisses qui l'enserrent et est couronné d'une mince balustrade. Le saint apparaît en buste, les mains ouvertes devant lui en signe de prière, dans une attitude parfaitement frontale et hiératique. Le donateur, debout à gauche, et également nimbé, semble s'adresser à lui.

Une plaque de chancel du Musée de Tbilisi, provenant du monastère de Zedazeni (près de Mccheta) et datant de la première moitié du XIe siècle (fig. 13) (1), offre une interprétation un peu plus animée du saint. Il est vu en demi-figure, les bras écartés dans l'attitude de l'orant, la tête légèrement inclinée en arrière comme s'il regardait le ciel ; la pointe de sa cuculle est curieusement rabattue le long du cercle du nimbe. Devant lui, au bas de la balustrade, est posé un livre marqué d'une croix, à moins qu'il ne s'agisse d'un petit autel. Mais le pilier, de section carrée et reposant sur une base allongée transversalement, ne correspond ni à la tradition, ni à la réalité ; il est percé de trois petites baies à la partie supérieure et supporte un chapiteau orné d'éléments végétaux très stylisés se terminant par deux volutes. Ce chapiteau soutient une plaque octogonale nettement plus large, au bord de laquelle se dresse un parapet formé de panneaux à deux barreaux croisés, qui, tout comme la figure du saint, tend vers un certain réalisme.

*
* *

Ainsi, les représentations de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune — si peu fréquentes, en dehors du schéma traditionnel, dans l'art byzantin — ont trouvé en Géorgie une terre d'élection. Dans la Syrie paléochrétienne, où les thèmes sculptés sont peu nombreux, les stylites apparaissent fréquemment sur

(1) Cf. ŠMERLING, *Malye formy*, pp. 111-112 et pl. 29 ; VOLSKAJA, *Relefy Šiomgvime*, pp. 59-60 et pl. XIX.

des reliefs, sans parler des eulogies et de quelques autres types d'objets (1). Cette forme d'ascèse avait connu dans la chrétienté orientale, et jusqu'à une époque relativement récente, un développement dont l'ampleur apparaît de plus en plus considérable.

Les documents géorgiens — images et monuments — non seulement attestent l'importance du culte de Syméon le Jeune en Géorgie, et sa vertu exemplaire, mais encore ils permettent de préciser certains points concernant le monastère du Mont Admirable, et présentent ainsi un intérêt qui dépasse les limites de leur cadre régional.

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(1) Cf. J. L.-D., *Recherches*, pp. 195-196.

A NOTE ON THE *FARMER'S LAW*, CHAPTER 67

The *Farmer's Law* has the distinction of being one of the very few sources for the economic and social history of a formative period of the Byzantine Empire (the seventh or early eighth centuries). The *Law*, however, is very limited in scope and difficult to interpret; it invites both commentaries and speculation, and many scholars have accepted both challenges (1). Most of the scholarly discussion has centered around the dating of the *Law*, and around problems concerning the condition of the peasants and of the land they cultivated (2). The chapter which deals with lending at interest, chapter 67 of Ashburner's edition, has not been widely commented upon. And yet, it is both an interesting and a difficult passage. It refers to the revenues of land

(1) I wish to thank Mr. S. D. Warren and Mr. Stavros Thomadakis for their kind help with this paper.

(2) The best edition is Walter Ashburner's *The Farmer's Law*, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 30 (1910), 85-108. English translation by W. Ashburner, *The Farmer's Law, II*, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 32 (1912), 68-95. Of the several studies on the *Farmer's Law* the most important are: F. DÖLGER, *Ist der Nomos Georgikos ein Gesetz des Kaisers Justinian II.?* in *Festschrift für Leopold Wenger*, II (Munich, 1945), 18-48; F. DÖLGER, *Harmenopulos und der Nomos Georgikos*, in *Τόμος Κ. Ἀρμενοπούλου*, (1951), 151; G. OSTROGORSKY, *Ueber die vermeintliche Reformtätigkeit der Isaurier*, in *B.Z.*, 30 (1930), 394-400; OSTROGORSKY, *Agrarian Conditions in the Byzantine Empire in the Middle Ages*, in *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, I (1942), 198; G. VERNADSKIJ, *Sur les origines de la Loi agraire byzantine*, in *Byzantion*, 2 (1925), 169-180; J. DE MALAFOSSE, *Le droit agraire au Bas-Empire et dans l'Empire d'Orient*, in *Rivista di Diritto agrario*, I (1955), 35-73, esp. pp. 53-59. OSTROGORSKY, *History of the Byzantine State* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 1957), p. 82 and n. 3, gives further bibliography.

held as security for a loan ; the state is seen to interfere in private contracts and seeks to apply some of the revenues of such land to reduce the principal amount of the debt. The precise formulation of this law and its significance has not been determined up to now.

In the *Hexabiblos* of Constantine Harmenopulos, published by G. E. Heimbach, the passage appears as follows :

> 15. *Οἱ τόκου χάριν λαβόντες ἀγρούς, εἰ πλέον τῶν ἑπτὰ χρόνων φανῶσι καρπιζόμενοι, ψηφισάτω ὁ ἀκροατὴς ἀπὸ τῆς ἑπταετίας καὶ τὴν ἄνω καὶ πᾶσαν κατὰ τὴν ἡμίσειαν εἰσφορὰν στοιχησάτω εἰς τὸ κεφάλαιον* (1).

Heimbach has given the following translation :

> *Qui usurarum nomine fundos acceperint, si amplius quam per septem annos fructus inde percepisse appareat, connumeret iudex a septennio ac supra omnemque reditum pro semisse sorti imputato* (2).

In his *Geschichte des Griechisch-Römischen Rechts*, Zachariä von Lingenthal has adopted a similar translation (3). The same passage appears in the *Ecloga ad Procheiron mutata*, and has been translated by E. H. Freshfield :

> "Where persons who are in occupation of land, to secure interest on money lent, harvest it for more than seven years, the judge shall reckon as at the seventh year the profit already derived from the land, and after that time half the profit shall be credited to capital account" (4).

(1) Const. Harmenopuli *Manuale Legum sive Hexabiblos cum Appendicibus et legibus agrariis*, ed. G. E. Heimbach (Leipzig, 1851), p. 832.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 833.

(3) K. E. Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Geschichte des Griechisch-Römischen Rechtes*, 3e éd., (Berlin, 1892), p. 251, no 823 : « Wenn es sich zeigt, dass Gläubiger, welche anstatt der Zinsen Aecker [zur Nuzung] erhalten haben, von denselben länger als sieben Jahre die Früchte gezogen haben, so soll der Richter von den sieben Jahren an und aufwärts zählen und den ganzen Ertrag zur Hälfte auf die Kapitalschuld abrechnen ». Cf. *ibid.*, p. 302.

(4) E. H. Freshfield, *A Provincial Manual of Later Roman Law, The Calabrian Procheiron on Servitudes and Bye-Laws Incidental*

Walter Ashburner, in his edition of the *Farmer's Law*, recognised the great awkwardness of the construction "*καὶ τὴν ἄνω καὶ πᾶσαν κατὰ τὴν ἡμίσειαν εἰσφοράν*". He has altered the text to read:

> *Οἱ τόκου χάριν λαβόντες ἀγρὸν καὶ πλείω τῶν ἑπτὰ χρόνων φωνῶσι καρπιζόμενοι, ψηφισάτω ὁ ἀκροατὴς ἀπὸ τῆς ἑπταετίας καὶ τὴν ἄνω πᾶσαν καὶ τὴν κάτω κατὰ τὴν ἡμίσειαν εἰσφορὰν στοιχησάτω εἰς κεφάλαιον.* (My italics) (1).

He then translated this passage as follows:

> "If people take land on account of interest, and are proved to have been in enjoyment of it for more than seven years, let the judge take an account at the expiration of the seven years, and let him set down as principal the whole of the profits before and half the profits after" (2).

If one accepts Ashburner's correction of the text, the Greek becomes much more readable. Unfortunately, most of the early manuscripts agree on the reading given by Heimbach and accepted by Zachariä von Lingenthal (3). In any

to the Tenure of Real Property (Cambridge, Eng., Cambridge University Press, 1931).

(1) ASHBURNER, *Farmer's Law*, p. 106.

(2) ASHBURNER, *Farmer's Law, II*, p. 93.

(3) The major exception to this is the text of the *Ambros. M 68 sup.*, published by C. FERRINI, *Edizione critica del νόμος γεωργικός*, in *B.Z.*, 7 (1898), pp. 558-571. The appropriate passage is on p. 566, ¶66, and reads:

> 66. *Οἱ τόκου χάριν λαβόντες ἀγρὸν καὶ πλεῖον τῶν ζ' χρόνων φανῶσι καρπιζόμενοι, ψηφισάτωσαν οἱ ἀκροαταὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑπταετίας πρὸς τὰ ἄνω καὶ τὰ ἡμίση στοιχείτωσαν εἰς τὸ κεφάλαιον.*

This is a relatively late manuscript (late thirteenth century: see ASHBURNER, *Farmer's Law*, p. 87), and has several variant readings not found in the earlier manuscripts. This particular passage may have been edited by a copyist working on a version similar to the ones used by Ashburner, and unable to understand the text. Not only is *ἀπὸ τῆς ἑπταετίας καὶ τὴν ἄνω* changed to *ἀπὸ τῆς ἑπταετίας πρὸς τὰ ἄνω*, but *καὶ πᾶσαν κατὰ τὴν ἡμίσειαν εἰσφοράν* now reads *καὶ τὰ ἡμίση* — certainly a more understandable construction, but one which indicates substantial changes in the manuscript.

case, Ashburner's translation is wrong. His emended text should be translated :

> "If people have received land on account of interest, and are proved to have been in enjoyment of it for more than seven years, let the judge take an account at the expiration of the seven years, and let him credit against the principal amount of the debt *the whole* (*of the revenues*) *after* (*above*) *the seven years, and half the revenues for the period before* (*below*) *the seven years*".

In his translation, Ashburner took the *τὴν ἄνω πᾶσαν καὶ τὴν κάτω κατὰ τὴν ἡμίσειαν* to mean "before and after", as it would in classical Greek. However, in medieval Greek the construction of the phrase is *τὴν ἄνω τῆς ἑπταετίας καὶ τὴν κάτω τῆς ἑπταετίας*, meaning "the period above, or after, and the period below, or before the seven years". Ashburner's translation would make the provision not only very harsh, but also illogical. The creditor would lose all interest gleaned from the land for the first seven years, whereas *after* that period he would be able to apply against his claim for interest half the revenues of the land he held as security. Instead of discouraging those who held a field overlong, collecting interest from it, the measure would in fact be a powerful incentive for them to hold the land for as long as possible. According to my translation, the measure becomes a strong deterrent against keeping the usufruct of a piece of land for a long time : The lender would not only have to credit against the principal amount of the debt all of the revenues he enjoyed after seven years, but the same would also apply to half the revenues from the first seven years.

If Ashburner's emendation is to be kept, his translation must be corrected. The argument for accepting the emendation revolves around the awkwardness of the construction as found in the manuscripts. Indeed, only by ignoring the word "*τὴν*" in "*καὶ τὴν ἄνω*" could Heimbach and Zachariä construe the passage (1). Some sort of emendation is

(1) In the Ferrini edition the text does make sense ; but see the previous note.

clearly necessary, despite the virtual unanimity of the manuscript tradition. A few other arguments for emendation may be offered here. Chapter 67 is markedly different from the chapters which precede and follow it, and which are concerned with the punishment of those who destroy other people's houses or fences, or who steal the corn of others (1). It is reasonable to suggest that Chapter 67 originally appeared in a different source than the preceding and following chapters. Also, in our passage the state, in the person of the akroatai, is in evidence more clearly than in other parts of the *Farmer's Law* (2). Finally, as far as I know there is no precedent in Greco-Roman legislation for a law such as Chapter 67; nor do similar provisions appear in the *Ecloga* or the *Epanagoge* or in later Imperial legislation. Indeed the *Epanagoge* has a chapter (28, 2) which makes very different provisions for the fate of earning assets, including land, held as security against a loan. These last points would seem to indicate that Chapter 67 was effective for only a short time, and might explain why an error in an early manuscript was not corrected later.

There are, then, reasons for correcting Heimbach's text. I think that Ashburner's emendation is a very plausible one, not only on the basis of historical criteria but also on the basis of style and grammar. The words "*καὶ τὴν ἄνω*" suggest that they should be followed by a parallel phrase, beginning "*καὶ τὴν κάτω.*" "*Πᾶσαν κατὰ τὴν ἡμίσειαν*" is also very awkward; the correct construction for "half of the total revenues" would be "*πᾶσαν τὴν εἰσφορὰν κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ.*"

In this chapter of the *Farmer's Law* the state is seen to protect the property of those who borrowed money and gave the usufruct of their land to the creditor, and it also appears

(1) ASHBURNER, *Farmer's Law*, ¶66, 68.

(2) Despite Ashburner's comment that "(the civil part of the *Law*) never deals with relations between the State and its subjects" (*Farmer's Law, II*, pp. 83-84), the passage under discussion does give the state a role in private contracts.

to try to discourage lending under these conditions (1). The provision that after seven years the revenues could not be collected as interest provided a strong incentive for the borrower to report to the authorities any breach of the law. It is difficult to believe that the state itself would frequently be in a position to initiate action on such matters unless information had been provided by the interested party. To this extent, this law provides protection to the — presumably — poorer farmer, who might otherwise enter the usual vicious circle of borrowing money, losing the use of his land, thus becoming destitute and a burden to the Treasury, since he could not pay his taxes.

On the other hand, the provision also strikes at the willingness of richer people to lend money at a high interest rate, and this is much the more interesting part of the legislation. For, as long as the rich were eager to lend, the poor were eager to borrow. Chapter 67 of the *Farmer's Law* makes it less profitable for the rich to lend money, as well as providing redress for the poorer farmer.

Despite its intrinsic interest, Chapter 67 does not offer a conclusive solution to the problems either of the authorship or of the date of the *Farmer's Law*. The fact that the state in its judicial function is clearly in evidence here does not *prove* that this document is an official compilation. However, since there is no precedent in Justinian I's legislation for this provision, Franz Dölger's argument that the *Farmer's Law* is a private compilation from the laws of Justinian I is weakened (2). In fact, chapter 67 is new law. It may perhaps be argued that the provision under discussion is within the general spirit of the legislation of the Isaurians.

(1) ZACHARIÄ VON LINGENTHAL, *Geschichte*, p. 251, sees this provision as an effort of the Isaurians to create a code dealing with peasant property.

(2) DÖLGER, *Nomos Georgikos*, *passim*, and especially pp. 39-46 ; cf. DÖLGER, *Harmenopulos und der Nomos Georgikos*, p. 161 ; for the opposite view, see VERNADSKIJ, *Loi agraire*, *passim*, and OSTROGORSKY, *Ueber die vermeintliche Reformtätigkeit der Isaurier*, pp. 395-396. The suggestion that this is an unofficial compilation is also weakened by the very wide dissemination of the Farmer's Law.

The *Ecloga*, of course, does not mention lending at interest, and this silence has been interpreted as a prohibition (1). Zachariä von Lingenthal has pointed out that in the *Ecloga* the laws governing loans are placed in the same chapter as those governing the formation of business associations, as though the only profitable use to which money could be put was, in fact, a business venture (2). Zachariä also suggests that the *Ecloga* allowed loans against the usufruct of an earning asset. The *Ecloga* mentions the possibility of giving property (*not* persons) as security for loans, but it presumably refers to guarantees against the principal of the debt, since interest is nowhere mentioned.

Chapter 67, as has been shown, did not prohibit lending at interest, but made it mandatory that after seven years the revenues from land held as security would be credited to debtor's account. This may well have been conceived as a way to discourage extensive lending at interest, at least in the countryside; it would thus easily conform with the spirit of the legislation of the Isaurians (3). But this is not to argue that one should return to Zachariä von Lingenthal's view which stated unequivocally that the *Farmer's Law* was

(1) ZACHARIÄ VON LINGENTHAL, *Collectio Librorum Juris Graeco-romani ineditorum* (Leipzig, 1852), chapter 10.

(2) ZACHARIÄ VON LINGENTHAL, *Geschichte*, pp. 301-302, 308, 312.

(3) Later, the *Epanagoge* mentioned that an old law permitted the lender to receive the revenues of the property or persons (slaves) given him as security, and to count some of these revenues as interest. The *Epanagoge* claimed to abolish all interest, except for the benefit of orphans and minors. Furthermore, it said that no farmer (*γεωργικὸν πρόσωπον*) should give his field as security, "for in truth this is not pawning his field, but destroying his life": *οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰπεῖν ἐνεχυράζειν ἀγρὸν τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἐκείνου τῆς ζωῆς διαφθορὰν ἀπεργάζεσθαι*. ZACHARIÄ VON LINGENTHAL, *Collectio Librorum Juris Graecoromani*, 28, ¶2; cf. 28, ¶8. In fact, the provisions of this law seem to allow a concealed interest rate. For the law says that the creditor may enjoy the usufruct of the property given him as security until he has received one-third of the value of the loan; *then* the revenues must be credited to the principal amount of the debt. Whereas provision may be made for crediting the revenues to debtor's capital from the beginning, this is left to the discretion and magnanimity of the creditor.

an official compilation of Leo III and Constantine V. One can only return to Dölger's argument that the Law was compiled sometime between the early seventh century and the first quarter of the eighth century (1). Dölger himself leaned toward the second part of this time period, and did not rule out the possibility that the compilation took place at the time of the joint reigns of Leo III and Constantine V (720-741). The obvious effort in Chapter 67 to reduce lending at interest — at least in the cases where possession of land was given to secure payment of interest and principal — provides an argument for placing the *Farmer's Law* at the time of the first Isaurians.

Certainly, the fact that the provision bears resemblance to Deuteronomy XV, 1-2, which remits all debts after a period of seven years, places it in a period of particular interest in religion, a period when reform was motivated by religion, a period, that is, like that of the first Isaurians.

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(1) Dölger, *Der Nomos Georgikos*, pp. 46-48. Cf. de Malafosse, *Le droit agraire*, pp. 53-54.

THE EROTIC AND ASCETIC POETRY OF AGATHIAS SCHOLASTICUS

Introduction

The *Κύκλος* of epigrams edited by Agathias Scholasticus occupies an important place among the final products of the unbroken tradition of Hellenic literature. In the *Κύκλος* was collected the epigrammatic poetry of the fifty years from, approximately, A.D. 518 to A.D. 568. It therefore covers the period immediately before and after Justinian's suppression of the pagan rhetors in 529, which precipitated the ultimate crisis of Hellenism. Although the *Κύκλος* contains many poems in praise of contemporary personages and some in commemoration of notable buildings, it does not in any full sense reflect the life of the period in which it was written. For the most part it repeats, with more or less ingenuity and taste, the traditional themes of Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman epigrammatic poetry. Classical scholars have no difficulty in recognising in the poets of the *Κύκλος* lineal descendants of the Alexandrian epigrammatists, the Roman satirists and elegiasts, and the anonymous writers of commemorative verse-inscriptions. They can judge them all by the same criteria, and savour in the *Κύκλος*-poets the flavour of "lateness" produced by their extravagant language, heightened sensuality, and (occasionally) morbid sentimentality. Accordingly, certain poems of the *Κύκλος* have been printed in many modern anthologies, and have helped to form our conception of the spirit of Greek poetry as a whole.

The art which these poets practised was largely a formal one; but it would be wrong to say that no trace of individual personality can ever be detected. Whoever reads the collected poems of Paul the Silentiary cannot fail to perceive the candour of an aristocrat as well as the deftness and sensitivity

of an artist; while Macedonius the ex-consul and Julian the ex-prefect give hints of a cynicism which may be connected with Justinian's persecution of paganism (1). On the whole, however, these and most other poets of the *Κύκλος* can be enjoyed and understood without any attempt to take into account individual personality and historical background. This is emphatically not the case for Agathias. For, to borrow Berthold Rubin's description of Procopius, Agathias was a *komplexer Spätzeitmensch*, and in his 98 epigrams and his prose *Histories* he left us much material for the exploration of his personality.

Thirty years ago, A. Mattsson pointed out that Agathias gave the erotic epigram a new orientation by introducing into it a didactic element (2). Although Mattsson might have used this clue to evaluate the epigrams of Agathias in terms of the poet's psychology and the sixth-century background, he paid only superficial attention to these aspects, preferring to concentrate on matters of language and literary tradition. Moreover, Mattsson erred in declining to accept the authenticity of four epigrams of Agathias on the theme of gluttony, because of their crude and naturalistic treatment (3). The genuineness of these poems is, in fact, beyond doubt; together with several other Agathian epigrams on religious and ascetic themes, they form a group unique in the extant tradition of Hellenic epigrammatic poetry and crucial for our understanding of Agathias and his poetry. For, unlike his colleagues in the *Κύκλος*, Agathias reflects the stricter social morality imposed by Justinian, and the deepening of Byzantine piety which took place

(1) Paul's epigrams have lately been edited by G. VIANSINO, *Paolo Silenziario, Epigrammi*, Biblioteca Loescheriana, Turin, 1963. See also *R.E.*, 18.4.2366 (PEEK). On Macedonius, see *R.E.*, 14, 1, 771 (GEFFCKEN). On Julian, see *R.E.*, 10.1.12 (THIELE); and the present writer's forthcoming study *The Ancestry and Poetry of the Praetorian Prefect Julian of Egypt*.

(2) A. MATTSSON, *Untersuchungen zur Epigrammsammlung des Agathias*, Diss. Lund, 1942, pp. 45-72.

(3) MATTSSON, pp. 86-89.

in the middle of the sixth century (1). In the following study I have attempted to define the complexity of Agathias as a poet, and in particular to interpret his erotic and ascetic epigrams by comparing them with developments in contemporary society, some of which proceeded from the Church, and some from the personality of Justinian.

I

The Erotic Epigrams

We can say with reasonable certainty that Agathias published the *Κύκλος* in the early years of Justin II, and that he soon afterwards began work on his history of the reign of Justinian (2). He survived until c. 580, and is perhaps the latest in date of the contributors to the *Κύκλος*. Born in c. 531, and so just after the suppression of the pagan rhetors, he owed his excellent education partly to the conservatism of Alexandria, where he attended rhetorical school, and partly to a familytradition of literacy (3). In c. 551 he proceeded to law-school in the capital. From this period comes his earliest datable epigram, *A.P.*, l. 35, a dedication for a votive-picture of the Archangel Michael offered by Agathias and three friends on successfully completing the fourth year of the legal course (4). (This is one of three devotional epigrams which probably did not figure in the *Κύκλος*) (5). The location

(1) See E. Wellesz, *Byzantine Hymns and Hymnography* (2 ed.), Oxford, 1961, pp. 179, 163 ff.

(2) The evidence for dating the *Κύκλος* and its poets has been collected by Alan and Averil Cameron in *J.H.S.*, LXXXVI, (1966), 6 ff. My own views, which do not correspond at all points with theirs, may be found in *J.H.S.*, LXXXIX, (1969), 87 ff. As to the *Histories*, Agathias tells us only that he began to write after the death of Justinian (*Hist.*, Proem. 21). See Averil Cameron, *Agathias*, Oxford, 1970, p. 9 f.

(3) His father, Memnonius, was a rhetor, see *A.P.*, 7.552. On the details of Agathias' early life and education, see *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, VIII (1967), 241 ; Averil Cameron, *Agathias*, pp. 1 ff.

(4) See *R.E.B.*, XXVIII (1970), p. 141.

(5) See *J.H.S.*, LXXXIX (1969), p. 93.

is the celebrated church of St. Michael in the Sosthenium, and the friends are Aemilius of Caria, John (of Caria?), and Rufinus of Alexandria. This devoted band of students at once recalls to us the pietistic circle of Severus and Zacharias at the universities of Alexandria and Berytus sixty years before (1). If we could assume that Agathias was exposed in his youth to a spiritual athleticism like theirs, we might have a key to much that is obscure, both in his poetry and his *Histories*. For the moment, it will be sufficient to note that Agathias was a practising Christian while a student.

Passing to the main corpus of his poetry, I take as starting point the twenty-three erotic epigrams. These, as Mattsson showed, preserve intact the poet's contribution to the *Κύκλος* in this genre (2). The majority reproduce or adapt traditional motifs, which are summarised in the following list. *A.P.* 5.218 and 220, chastisement of an unfaithful mistress. 237, the solitary lover's complaint at dawn. 261, the kiss within the cup. 263, the sputtering lamp, omen of a storm which may delay the bridegroom's arrival. 273, mockery of an elderly courtesan. 280, abuse of a disdainful courtesan. 282, praise of beauty retained in old-age. 289 and 294, the poet's beloved guarded by a duenna (in the latter epigram, the poet outwits the duenna in a noctural escapade). 296, an appeal to a girl for her favours, turning on the antique game of kottabos. 297, a maiden's lament (on the *clausa puella* theme). 299, the tables turned on a proud lover (3).

(1) ZACHARIAS SCHOLASTICUS, *Life of Severus*, tr. M. A. KUGENER, in *Patrologia Orientalis* (ed. Graffin and Nau), t. 2, 11 ff, 47 ff. See below, p. 258.

(2) *Op. cit.*, 5-12. Mattsson argued that *A.P.*, 5.216-302 represent the erotic book of the *Κύκλος* in its entirety, and his views have found general acceptance.

(3) For 5.218 and 220 see *A.P.*, 5.41 and 43 (RUFINUS), 248 (PAUL. SIL.); LUCIAN, *D.Mer.*, 8.1; PROPERT., 2.5.21 ff.; ID., 4.5.31; TIBULL., 1.10.53 ff.; OV., *Am.*, 1.7; ID., *A.A.*, 3.566 ff. For 5.237 see ANACREONT., 9 Bgk., *A.P.*, 5.3 (ANTIP. THESS.), 172 f. (MEL.), 223 (MACEDON.), 9.286 (MARC. ARG.), 12.136 (anon.), 137 (MEL.). For 5.261 see (*imprimis*) LUCIAN, *Asin.*, 8; APUL., *Met.*, 2.16; ACH. TAT., 2,9; ARISTAEN., 1.25; PHILOSTR., *Ep.*, 33. For 5.263

I omit 5.222 (on the actress Ariadne) as being epideictic in character, and 5.292, a friendly epistle with only a slight erotic reference.

These epigrams have one noteworthy characteristic; not one of them treats of consummated love. Even in 5.294, with the *inamorata* completely in his power, the poet postpones the culminating act:

> ... οὔπω δ' ἐξαλάπαξα φίλης πύργωμα κορείης,
> ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἀδηρίτῳ σφίγγεται ἀμβολίῃ.
> ἔμπης ἦν ἑτέροιο μόθου στήσωμεν ἀγῶνα,
> ναὶ τάχα πορθήσω τείχεα παρθενίης,
> οὐδ' ἔτι μοι σχήσουσιν ἐξπάλξιες ... (19-23)

In the similar epigram of Paul, *A.P.* 5.275, matters are differently concluded; while Irenaeus the Referendarius includes a description of psychic and physical union in 5.249, and Macedonius is little less explicit in 5.235 and 243 (not to mention the sustained double-entendre by Eratosthenes Scholasticus, 5.242) (1). Agathias, however, keeps his distance,

see the passages collected by Pfeiffer on CALL., fr. 269; also OV., *Her.*, 19.15 f.; APUL., *Met.*, 2.11, *A.P.*, 6.333 (MARC. ARG.); PROPERT., 4.3.60; ID., 4.8.43. For 5.273 see *A.P.*, 5.21, 27 f., 76 (RUFINUS), 204 (MEL.), 271 (MACEDON.), 11.374 (ID.); HOR., *Carm.*, 4.13, 1.25. For 5.280 see *A.P.*, 5.23 (CALL.), 164 (ASCLEP.), 12.193 (STRATO); THEOC., 23.33; ARISTAEN., 1.27; OVID., *A.A.*, 3.69 and BRANT, *ad loc.* For 5.282 see *A.P.*, 5.13 (PHILODEM.), 48 and 62 (RUFINUS), 258 (PAUL. SIL.). For 5.289 and 294 see *A.P.*, 5.106 (DIOTIM. MILES.), 262 (PAUL. SIL.), cf. 290 (ID.); for 5.294 see ACH. TAT., 2.23. For 5.296 see THEOC., 3.28 ff. For 5.297 see ALCAEUS, fr. 10 Lobel and Page; HOR., *Carm.*, 3.12; OV., *Her.*, 19.7 ff. For 5.299 (and its companion 287), see ARISTAEN., 1.22; ALCIPHR., 1.37. These literary parallels are taken from the present writer's doctoral thesis, *Amatory, Christian and Epideictic Epigrams of Agathias Scholasticus* (Oxford, 1963, unpubl.), which may be consulted in the Bodleian Library. Many of them, together with a few overlooked by me, will also be found in VIANSINO's edition, *Agazia Scolastico, Epigrammi*, Milan, 1967.

(1) See *A.P.*, 5.275.3 ff.: *τολμήσας δ' ἐπέβην λεχέων ὕπερ· ὡς δὲ κελεύθου / ἥμισυ κυπριδίης ἤννον ἀσπασίως, / ἡ παῖς ἐξ ὕπνοιο διέγρετο, χερσὶ δὲ λευκαῖς / κράατος ἡμετέρου πᾶσαν ἔτιλλε κόμην· / μαρναμένης δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνύσσαμεν ἔργον ἔρωτος, κτλ.* 5.249.5f *οὕτω γὰρ ψυχή τε καὶ ἔκχυτα σώματα φωτῶν / συμφέρεται φιλίης ῥεύμασι μιγνύ-*

observing the harlot's just or unjust deserts, humbled by his mistress, fruitlessly longing, declining the prize when it is in his grasp.

Two further erotic epigrams exhibit the same characteristics in a heightened form. In *A.P.* 5.285, the poet and girl, prevented from kissing each other, stretch her girdle between them and kiss either end of it. There is no explicit obscenity here, yet Planudes (who erred on the safe side in selecting texts for bowdlerisation) omitted the poem. Perhaps he sensed the fetishistic element, which is certainly present for the modern reader (1). In 5.269, the poet lies between two women, desired by one, but desiring the other. This variation on the theme of "How happy could I be with either!" is derived from earlier epigrams of the Anthology (2), and the closing couplet from Anacreont. 27b Bgk. *χαλεπὸν τὸ μὴ φιλῆσαι, / χαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ φιλῆσαι, κτλ.* Its *mise en scène* is a commonplace of erotic literature (3). Yet notwith-

μενα. 5.235.1-4 *Ἦλθες ἐμοὶ ποθέοντι παρ' ἐλπίδα· τὴν δ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ / ἐξεσάλαξας ὅλην θάμβει φαντασίην / καὶ τρομέω· κραδίη τε βυθῷ πελεμίζεται οἴστρῳ, / ψυχῆς πνιγομένης κύματι Κυπριδίῳ, κτλ.* 5.243.3f *πείθετό μοι ξύμπαντα καὶ οὐκ ἀλέγιζεν ἐμεῖο / κύπριδι παντοίῃ σώματος ἁπτομένου.* 5.242.3-5 *« Τοῦ σοῦ ἀνακροῦσαι δύναμαι πυλεῶνος ὀχῆας, / δικλίδος ἡμετέρης τὴν βάλανον χαλάσας, / καὶ δισσῶν προθύρων πλαδαρὴν κρηπῖδα περῆσαι, / ἄκρον ἐπιβλῆτος μεσσόθι πηξάμενος; κτλ.*

(1) As it is also in *A.P.*, 5.255 (PAUL. SIL.) which Planudes likewise omits. This epigram describes how two lovers embrace, dressed in each others' clothes. (Paul was sensitive to dress and coiffure, see *A.P.*, 5.228, 260, 270, 281, 16.78 [anon. in Pl., but surely by Paul, cf. 77], and his *Descriptio Sanctae Sophiae,* Ambo 283 ff). Characteristically, he is far more outspoken than Agathias, thereby provoking from the corrector of the Palatine ms. the comments *πᾶσαν γέμον ἔρωτος ἀκοσμίαν,* and *τοιαῦτα τὰ τῆς ἐρωτικῆς παλαίστρας μηχανουργήματα.*

(2) See *A.P.*, 12.88-90 (anon.), 91 (POLYSTR.).

(3) PROPERT., 4.8; ARISTAEN., 1.2 and 25. Agathias moderates another traditionally-licentious theme in the dialogue-epigram *A.P.*, 5.267. Erotic epigrams of this type usually describe street encounters with prostitutes, see *A.P.*, 5.46 (PHILODEM.), 101 (anon.), 308 (ANTIPHILUS or PHILODEM.). Agathias makes the speakers discuss the intentions of one of them towards a girl he has met at a party. He is optimistic of success, but does not intend marriage because the girl is poor. The poem ends with the reproof, "How can a soul be mad with love when it can still coldly calculate"?

standing the lascivious ambience, the poet's pleasure is once again deferred. (Planudes retained this epigram, but rendered it harmless by altering *μέσσος ἐκείμην* in line 1 to *μέσσα καθήμην*).

It would be absurd to treat these fantasies as sober evidence for the life of the poet, but equally wrong to neglect them entirely in estimating his personality ; even as fantasies, indeed, they differ substantially from what his contemporaries offer us in *their* love poetry. At this point, it is relevant to remember some of the few surviving details concerning Agathias' family background. His mother died when he was three (1) ; he tells us little of his father, but mentions his sister Eugenia in two funerary poems of the *Κύκλος*. One, an epitaph of conventional style, praises her legal knowledge, as well as her beauty and singing voice (2). The other is a far from conventional poem lamenting her divorce or estrangement from her husband Theodotus, and the subsequent death of both (3). Clearly Agathias was attached to his sister. It might be conjectured, but can be no more than conjecture, that this was because she had supplied the place

(1) *A.P.*, 7.552, her epitaph, says that she left a boy of three years : (7-10) « *Παῖδα λίπες* ; » — *Τριέτηρον, ὃς ἐν μεγάροισιν ἀλύων | ἐκδέχεται μαζῶν ἡμετέρων σταγόνα.* — « *Αἴθε καλῶς ζώοι.* » — *Ναί, ναί, φίλος, εὔχεο κείνῳ | ὄφρα μοι ἡβήσας δάκρυ φίλον σταλάοι.* Surely the boy was Agathias, as is usually assumed, see R. KEYDELL, *Agathiae Myrinaei Historiarum Libri Quinque* (Berlin, 1967), VII ; N. TOMADAKIS, *E.E. Ath.*, VIII, (1957-8), 157.

(2) *A.P.*, 7.593 *Τὰν πάρος ἀνθήσασαν ἐν ἀγλαίᾳ καὶ ἀοιδᾷ, | τὰν πολυκυδίστου μνάμονα θεσμοσύνας, | Εὐγενίαν κρύπτει χθονία κόνις· αἱ δ' ἐπὶ τύμβῳ | κείραντο πλοκάμους Μοῦσα, Θέμις, Παφίη.* The lemmatist's assertion that Eugenia was the poet's sister is generally accepted, though Agathias nowhere refers explicitly to the relationship. (See TEUFFEL, *Studien u. Charakteristiken* [Leipzig, 1871] 237 ; TOMADAKIS, *loc. cit.* ; KEYDELL, *loc. cit.*, anm. 2 ; etc.). Her devotion to the study of law (line 2) would seem to confirm the supposition. The last couplet is a mosaic of conventionalities, cf. W. PEEK, *Griechische Vers-inschriften* (Berlin, 1955), I, nos 586.1, 1908.1, 2082 ; *A.P.*, 7.491.3 (MNASALCAS), etc. ; *A.P.*, 5.95.2 (anon.). See, however, the note following.

(3) *A.P.*, 7.596, analysed in *Mnemosyne*, XXI (1968), 76 ff. The poet's concern for Eugenia and Theodotus is obviously sincere.

of a mother to him in childhood. In these circumstances, Agathias might have come to idealise his sister and the memory of his mother, and in consequence to have recoiled from the sexual relationship, as his erotic epigrams suggest. There is no indication that he ever married, though he lived to be about fifty.

Even if this contains a grain of truth, it is certainly not the whole story. A different element comes into *A.P.* 5.278, which is a repudiation of homosexual love (1):

Αὐτή μοι Κυθέρεια καὶ ἱμερόεντες Ἔρωτες
τήξουσιν κενεὴν ἐχθόμενοι κραδίην,
ἄρσενας εἰ σπεύσω φιλέειν ποτέ. μήτε τυχήσω
μήτ' ἐπολισθήσω μείζοσιν ἁμπλακίαις.
ἄρκια θηλυτέρων ἁλιτήματα · κεῖνα κομίσσω,
καλλείψω δὲ νέους ἄφρονι Πιτταλάκῳ.

We have epigrams on this theme from Meleager onwards, one of them by Agathias' contemporary Eratosthenes (2). Most of these include some distinguished piece of scurrility, and their general tone is flippant. Agathias ends with a jest, but, typically, it turns on a literary reference (3). In several respects, this poem differs from others in the genre. Its tone is admonitory. It calls homosexuality a *sin*. Even heterosexual love, though tolerated by the poet, is called a sin (4). This is precisely the view taken by George of Pisidia

(1) "Venus herself and the delightful Cupids shall waste away my empty heart for hate of it, if ever I am smitten with love for a man. May I never succeed therein, nor may I slip into greater sin. Enough to sin with women ; this I accept, but young men I leave to Pittalacus".

(2) *A.P.*, 5.19 (RUFINUS), 116 (MARC. ARG.), 208 (MEL.), 277 (ERATOSTH. SCH.), 12.41 (MEL.).

(3) Pittalacus was a notorious pervert attacked by AESCHINES, *In Timarch.*, 54 ff. See also DEMOSTH., *Fals. Leg.*, 245 ; LIBAN., 6.403.20F ; ID., 8.101.15, 633.11 ; the *Suda* s.v. *Πιττακός*. No doubt Agathias' cultured friends understood the allusion, but it was lost on the corrector of the Palatinus, who found *πιττα λάκωι* in the text, and queried its meaning.

(4) *A.P.*, 5.278.4 *μείζοσιν ἁμπλακίαις* = "greater sins" than those committed with women, pointing forward to *ἄρκια κτλ.*. Or perhaps,

(A.D. 612) when comparing physical love with the spiritual love exemplified in the friendship between the patrician Bonus and the emperor Heraclius :

> οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον τοὺς ὑ π α ι τ ί ο υ ς πόθους
> κρατοῦντας ἴσμεν, ἀλλ' ἐννυπνίου δίκην...
> ὁ δ' αὖ βεβηκὼς καὶ φρενοκρατὴς ἔρως,
> συνουσιώσας τὴν φιλάλληλον σχέσιν,
> οὐκ οἶδεν ὄκνον, οὐ προβάλλεται φόβον, κτλ.
>
> (*In Bonum Patricium*, 28 f., 36 ff., ed. Pertusi, p. 164.)

For the Pisidian, all physical love was "culpable". In a moment we shall see that these elements existed in both the Hellenistic and the Christian background. Meantime we should note that Agathias' condemnation of homosexuality also echoes the policy of the civil government as contained in legislation enacted (or re-enacted) under Justinian (1). There is abundant evidence that this legislation was enforced (2). In 559, however, Justinian proclaimed an amnesty during which homosexual acts could be confessed and penance done for them (*Nov.* 141). Our epigram might well date from this time, since, as we have seen, Agathias was already active as a poet in c. 555.

With its reference to Venus and the Cupids, *A.P.* 5.278 counts as an erotic poem. Agathias treats the theme again in a *protreptic* epigram, *A.P.* 10.68 (3) :

"too-great sins". In line 5 *θηλυτέρων ἁλιτήματα*, *θ.* is better taken as a defining genitive, "sins committed with women" (cf. NONN., *D.*, 2.560 : *ὠτείλην ... πολέμοιο*, "a war-wound", and KEYDELL's edition of NONNUS, t. I, 57*), than as an objective genitive, "sins against women" (though cf. NONN., *D.*, 44.230 *σέθεν ὕβριν*, "violence against you").

(1) *C.J.*, 9.9.30 (31) (= *C.Th.*, 9.7.3) ; *Inst.*, 4.18.4 ; *Nov.*, 77 (535) ; *Dig.*, 47.11.1.2.

(2) MALALAS 436B ; ZONARAS, 14.7 ; PROCOP., *An.*, 11.34, 16.19 and 23, 19.11, 20.9. See J. B. BURY, *A History of the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1923), II, 412.

(3) "It is well to keep a mind that abhors the bed of love ; but if you cannot avail, let not homosexual love ever overwhelm you. To love *women* is a small evil, for to them Mother Nature gave sexual converse. Look at the dumb beasts ; none of them, surely,

Καλὸν μὲν στυγόδεμνον ἔχειν νόον · εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἀνάγκη,
ἀρσενικὴ φιλότης μή ποτέ σε κλονέοι.
θηλυτέρας φιλέειν ὀλίγον κακόν, οὕνεκα κείναις
κυπριδίους ὀάρους πότνα δέδωκε φύσις.
δέρκεο τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων γένος · ἦ γὰρ ἐκείνων
οὐδὲν ἀτιμάζει θέσμια συζυγίης ·
ἄρσενι γὰρ θήλεια συνάπτεται · οἱ δ' ἀλεγεινοὶ
ἄνδρες ἐς ἀλλήλους ξεῖνον ἄγουσι γάμον.

Here, the didactic element implicit in *A.P.* 5.278 becomes explicit, the poet addressing not himself but the reader. He begins by quoting St. Paul's commendation of celibacy, 1 *Cor.* 7.8 f., *Λέγω δὲ τοῖς ἀγάμοις, καὶ ταῖς χήραις, καλὸν αὐτοῖς ἐὰν μείνωσιν ὡς κἀγώ. εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐγκρατεύονται, γαμησάτωσαν · κρεῖσσον γάρ ἐστι γαμῆσαι ἢ πυροῦσθαι* (1). Instead, however, of acknowledging marriage as an alternative, Agathias follows with a prohibition of homosexuality. Heterosexual love is natural though a *κακόν* (as in *A.P.* 5.278), whereas homosexual love violates the laws of nature. St. Paul says as much in Rom. 1.27 ... *οἱ ἄρρενες, ἀφέντες τὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν τῆς θηλείας, ἐξεκαύθησαν ἐν τῇ ὀρέξει αὐτῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους, ἄρσενες ἐν ἄρσεσι τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην κατεργαζόμενοι, κτλ.* Agathias' next point, that beasts are untainted by homosexuality, was a commonplace of Greek ethics from Plato onwards (2), and was used by the Cynics and Stoics to support their doctrine

flouts the laws of union, for the female mates with the male. But men, the miscreants, celebrate an outlandish marriage with each other".

(1) See MATTSSON, 61. Agathias also alludes to scripture in *Hist.*, 3.12.8K : *τί δὲ κερδανοῦμεν ἅπασαν τὴν Περσίδα (θῶμεν γὰρ οὕτω) προσλαμβάνοντες, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἐζημιωμένοι* ; (the speaker is thinking of judgement after death). Cf. MT., 16.26 ; *τί γὰρ ὠφεληθήσεται ἄνθρωπος, ἐὰν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ζημιωθῇ* ; (MK., 8.36 ; LK., 9.25). This latter allusion, first noted by Teuffel *op. cit.*, 250, is surprisingly omitted from Keydell's new edition of the *Histories*.

(2) PL., *Leg.*, 836c, al. ; PLUT., *Mor.*, 990d ; PS-PHOCYL., 190 ; LUC., *Amor.*, 22 ; ID., *Somn.*, s. *Gallus* 27.

ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν (1). Clement of Alexandria employs it in a Christian context (1.210.12 St.), and so does Justinian in his Novel of 559, ... *τῆς τοιαύτης ἀσεβοῦς καὶ ἀνοσίας πράξεως, ἣν οὐδὲ ἐν ἀλόγοις ἁμαρτανομένην ἐστὶν εὑρεῖν.* A few lines earlier, Justinian paraphrases St. Paul in the words *λέγομεν δὴ τὴν τῶν ἀρρένων φθοράν, ἣν ἀθέως τολμῶσί τινες ἄρρενες ἐν ἄρρεσι τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην κατεργαζόμενοι,* and it is not fanciful, I think, to see a reference to the same passage, whether of law or scripture, in Agathias' words *οἱ δ' ἀλεγεινοὶ / ἄνδρες ἐς ἀλλήλους ξεῖνον ἄγουσι γάμον.* (These words end the epigram, Justinian's paraphrase ends the preamble to the Novel).

Where these two epigrams treat one particular aspect of sexual morality, Agathias offers in *A.P.* 5.302 a critique of the whole range of sexual relationships (2) :

Ποίην τις πρὸς ἔρωτας ἴοι τρίβον ; ἐν μὲν ἀγυιαῖς
μαχλάδος οἰμώξεις χρυσομανῆ σπατάλην.
εἰ δ' ἐπὶ παρθενικῆς πελάσοις λέχος, ἐς γάμον ἥξεις

(1) Illustrations of this dictum were constantly drawn from the animal world, see G. A. GERHARD, *Phoinix von Kolophon* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1909), 48 ; W. SCHMID, *Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern* (Stuttgart, 1893), III, 3 ; E. WEBER in *Leipziger Studien*, 10 (Leipzig, 1887), 106.

(2) "What road is a man to take towards love? In the streets, the harlot's lewdness as she lusts for gold will make you exclaim with disgust. If you attempt the bed of a virgin, you will come to lawful wedlock — or to the seducer's punishment. Who could endure to arouse a joyless passion in his spouse, submitting to his marital duty? Adultery is worst, and does not count as love ; and with it must be numbered the kind of sinfulness that lusts for boys. Widows? The gay ones have the whole town for their lover and know all the tricks of wantonness. The chaste ones are with difficulty won to give their favours, and afterwards feel pangs of contrition, love's enemy, and hate what they have done ; and having some vestige of shame left, they take refuge in tidings ending the affair. If you lie with your own serving-maid, then you must endure in your turn to become enslaved to a servant. If she is someone else's slave, the law will brand you with dishonour as it investigates your violence to another man's household. All this, therefore, Diogenes escaped ; he sang the marriage-hymn with the palm of his hand, having no need of Laïs".

ἔννομον ἢ ποινὰς τὰς περὶ τῶν φθορέων,
κουριδίαις δὲ γυναιξὶν ἀτερπέα κύπριν ἐγείρειν
τίς κεν ὑποτλαίη, πρὸς χρέος ἑλκόμενος ;
μοίχια λέκτρα κάκιστα καὶ ἔκτοθέν εἰσιν ἐρώτων,
ὧν μέτα παιδομανὴς κείσθω ἀλιτροσύνη.
χήρη δ' ἡ μὲν ἄκοσμος ἔχει πάνδημον ἐραστὴν
καὶ πάντα φρονέει δήνεα μαχλοσύνης.
ἡ δὲ σαοφρονέουσα μόλις φιλότητι μιγεῖσα
δέχνυται ἀστόργου κέντρα παλιμβολίης
καὶ στυγέει τὸ τελεσθέν · ἔχουσα δὲ λείψανον αἰδοῦς
ἄψ ἐπὶ λυσιγάμους χάζεται ἀγγελίας.
εἰ δὲ μιγῇς ἰδίῃ θεραπαινίδι, τλῆθι καὶ αὐτὸς
δοῦλος ἐναλλάγδην δμωίδι γινόμενος.
εἰ δὲ καὶ ὀθνείῃ, τότε σοι νόμος αἶσχος ἀνάψει,
ὕβριν ἀνιχνεύων δώματος ἀλλοτρίου.
πάντ' ἄρα Διογένης ἔφυγεν τάδε, τὸν δ' ὑμέναιον
ἤειδεν παλάμῃ Λαίδος οὐ χατέων.

This poem could be interpreted as an arabesque created out of Justinian's résumé of sexual offences in *Inst.* 4.18.4, a passage familiar to Agathias since his first year at law-school (1). Again, it resembles the enumeration of sexual relationships in the austere diatribe of Musonius (fl. A.D. 60), 63 ff. Hense (2). Its conceptual and literary context is, how-

(1) *Item lex Julia de adulteriis coercendis, quae non solum temeratores alienarum nuptiarum gladio punit, sed etiam eos qui cum masculis infandam libidinem exercere audent. sed eadem lege Julia etiam stupri flagitium punitur, cum quis sine vi vel virginem vel viduam honeste viventem stupraverit. poenam autem eadem lex irrogat peccatoribus, si honesti sunt, publicationem partis dimidiae bonorum, si humiles, corporis coercitionem cum relegatione.* For the first-year curriculum, cf. Constitution *Omnem*, 2 (*Digest* ed. MOMMSEN, p. xv in *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, t. I, Berlin, 1877).

(2) Musonius concludes that the only sexual relations free from licence and dishonour are those undertaken by a husband and wife expressly for procreation. For *A.P.*, 5.302.1 f, 3 f, 15 ff see MUSONIUS, p. 64.10 ff : *ὡς μετά γε σωφροσύνης οὔτ' ἂν ἑταίρᾳ πλησιάζειν ὑπομείνειέ τις, οὔτ' ἂν ἐλευθέρᾳ γάμου χωρὶς οὔτε μὰ Δία θεραπαίνῃ τῇ αὐτοῦ*, and ID., p. 66.2 ff. : *οἷος οὐχ ἥκιστά ἐστι καὶ ὁ δούλῃ ἰδίᾳ πλησιάζων, ὅπερ νομίζουσί τινες μάλιστά πως εἶναι ἀναίτιον, κτλ.* For *A.P.*, 5.302.7 f. see MUSONIUS, p. 64.4 ff. : *συμπλοκαὶ δ' ἄλλαι αἱ μὲν κατὰ μοιχείαν παρανομώταται, καὶ μετριώτεραι τούτων οὐδὲν αἱ πρὸς ἀρρένας τοῖς ἄρρεσιν, ὅτι παρὰ φύσιν τὸ τόλμημα.*

ever, wider than this, as the appended commentary shows (1). In structure, the poem is based on *A.P.* 9.359, a celebrated

(1) (Linguistic comment is included only in order to establish meaning or literary affinity).

Line 3 f — See *Inst.*, *loc. cit.* Here *φθορέων* is from *φθορεύς* "seducer". For *φθορά* = stuprum, see *Dig.*, 48.5.6.1.

Line 5 f — For the sentiment, cf. *A.P.*, 11.7 (NICANDER or NICARCHUS) *Οὐδεὶς τὴν ἰδίην συνεχῶς, Χαρίδημε, γυναῖκα / κινεῖν ἐκ ψυχῆς τερπόμενος δύναται, κτλ.* For *χρέος*, cf. *A.P.*, 12.211.5 (STRATO) *ὃς μὲν γὰρ καλέσας ἐπὶ τὸ χρέος κτλ.*

Line 7 f — Adultery and homosexuality are coupled in *Inst.*, *loc. cit.*, So in ancient homiletic literature passim, see Orac. Sib., 3.764 Geffcken *μοιχείας πεφύλαξο καὶ ἄρσενος ἄκριτον εὐνήν*; *ib.*, 4.34, 5.166 and 430; PS.-PHOC., 3; MUSONIUS, p. 64.4 HENSE (cited n. 2, p. 216); 1 *Cor.*, 6.9 (cf. LEVIT. 20.10 ff); DIDACHE, 2.1; EP. BARNAB., 19.4.

κείσθω: cf. *P. Teb.*, 61b 214 (2c B.C.), « verbucht stehen », Preisigke.

Line 9-14 — cf. 1 *Tim.*, 5.5 f *ἡ δὲ ὄντως χήρα καὶ μεμονωμένη ἤλπικεν ἐπὶ Θεόν, καὶ προσμένει ταῖς δεήσεσι καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας. ἡ δὲ σπαταλῶσα ζῶσα τέθνηκε.* The *Lex Julia de Adulteriis* (n. 1, p. 216) implied a distinction between chaste and unchaste widows, and cannot have been binding on the latter. Though brothels were forbidden (*Nov.*, 14, 535), prostitution by women on their own account was countenanced. This, together with the strong Christian sanction against re-marriage (see P. Koukoules in *Epeter. Het. Byz. Spoud.*, 2 (1925), 24 ff.) imparts a degree of realism to these lines.

πάνδημον ἑραστήν: cf. PL., *Symp.*, 181e: *τούτους τοὺς πανδήμους ἑραστάς*, *ib.*, 183d: *ὁ ἑραστὴς ὁ πάνδημος*, where the nuance of *πάνδημος* is, of course, different.

Line 14 — *λυσιγάμους ... ἀγγελίας*: cf. *A.P.*, 5.269.6 (AG.) *ἧς τὸν ἔλεγχον / καὶ τὰς λυσιπόθους ἔτρεμον ἀγγελίας.*

Line 15-18 — Cf. *A.P.*, 10.48 (PALL.): *Μήποτε δουλεύσασα γυνὴ δέσποινα γένοιτο, / ἐστὶ παροιμιακόν*, and MUSONIUS, p. 66.2 ff. (n. 2, p. 216). In the Christian

Hellenistic epigram listing the disadvantages inherent in different aspects of human life (1). The topics and manner

period, unmarried men were still permitted to take slave-concubines, provided the slave was their own. The penalty for having relations with another person's slave was a fine of thirty-six *nomismata* (paid to the slave's owner), or corporal punishment plus a smaller fine. *Married* men were, however, forbidden to have concubines, on pain of corporal punishment. (Canon LXXXVII in Trullo ; see A. HADJINICOLAOU-MARAVA, *Recherches sur la vie des esclaves dans le Monde Byzantin* [Athens, 1950], 76).

Line 17 *αἶσχος ἀνάψει* : cf. *A.P.*, 9.397.3 (PALL.) : *ζώων μὲν σέο μητρὶ διαπμερὲς αἶσχος ἀνάπτεις* (*Od.*, 2. 86 : *μῶμον ἀνάψαι*).

Line 19 Masturbation seems to have been sanctioned by some extreme Cynics as a means of freeing the mind from sexual distractions. See DIO CHR., 6.17-20, and other passages cited in E. ZELLER, *Die Philosophie der Griechen* (4e ed. Leipzig, 1889), II.1.322, n. 1 ; also GERHARD, *op. cit.*, p. 145, n. 1. The anecdote alluded to here is recounted by GALEN, *Loc. Affect.*, 6.5 (8, p. 419, KÜHN) : *Διογένης οὖν ὁ κυνικὸς ἑταίρᾳ ποτε συνθέμενος, ὡς φασίν, ὅπως πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίκηται, βραδυνούσης αὐτῆς ἀπετρίψατο τὸ σπέρμα, προσαπτόμενος τῇ χειρὶ τὸ αἰδοῖον, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα παραγενομένην ἀπέπεμψεν, εἰπὼν τὴν χεῖρα φθάσαι τὸν ὑμέναιον ᾄσαι.* Similar language in Diogenes *Ep.*, 42 Hercher, *ἔφθασεν ἡ χείρ μου πρὸ τῆς σῆς ἀφίξεως τὸν ὑμέναιον ᾄσαι*, cf. *ibid.*, 44. Diogenes and Laïs are connected also in *Athen.*, 13.588c al., and LUXORIUS, 88.

(1) *Ποίην τις βιότοιο τάμοι τρίβον ; εἰν ἀγορῇ μὲν / νείκεα καὶ χαλεπαὶ πρήξιες, ἐν δὲ δόμοις / φροντίδες · ἐν δ' ἄγροις καμάτων ἅλις, ἐν δὲ θαλάσσῃ / τάρβος · ἐπὶ ξείνης δ', ἢν μὲν ἔχῃς τι, δέος · / ἢν δ' ἀπορῇς, ἀνιηρόν. ἔχεις γάμον ; οὐκ ἀμέριμνος / ἔσσεαι. οὐ γαμέεις ; ζῇς ἔτ' ἐρημότερος. / τέκνα πόνοι, πήρωσις ἅπαις βίος. αἱ νεότητες / ἄφρονες, αἱ πολιαὶ δ' ἔμπαλιν ἀδρανέες. / ἦν ἄρα τοῖν δοιοῖν ἑνὸς αἵρεσις, ἢ τὸ γενέσθαι / μηδέποτ' ἢ τὸ θανεῖν αὐτίκα τικτόμενον.* On the attribution of this epigram (variously assigned by the mss. to Posidippus, Plato Comicus, Crates the Cynic and Heraclitus) see A. S. F. Gow, *The Greek Anthology, Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge, 1965), II, 502 ; C. DILTHEY, *De Epigrammatum Graecorum Syllogis Quibusdam Minoribus Commentatio* (Göttingen, 1887), 23.

of this latter poem were drawn from the Cynic-Stoic Diatribe, though its final couplet reflects an older pessimism (1). *A.P.* 9.359 had a wide currency (it is preserved, wholly or in part, in at least eleven manuscripts besides the Palatinus and Planudeus) and a numerous progeny, of which our epigram seems to be the latest (2). Diatribe-themes of a type similar to those of *A.P.* 9.359 exercised a considerable influence on Christian homiletic, where they were readily adaptable to contrasts between the vicissitudes of secular life and the tranquillity of Paradise or of the ascetic life (3). With its

(1) See J. GEFFCKEN, *Kynika und Verwandtes* (Heidelberg, 1909), p. 7 ; J. LEIPOLDT, *Griechische Philosophie und frühchristliche Askese* (Berlin, 1961), p. 35, n° 1. For *A.P.*, 9.359.9 f cf. *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*, 75 ; THEOGNIS, 425 ff. (with Young's note) ; SOPH., *O.C.*, 1224 ; etc. See G. ZUNTZ in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XLII (1956), 218.

(2) See the list of testimonia in H. BECKBY, *Anthologia Graeca* (Munich, 1958), III, 220. For imitations or adaptations see *A.P.*, 9.360 (METRODORUS, an optimistic reply) ; *ib.*, 446 (JUL. AEG.) ; AUSONIUS, 7.2 (p. 87 PEIPER) ; *Epigr. Bobiensia*, 25 f ; St. GREGORY NAZIANZEN in *P.G.*, 37.779, and *A.P.*, 10.124b-126 (which the Palatinus transmits as two four-line epigrams).

(3) St. Basil of Caesarea *De Paradiso*, III, 3 (*P.G.*, 30.65A) : The rose growing among thorns is a symbol of how joy and sadness are mixed in temporal life : *τὰ τερπνὰ πάντα τοῦ τῇδε βίου τοῖς λυπηροῖς ἀναμέμικται. τῷ ὄντι γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀγαθῶν ἀκραιφνές· ἀλλὰ πάσῃ κοσμικῇ εὐφροσύνῃ εὐθὺς ἡ λύπη συμπαραπέπηγε· τῷ γάμῳ ἡ χηρεία, τῇ παιδοτροφίᾳ ἡ μέριμνα, τῇ εὐτεκνίᾳ ἡ ἀποβολή, ταῖς περιφανείαις αἱ ἀτιμίαι, ταῖς τρυφαῖς αἱ παρέσεις, ταῖς ὑγιείαις αἱ ἀρρωστίαι.* SCRIPTOR INCERTUS ap. *Gnomolog. Gorgidis Monachi*, 4 (*P.G.*, 117.1060C) : Human aspirations bring more pain than joy : *αἱ σωματικαὶ ἀπολαύσεις πλέον τὸ ὀδυνηρὸν ἔχουσι τοῦ ἡδεῦς· οἱ γάμοι, τὰς ἀπαιδίας, τὰς χηρείας, τὰς διαφθοράς· αἱ γεωργίαι, τὴν ἀκαρπίαν· αἱ ἐμπορείαι, τὰ ναυάγια· οἱ πλοῦτοι, τὰς ἐπιβουλάς· αἱ τρυφαὶ καὶ οἱ κόροι καὶ αἱ συνεχεῖς ἀπολαύσεις, τὸ ποικίλον τῶν νοσημάτων καὶ τὸ πολυειδὲς τῶν παθῶν.* Criticism of the married condition is a frequent theme in such passages. So St. SARAPION, *Epistle to the monks of Alexandria*, 6 (*P.G.*, 40.932B) : *ὅταν γήμῃ τις ἐν πόλει, ἀρχὴ περιστάσεως, ἀναλωμάτων χρεία· ἔγκυος ἡ γυνή ; γεγένηκεν ; ἀπετέχθη τὸ βρέφος ; φροντὶς τῷ ἀνδρὶ πῶς τῆς γυναικὸς τελέσει τὰ καταθύμια· θῆλυ τέτοκεν ; ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀηδίζεται περὶ προικῶν περισπώμενος· ἄρσεν ἐτέχθη ; φαιδρὸν αὐτοῦ πρὸς ὀλίγον τὸ πρόσωπον*, κτλ. 8 (933B) : *ταῦτα οἱ γάμῳ συναφθέντες ὑπομένουσιν· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν ἐρήμῳ ἀπερίσπαστοι διατελεῖτε, μόνου λαμπροῦ βίου ἐπιμελούμενοι.* Cf. also St. JOH. CHRYS., *ad Theod. Lapsum*, II, 5

Cynic *ἀναίδεια* and obvious debt to the contemporary penal code, Agathias' epigram stands at some distance from such Christian versions. Nevertheless, his moral, that sexual passion is an inconvenience that deserves to be put out of the way, was conformable with Christian doctrine ; and I believe that the influence of Christian homiletic literature is not far away. In a *kontakion* on the ascetic life, dating from the first half of the sixth century, Romanos the Melode passes in review the fortunes of rich and poor, rustics, seafarers and so on, which he compares with the security of the ascetic (1). Here is his stanza on family-life :

Τοὺς ἀγάμους ἐλπίδες συγκόπτουσι,
τοὺς ἐν γάμῳ φροντίδες συντήκουσι ·
τοὺς ἀτέκνους ἡ λύπη ἐμάρανε,
πολυτέκνους ἡ θλῖψις ἀνάλωσεν ·
οἱ μὲν τῷ γάμῳ ἀποδύρονται,
οἱ δὲ πάλιν θρηνοῦσι τὴν ἀπαιδίαν ·
καὶ ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ γέλως πλατύς,
ἀπαράλλακτος γὰρ ἡ χαρὰ τοῦ ψαλμοῦ. (Str. δ')

Is not our poem, and especially its closing couplet, a comparable version of this *γέλως πλατύς*, aimed not at family-life, but at sexual love?

If Agathias intended this poem to arouse repugnance in the reader, he was certainly successful ; and it is a relief to turn to a group of epigrams which show sympathy for the normal domestic aspirations. In *A.P.* 5.276, a young man

(*P.G.*, 47.314), and the passage of Romanos cited in the text, p. 220. The long comparison between the life of married women and virgins in St. BASIL OF ANCYRA, *De Virginitate*, 23 (*P.G.*, 30.715C) abandons the short antitheses which characterise the foregoing examples. For the *locus communis εἰ γαμητέον* generally, see A. OLTRAMARE, *Les origines de la diatribe romaine*, Diss. Geneva, 1926, nos 73, 73b ; CAPELLE and MARROU in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, III, col. 1003 (Stuttgart, 1957) ; CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Paedagogus* ed. H.-I. MARROU (Paris, 1960), p. 85.

(1) *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica, Cantica Genuina*, ed. by P. MAAS and C. A. TRYPANIS (Oxford, 1963), no 55, str. *α'-η'*.

brings a gift to his fiancée, and looks forward to their married life and the presents he will give her then (1):

Σοὶ τόδε τὸ κρήδεμνον, ἐμὴ μνήστειρα, κομίζω,
χρυσεοπηνήτῳ λαμπόμενον γραφίδι·
βάλλε δὲ σοῖς πλοκάμοισιν· ἐφεσσαμένη δ' ὑπὲρ ὤμων
στήθει παλλεύκῳ τήνδε δὸς ἀμπεχόνην.
ναὶ ναὶ στήθει μᾶλλον, ὅπως ἐπιμάζιον εἴη
ἀμφιπεριπλέγδην εἰς σὲ κεδαννύμενον.
καὶ τόδε μὲν φορέοις ἅτε παρθένος· ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐνὴν
λεύσσοις καὶ τεκέων εὔσταχυν ἀνθοσύνην,
ὄφρα σοι ἐκτελέσαιμι καὶ ἀργυφέην ἀναδέσμην
καὶ λιθοκολλήτων πλέγματα κεκρυφάλων.

This is, surely, a vignette from contemporary life. Byzantine convention allowed the fiancé access to his future father-in-law's house once the *sponsalia* had taken place; gifts were made during this time as part of the bride's trousseau, and clothing (as here) could be among them (2). If the betrothed pair met on these visits, they would be expected to show decorum. The young man in our poem eludes convention as best he may by urging the girl to wind the ends of the

(1) "I bring you this mantilla, my betrothed, bright with embroidery of threads of gold. Fasten it on your hair, then, spreading it over your shoulders, cover your white bosom with it. Yes, yes more over your bosom, to make it lie upon your breasts and hug you all round. This you must wear as a virgin; but may you see marriage and a rich harvest of children, so that I may procure for you a shining head-band and hair-net studded with jewels". The words *κρήδεμνον* and *ἀμπεχόνην* describe the same garment, namely a shawl covering the hair and shoulders, which could be drawn over the face as a veil (Byzantine *μαφόριον*). The *κεκρύφαλος* was a hair-net, the *ἀναδέσμη* perhaps a cloth-fillet (*ἀργύφεος* can be applied to cloth). I interpret the poem thus: — "At present you must wear your hair down and concealed, because you are a virgin. But when you are married you will be able to dress it and adorn it for everyone to see".

(2) See P. KOUKOULES in *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 2 (1925), 12, 14 n. 6. *μνήστειρα*, *betrothed girl*, occurs only here: but cf. *μνηστεία*, *μνηστεύομαι*, *μνηστήρ*, *μνηστός*, *μνῆστρον* in G. W. H. LAMPE (ed.), *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1965), which all concern betrothal.

shawl tightly round her bosom (since he cannot come there himself). The scene is natural, considering the taboos pertaining in respectable life. It was, however, too piquant for Planudes, who omitted this epigram (1). In fact, its sobriety and domesticity are in marked contrast to the other contents of *A.P.* 5, where even situations which are technically domestic receive picaresque treatment (2). It is instructive to compare our epigram with Paul the Silentiary's effusion on seeing his mistress with her hair dressed in different styles (*A.P.* 5.260) :

Κεκρύφαλοι σφίγγουσι τεὴν τρίχα ; τήκομαι οἴστρῳ,
Ῥείης πυργοφόρου δείκελον εἰσορόων.
ἀσκεπές ἐστι κάρηνον ; ἐγὼ ξανθίσμασι χαίτης
ἔκχυτον ἐκ στέρνων ἐξεσόβησα νόον.
ἀργενναῖς ὀθόνῃσι κατήορα βόστρυχα κεύθεις ;
οὐδὲν ἐλαφροτέρη φλὸξ κατέχει κραδίην.
μορφὴν τριχθαδίην χαρίτων τριὰς ἀμφιπολεύει ·
πᾶσα δέ μοι μορφὴ πῦρ ἴδιον προχέει.

Paul provides a conventional essay in the Hellenistic style (cf. Tibullus 4.1.9), whereas Agathias omits the erotic vocabulary and re-casts the setting to suit his own taste.

As might be expected, the note of domestic affection is strongest in the sepulchral epigrams. The poet's epitaph on his mother (*A.P.* 7.552, see n. 1, p. 211) combines praise of his father with a pious prayer for the son's future. In the epitaph on his sister and brother-in-law, *A.P.* 7.596, he calls their estrangement a *sin* requiring forgiveness, which the dead couple have received by God's mercy. Justinian held an identical view of the sanctity of marriage, and by successive edicts in the years 542, 548 and 556 stipulated

(1) Jacobs misinterpreted the situation in his commentary, *Animadversiones in Epigrammata Anthologiae Graecae* (Lipsiae, 1802), III, 1, 49 : *Mulieri, quam deperit, comae reticulum et pallam donat, alia maioris pretii promittens.* He corrected himself, however, in a ms. note in his own copy, preserved in the Bodleian Library.

(2) See, for example, *A.P.*, 5.40 and 75 (RUFIN.), 290 f (PAUL. SIL.), 289 and 294 (AGATHIAS). Two other epigrams of Agathias, *A.P.*, 5.263 and 297, come nearest in tone to ours.

the grounds on which a divorce might be obtained, making it well-nigh impossible for a marriage to be dissolved by mutual consent (1). As I have tried to show elsewhere, our epigram probably dates from soon after 566, when Justin II restored the right of divorce by mutual consent (2). An equally idealistic view of marriage animates *A.P.* 7.614, which tells how two Mytilenean sisters sought the protection of the Athenian Assembly and obtained the death of Paches after the Athenian general had killed their husbands and tried to rape them. Paches conducted a campaign in Lesbos and Ionia in 428-7 B.C.; his trial and suicide on relinquishing his command is twice mentioned by Plutarch, but only Agathias records his offence (3). By making the old Hellenic tale a theme for his panegyric of marital fidelity, he follows a pattern already established in Christian homiletic (compare the "legend of good women" in St. Jerome, *Adv. Jovinianum*, I, 41, *P.L.* 23.1.282; and the *exemplum* in Epistle 70 of Theodoret of Cyra, *P.G.* 83.1240) (4). By contrast, Agathias provides forthright condemnation of unfaithful spouses in his epigrams on Candaules, who perished because he exhibited his wife naked to Gyges (*A.P.* 7.567), and on an adulterous couple crushed when the roof of their bedroom collapsed (A.P. 572) (5). Similar preoccupations recur in the *Histories*, where he dwells with horror on adultery and incest among the

(1) *Nov.*, CXVII 8-15, 542; CXXVII 4, 548; CXXXIV, 11, 556.

(2) See *Mnemosyne*, *loc. cit.*, n. 3, p. 211.

(3) PLUT., *Vit. Nic.*, 6; ID., *Vit. Aristid.*, 26. LENSCHAU in *R.E.*, 18.2.2068 gives an evaluation of Agathias' testimony. According to ARIST., *Pol.*, 1304a, a dispute *concerning the marriage of two heiresses* was the reason for the Athenian intervention at Mytilene.

(4) There is a close parallel to our epigram in St. Jerome's account of some virgins of Miletus who preferred suicide to rape by the invading Gauls, *loc. cit.*, ad fin. This story appears first in *A.P.*, 7.492 (ANYTE), cf. also 493 (ANTIPATER). Did the Lesbian story come to Agathias through a patristic intermediary, or did he simply embroider Plutarch and Aristotle to suit his own didactic purpose?

(5) For Candaules, cf. HERODOTUS, 1.8, which Agathias quotes. For the falling-roof theme, cf. *A.P.*, 9.422 (APOLLONIDES), 15.19 (anon.).

Persians (1). Other sepulchral epigrams of Agathias turn on commonplaces of family piety (2).

A composition by Agathias which would have been relevant in this connection, had it survived, is his juvenile production, the *Daphniaka*. As it is, we have only his depreciatory reference to it in the preface to the *Histories* (*καὶ τοίνυν πεποίηταί μοι ἐν ἑξαμέτροις βραχέα ἄττα ποιήματα, ἃ δὴ Δαφνιακὰ ἐπωνόμασται, μύθοις τισὶ πεποικιλμένα ἐρωτικοῖς καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνάπλεα γοητευμάτων*, Proem. 7K.), and the prefatory epigram, *A.P.* 6.80 (3) :

Δαφνιακῶν βίβλων Ἀγαθηιὰς ἐννεάς εἰμι·
ἀλλά μ' ὁ τεκτήνας ἄνθετο σοί, Παφίη.
οὐ γὰρ Πιερίδεσσι τόσον μέλω ὅσσον Ἔρωτι,
ὄργια τοσσατίων ἀμφιέπουσα πόθων.
αἰτεῖ δ' ἀντὶ πόνων, ἵνα οἱ διὰ σεῖο παρείη
ἤ τινα μὴ φιλέειν ἢ ταχὺ πειθομένην.

The poem, therefore, was in nine books, and recounted numerous love-affairs, which were somehow connected with Daphnis. As far as may be gathered from Theocritus' allusive treatment of the story (*Idylls* 1.64-142, 7.73-5), Daphnis languished with an unfulfilled passion, and died because of it (4). This, at any rate, is how Nonnus understood the tale (*D.* 15.308-310; so probably *A.P.* 6.78 [Eratosthenes Sch.]). Now, in

(1) AG., *Hist.*, 2.24.1 : ... *οὐ μόνον ἀδελφαῖς τε καὶ ἀδελφιδαῖς ἀνέδην μιγνύμενοι, ἀλλὰ πατέρες τε θυγατράσι καὶ τὸ δὴ πάντων ἀνοσιώτερον, ᾧ νόμοι γε καὶ φύσις, υἱοὶ ταῖς τεκούσαις. ὅτι γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦτο κεκαινοτόμηται, ἐκεῖθεν ἄν τις σαφέστατα διαγνοίη.* (There follows the story of Semiramis). *Ibid.*, 30.6 : *καὶ τὸ δὴ πάντων παραλογώτερον· ἑξὸν γὰρ ἑκάστῳ μυρίας ὅσας ἄγεσθαι γαμετὰς καὶ τοίνυν ἀγομένοις, ἀλλὰ μοιχεῖαί γε ὅμως τολμῶνται.*

(2) *A.P.*, 7.551, 568 f, 574, 583, 602.

(3) "I am the nine books of the *Daphniaka* of Agathias ; but my maker dedicated me to you, goddess of Paphos, since I concern Love more than the Muses, containing as I do the mysteries of so many passions. He asks that, in return for his labours, you may grant him either never to fall in love, or to win quick compliance".

(4) Pre-Theocritean variants are collected by Gow, *Theocritus* (Cambridge, 1952), II, 1. In THEOCR., 8.93 (perhaps a spurious poem), Daphnis marries the nymph Naïs. See also R. M. OGILVIE in *J.H.S.*, LXXXII (1962), 106.

the last couplet of his prefatory poem, Agathias prays to Aphrodite that, in reward for his book, she may grant him either not to fall in love, or, if he does, to get quick compliance. Surely this implies that he wishes to be more fortunate in love than the characters in his tales? That is, the *Daphniaka* were (I suggest) named after Daphnis because they were stories of unfulfilled or unconsummated love. The theme of *unconsummated* love would have been an acceptable one for a youthful poet writing in the moral climate of Justinian's reign, and such a theme would be consonant with what we have already noted about Agathias' erotic poetry. Many such stories were ready to hand in late Hellenistic literary tradition (1).

This completes the list of poems by Agathias on themes relating to sexual *mores* or domestic affection. Their essential characteristics may be summarised as, an idealistic view of marriage and marital fidelity, a vehemently-expressed repulsion from homosexuality, adultery and even regular sexual relationships, and a certain uneasiness in treating the traditional themes of erotic poetry. It can scarcely be doubted that these literary manifestations are an accurate reflection of the poet's actual sympathies and preoccupations. No inconsistency is involved in supposing that these traits of personality co-existed in the same individual, and I have already suggested biographical reasons to account for them. If inclined by nature and family circumstances to take an ascetic view of sexual *mores*, Agathias will have been compelled further in this direction by the influence of contemporary Christianity, to which, as we have seen, he was early devoted.

(1) *Inter alia*, Apollo and Daphne, Hymnus and Nicaea, Pan and Pitys or Syrinx or Echo, Crocus and Smilax, Narcissus and himself. Agathias' epigram is preceded in the Palatine ms. by poems on Pan and Daphnis (*A.P.*, 6.78, in which both are described as δύσερως), and on Pan and Echo (*A.P.*, 6.79). On our epigram P. Waltz comments : « *Les Daphniaques* — dont nous n'avons rien conservé — étaient des récits versifiés de mythes érotiques, où les amours malheureux de Daphnis tenaient sans doute une large place (d'où son titre et le trait final de l'epigramme) ». See *Anthologie Grecque*, ed. P. WALTZ, Paris, 1931, t. III, p. 59.

Some idea of the pressure exerted by the Church on the young can be derived from the two *kontakia* of Romanos on Joseph, nos 43 and 44 M.-Tr. These metrical sermons tell the story of Joseph's rejection of Potiphar's wife (Gen. 39.6 ff.), no 43 including other episodes of Joseph's life. The second, in particular, with its wealth of rhetorical colour, and vivid portrayal of the frenzied woman, seems designed to captivate the sensibilities of the educated young (1). Though conceding much to literary artifice, Romanos firmly and repeatedly states his didactic purpose (I quote only a few of many similar exhortations) :

Ἀκολοσία τὸν νέον ἐξαπατᾷ πρὸς ἡδύτητα,
ἡ δὲ ἁγνεία ἀνδρίαν συνεισάγει τῷ σώφρονι, κτλ.
44 Proem. I

... τοῦτον, πιστοί, μιμεῖσθαι σπουδάσωμεν,
ὅτι καὶ νῦν ἡμῖν ἐπανίσταται
τῶν σαρκικῶν ἡδόνων <ἡ> ἀπάτη·
ἀλλὰ μηδεὶς ὑπὸ ταύτης ἡττάσθω, κτλ.
ib. κα′ 12-15

μιμησώμεθα τὸν νέον, πῶς κατέσβεσε τῆς πορνείας τὸ πῦρ χόρτῳ σαρκός.
... στήλη ἁγνείας χαλκευθεὶς ὁ νεανίας
τοὺς θέλοντας διδάσκει ἁγνείαν φιλεῖν.
σαλπίζει ἡ γραφὴ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς σαρκικούς,

(1) 44 ε′ 1-11 : *Ὅλην τῆς Αἰγυπτίας τὴν καρδίαν συνεῖχεν / ἡ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας μανία, / καὶ πληγεῖσα κρυφίαν πληγὴν ὑπεδέχετο μὲν τὰ πικρὰ φάρμακα, / γλυκέα δὲ ἐνόμιζε τὰ τραύματα ὡς μαινομένη. / δι′ ὀφθαλμῶν δεχομένη βέλη ἀπὸ τῆς σώφρονος βελοθήκης / καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἀσωτίαν τιτρώσκουσα / τέρψιν ἐπενόει τὴν τρῶσιν ἡ τάλαινα. / ὁ μὲν πόθος ὁ ἀκόλαστος ἐπολιόρκει τὸν νοῦν, / τὸ δὲ πάθος οὐκ ἠδύνατο φανερῶσαι τὸ αὐτῆς. / αὐτὴ γὰρ καὶ παρόντος Ἰωσὴφ ὠδύνατο, / πάλιν δὲ καὶ ἀπόντος ἀνεφλέγετο πλέον.* The temptation of Joseph is explicitly proposed to the young as an example of chastity in a homily on this theme falsely attributed to Chrysostom, *P.G.*, 56.587 : *πρέπων δὲ καὶ ἐπέραστος τοῖς νέοις ὁ τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ βίος, κτλ.* This homily and Romanos no 44 are closely connected, the homily echoing the rhetorical and erotic colour of Romanos' language. On the question of priority, see J. GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, *Romanos le Mélode, Hymnes*, t. I (Paris, 1964), p. 249, who is inclined to think that Romanos is the earlier.

ἵνα σοι παραστήσῃ ὅπλον τὴν παρθενίαν, κτλ.

43 *γ'* 2, 5-8.

An echo of this clarion-call to celibacy may surely be perceived in Agathias' own declaration, *Καλὸν μὲν στυγόδεμνον ἔχειν νόον*, as in his treatment of erotic themes generally. The celibate life was much in men's minds at this time ; to this aspect of contemporary piety we shall return in Chapter IV. First, however, it will be necessary to see how Agathias treats certain other topics of asceticism.

II

The Epideictic Epigrams

Among the epideictic epigrams of Agathias, two groups claim our special attention. The first is a series of three epigrams designed to be inscribed on a latrine in a suburb of Smyrna (1). These poems, with *A.P.* 9.662, probably concern a public building renovated by the poet when serving as *pater civitatis* of Smyrna (see below p. 232). Agathias makes this unpromising theme the occasion for moralisings on the subject of self-indulgence, drawing on a range of motifs familiar in the Diatribe and Sermon (2).

(1) For other poems of this type, see the two epigrams painted on the walls of a latrine adjoining the Atrium Thermarum in Ephesus (early fourth century A.D.) : — (1) *λὰξ ποδὶ κινήσας καὶ πὺξ χερὶ μακρὸν ἀείρας / καὶ βήξας κραδίηθεν, ὅλον δὲ τὸ σῶμα δονήσας, / ἐξ ὀνύχων χέζων φρένα τέρπεο, μηδέ σε γαστὴρ / μήποτε λυπήσειεν ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα μολόντα.* (2) *ἂν μή γ' ἕλωμεν τὸν βίον τὸν δραπέτην / πίνωντες* (sic) *ἢ τρυφῶντες ἢ λελουμένοι, / ὀδύνην ἑαυτοῖς προξενοῦμεν πάντοτε / ἀναξίους ὁρῶντες εὐτυχεστάτους* (the latter is almost identical with *A.P.*, 10.87 [Palladas]). These epigrams were accompanied by others which were illegible. All were part of the permanent decoration (« sorgfältig aufgemalte »), Heberdey in *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes*, I (1898), Beibl. 75 ; see also Weisshaüpl, *ibid.*, V (1902), Beibl. 33 ; Kalinka in *Wiener Studien*, 24 (1902), 292.

(2) On pp. 87 ff. of his *Untersuchungen*, Mattsson questioned the authenticity of *A.P.*, 9.642-4 and 662 on three grounds : (1) they are too tasteless to have been written by Agathias, (2) 9.644.5 violates

(a) *A.P.* 9.642. Lemma (B) *εἰς σωτήρια ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐν προαστείῳ* (1).

Πᾶν τὸ βροτῶν σπατάλημα καὶ ἡ πολύολβος ἐδωδὴ
ἐνθάδε κρινομένη τὴν πρὶν ὄλεσσε χάριν.
οἱ γὰρ φασιανοί τε καὶ ἰχθύες αἷ θ' ὑπὲρ ἴγδιν
τρίψιες ἥ τε τόση βρωματομιξαπάτη
γίνεται ἐνθάδε κόπρος· ἀποσσεύει δ' ἄρα γαστήρ,
ὁππόσα πειναλέη δέξατο λαυκανίη.
ὀψὲ δὲ γινώσκει τις, ὅτ' ἄφρονα μῆτιν ἀείρων
χρυσοῦ τοσσατίου τὴν κόνιν ἐπρίατο (2).

the Nonnian rule according to which an example of oxytone in feminine middle-caesura must be preceded by trithemimeral caesura, (3) 9.662.6 contains an example of proparoxytone in the middle-caesura of a pentameter, which the poets of the *Κύκλος* avoid, see MAAS in *Byz.-Neugr. Jahrb.*, 3 (1922), 163 f. These arguments can be answered as follows: (1) As already demonstrated, Agathias ends *A.P.*, 5.302 with an obscenity; while in *A.P.*, 5.273 he retains the emphasis on physical decay traditional to the theme of the aged courtesan (e.g. *A.P.*, 5.27, 76, 204, 271). The language of *A.P.*, 9.642-4 and 662 resembles that of many other epigrams of Agathias, as BECKBY points out in the second edition of his *Anthologia Graeca*, München, 1951, p. 812 f. (2) This phenomenon also occurs in the Agathian epigrams *A.P.*, 5.287.9, 11.352.13 and 382.3. None of these lines is known to be a quotation. (3) Although this phenomenon does not recur in Agathias, it is found in two sixth-century anonymous epigrams, *A.P.*, 7.564.4 and 16.358.6. For my detailed critique of MAAS's arguments, see *R.E.B.*, XXVIII (1970), pp. 147 ff. The authenticity of *A.P.*, 9.642-4 and 662 is accepted by Averil CAMERON, *Agathias*, p. 3, and I endorse her view.

(1) For the euphemism *σωτήριον*, *lavatory*, cf. CONSTANTINE ACROPOLITES, *Sermo in S. Joh. Damasc.*, sec. 48 (*P.G.*, 140.869D): *ὅλην τὴν λαύραν περιελθέτω, καὶ τὰ τῶν οἰκιδίων, ἃ δὴ καλοῦμεν σωτήρια, σαρωσάτω τὰ λύματα*; *Suda*, *s.v. ἀφ' ἑδρῶν* (I, p. 427.15 ADLER). Does the use of the word by the scribe of the Palatinus reflect a monastic milieu? For a comparable euphemism, cf. *charitin: fimirium* (sc. *χαρίτιον*: *fimarium*), *Corp. Glossar. Lat.*, ed. GOETZ (Leipzig, 1892), III, p. 172.59 (in capite *ὅσα ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ*).

(2) "All the self-indulgence of mankind and all their lavish eating is excreted here, losing its former attractiveness. Pheasants and fish, and pâté crushed in the mortar, and all such deceit of mingled viands, is turned to excrement here; the stomach, in the end, discharges all that the ravenous throat has taken in. Too late do we perceive that, in the foolish exaltation of our heart, we have spent so much gold on-dung". For *κρίνειν* = "secrete, excrete", see PLUT., *Mor.*, 909c. Perhaps Agathias intends a pun, *excreted/judged*.

The leading motif here, that the dunghill is the end of all rich food, is a commonplace of didactic literature, especially Christian (1). Mention of fowls and fish as typifying luxurious diet (2), and the "deceit" inherent in food (3), are also common. (Agathias' reference to "pâté reduced in the mortar" introduces an element occurring also in the celebrated tirade against gluttony in Clement of Alexandria's *Paedagogus*, 1.155 St., ... *ταγήνοις σίζουσιν περιηχούμενοι, ἀμφὶ τὴν ἴγδιν καὶ τὸν ἀλεκτρίβανον τὸν πάντα αὐτῶν κατατρίβοντες βίον οἱ παμφάγοι* (4).

Our epigram's theme and opening words have a certain similarity to Mt. 15.17 *οὐ νοεῖτε ὅτι πᾶν τὸ εἰσπορευόμενον εἰς τὸ στόμα εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν χωρεῖ, καὶ εἰς ἀφεδρῶνα ἐκβάλλεται; τὰ δὲ ἐκπορευόμενα ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἐκ τῆς καρδίας ἐξέρχεται, κἀκεῖνα κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον.* (Cf. Mk. 7.18). The two passages are not identical in thought, but considering

(1) Cf. 1 *Cor.*, 6.13 : *τὰ βρώματα τῇ κοιλίᾳ, καὶ ἡ κοιλία τοῖς βρώμασιν· ὁ δὲ θεὸς καὶ ταύτην καὶ ταῦτα καταργήσει*; *Cl. Al.* 1, 156.6 St. *οἱ μὲν γὰρ* (i.e. *οἱ πλούσιοι*) *ἐξέχονται τῶν ὄψων, ἃ μετ' ὀλίγον ἐκδέχεται κοπρών, ib.*, 258.18 *τὸ ἀκάθαρτον τῆς γαστριμαργίας οἱ κοπρῶνες ἐλέγχουσιν, εἰς οὓς ἀποπτύουσιν ἡμῶν αἱ γαστέρες τῆς δαιτὸς τὰ λείψανα*; Greg. Naz., *P.G.*, 37.933.73 : *δός, εἰπε γαστήρ. ἦν λαβοῦσα σωφρονῇς, / δώσω προθύμως. ἦν δὲ τοῖς κατὼ δίδῳς, / κόπρον λάβοις μέν, ἀλλ' ὅμως μὴ πλουσίαν. / εἰ δ' οὖν κατάσχοις, δώσομεν καὶ πλουσίαν*, Id., *P.G.*, 36.316c Joh. Chrys., *P.G.*, 58.660 : *ἀνάρρηξον σὺν τῷ λόγῳ τὴν γαστέρα τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα σιτουμένων, καὶ ὄψει τὸν πολὺν φορυτόν, καὶ τὸν κεκονιαμένον τάφον. τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ αἰσχύνομαι εἰπεῖν, τὰς ἐρυγὰς τὰς ἀηδεῖς, τοὺς ἐμέτους, τὰς κάτωθεν, τὰς ἄνωθεν ἐκκρίσεις*; Libanius 7.14.8F *μαίνεσθαι δὲ* (sc. *νομίζων*) *τοὺς ὑπερεσθίοντας καὶ οὐ λογιζομένους ὅτι κρεῖττον ἐν βαλαντίῳ φρουρεῖσθαι τὸ χρύσιον ἢ διὰ τῆς γαστρὸς διεξιὸν ἀπολωλέναι.*

(2) Philo, 2.212.25 C-W. : *ἰχθύας δὲ καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια ποικιλῶς ἀρτῦσαι*; Cl. Al., 1.155.14 : *ὄρνεις ἐπὶ τούτοις συνωνοῦνται τοὺς ἀπὸ Φάσιδος, ἀτταγᾶς Αἰγυπτίας, Μῆδον ταῶνα*; Joh. Chrys., *loc. cit.* : *καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτον ὄρνεις ἐπ' ἀνθράκων ὠπτημένας, ἐνδόθεν μεμεστωμένας ἰχθύων εἰσάγουσιν.*

(3) Philo., 2.212.17 : (*τὰ πεμμάτων γένη*) *πρὸς οὐ μόνον τὴν γεύσεως ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὄψεως ἀπάτην περιειργασμένα*; St. Nilus, *P.G.*, 79.1437 : *πᾶσι μέντοι παρήγγειλαν, μὴ ἀπατᾶσθαι χορτασίᾳ κοιλίας, μηδὲ ἐξέλκεσθαι τῇ τοῦ φάρυγγος ἡδονῇ.*

(4) Kock reconstructed Clement's words as a fragment of Comedy, *σίζουσι τηγάνοισι περιηχούμενοι / τὸν πάντα τ' ἀμφ' ἴγδιν τε κἀλεκτρίβανον / ... κατατρίβοντες βίον* (*C.A.F.*, III, p.146, nº 140).

Agathias' other scriptural allusions, the resemblance perhaps deserves to be borne in mind.

(b) 9.643.

Τί στενάχεις κεφαλὴν κεκακωμένος ; ἐς τί δὲ πικρὰ
οἰμώζεις μελέων πάγχυ βαρυνομένων ;
ἐς τί δὲ γαστέρα σεῖο ῥαπίσμασιν ἀμφιπατάσσεις,
ἐκθλίψαι δοκέων μάστακος ἐργασίην ;
μόχθων τοσσατίων οὔ σοι χρέος, εἰ παρὰ δαιτὶ
μὴ τοῦ ἀναγκαίου πουλὺ παρεξετάθης.
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν στιβάδος φρονέεις μέγα καὶ στόμα τέρπεις
βρώμασιν εὐτυχίην κεῖνα λογιζόμενος ·
ἐνθάδε δ' ἀσχάλλεις, μούνη δ' ἀλιτήματα λαιμοῦ
ἡ γαστὴρ τίνει πολλάκι τυπτομένη (1).

With its hectoring tone and direct address to the reader, this epigram is especially reminiscent of the Diatribe, Sermon or admonitory epistle (2). Two details, that gluttony is a sin and that it delights the mouth alone, have parallels in ascetic literature (3). The physical elaboration in lines

(1) "Why do you groan when your head is aching? Why do you bitterly lament when your body is heavy and burdened? Why do you slap and pummel your stomach all over, as if thinking to squeeze out your mouth's work? You would not have to endure so much suffering if you had not over-indulged yourself at the feast. But no — on the dining-couch you wax bold and delight your palate with dainties, thinking that *that* is bliss. *Here*, though, you are vexed. Your stomach (what else?) pays the penalty for your gullet's crimes, by being beaten again and again".

(2) E.g. EPICTETUS, 3.18.1 ; JOH. CHRYS., *P.G.*, 49.158-9. So AGATHIAS in *A.P.*, 10.69 : *Τὸν θάνατον τί φοβεῖσθε, τὸν ἡσυχίης γενετῆρα, κτλ.*, which is itself based on a *locus communis* of Stoicism, Christianity and popular philosophy, cf. *Stoic. Vet. Frag.*, ed. VON ARNIM, 3.60.33 ; SENECA, *Ep.*, 24.17 HENSE ; JOH. CHRYS., *P.G.*, 24.629 f. ; PEEK, *Griechische-versinschriften*, 1570 (2 or 3c A.D.), *A.P.*, 10.59 (PALLADAS).

(3) Cf. MUSON., p. 101.3 H. : *καὶ μὴν καθ' ἑκάστην προσφορὰν τροφῆς, οὐχ εἷς κίνδυνος ἁμαρτήματος, ἀλλὰ πλείονες. καὶ γὰρ ὁ παρὰ πλέον ἢ δεῖ ἐσθίων, ἁμαρτάνει, καὶ ὁ κατασπεύδων ἐν τῷ ἐσθίειν οὐδὲν ἧττον, καὶ ὁ μολυνόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄψου μᾶλλον ἢ χρή, καὶ ὁ τὰ ἡδίω τῶν ὑγιεινοτέρων βρώματα προτιμῶν, καὶ ὁ μὴ νέμων τὰ ἴσα τοῖς συνεσθίουσιν ;* CL. AL., 1.159.6 : « *αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐποίησαν εὐφροσύνην, σφάζοντες μόσχους καὶ θύοντες*

3-4, however, owes more to the vulgar tradition represented by the first Ephesus latrine-epigram (1).

(c) 9.644.

Εὖγε, μάκαρ τλήθυμε γεωπόνε · σοὶ βίος αἰεὶ,
μίμνειν καὶ σκαπάνης ἄλγεα καὶ πενίης ·
λιτὰ δέ σοι καὶ δεῖπνα, καὶ ἐν ξυλόχοισι καθεύδεις,
ὕδατος ἐμπλήσας λαιμὸν ἀμετροπότην.
ἔμπης ἀρτίπος ἐσσί, καὶ ἐνθάδε βαιὰ καθεσθεὶς
αὐτίκα γαστέρα σὴν θῆκας ἐλαφροτάτην ·
οὐδὲ καταψήχεις ἱερὴν ῥάχιν, οὐδέ τι μηροὺς
τύπτεις αὐτομάτως φόρτον ἀπωσάμενος.
τλήμονες οἱ πλουτοῦντες †ποικινοῖσι συνόντες
εἰς† πλέον ἀρτεμίης εὕαδεν εἰλαπίνη (2).

Agathias here combines two favourite ascetic themes, that the ascetic or poor man is healthier than the rich man (3),

πρόβατα, λέγοντες · φάγωμεν καὶ πίωμεν, αὔριον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν. » *καὶ ὅτι γε τὴν τοιαύτην τρυφὴν ἁμαρτίαν λογίζεται, ἐπιφέρει* : « *καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀφεθήσεται ἡ ἁμαρτία ὑμῶν αὕτη, ἕως ἂν ἀποθάνητε,* » (ISAIAH, 22.13 f.) ; MUSON., p. 97.7H : *μαγειρικὰ ... συγγράματα, ἃ τὴν μὲν ἡδονὴν καὶ πάνυ αὔξει τὴν ἐν τῷ φάρυγι, τὴν δ' ὑγίειαν διαφθείρει* ; St. NILUS, *P.G.*, 79.1145 : *πολυτελεία βρωμάτων τέρπει λαιμόν, τρέφει δὲ σκώληκα ἀκολασίας ἀκοίμητον* (cited anonymously in *Gnomol. Georgid. Monach.*, *P.G.*, 117.1071C).

(1) N. 1, p. 227.

(2) "Bravo, happy, hardy peasant! This is your life — to endure ceaselessly the pains of poverty and the spade. Frugal, too, is your dinner, and in the thickets do you sleep, when you have filled with water your insatiably-thirsting throat. But you are healthy, and you have only to sit here a moment for your stomach to be straightway lightened. You do not massage your buttocks or beat your thighs, for you have cast out your load spontaneously. Unhappy rich ... who take more pleasure in feasting than they do in health". For *ἱερὴ ῥάχις*, lower back, buttocks, cf. *sacra spina* EUSEB., *Hieron. Chron.*, 171.3 HELM, *ἱερὸν ὀστοῦν* RUF. Eph., p. 51 CLINCH, etc. There is an unsolved corruption in lines 9-10. I print the text of the Palatinus. Planudes has *τλήμονες οἱ* (*sic*) *πλουτοῦσι καὶ οἱ κεινοῖσι σύνοντες | οἷς πλέον κτλ.*, "Unhappy are the rich and their parasites", but his Greek is very flat and looks like a conjecture.

(3) MUSON., p. 104.5H : *οἱ ταῖς εὐτελεστάταις χρώμενοι τροφαῖς ἰσχυρότατοί εἰσι. τοὺς γοῦν οἰκέτας τῶν δεσποτῶν καὶ τοὺς χωρίτας τῶν ἀστικῶν καὶ τοὺς πένητας τῶν πλουσίων ἴδοις ἂν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος ῥωμα-*

and that luxurious feeding is the cause of many diseases (1). The didactic element is absent from his fourth exercise in the genre, *A.P.* 9.662, which has more of the character of an inscription :

> *Χῶρος ἐγὼ τὸ πρὶν μὲν ἔην στυγερωπὸς ἰδέσθαι*
> *πηλοδόμοις τοίχοις ἀμφιμεριζόμενος.*
> *ἐνθάδε δὲ ξείνων τε καὶ ἐνδαπίων καὶ ἀγροίκων*
> *νηδὺς ἐπεγδούπει λύματα χευομένη.*
> *ἀλλὰ πατήρ με πόληος ἐναλλάξας Ἀγαθίας*
> *θῆκεν ἀρίζηλον τὸν πρὶν ἀτιμότατον* (2).

Parallels for the language of the first and last couplets here can be found in extant inscriptional poetry, as well as in

λεωτέρους ὄντας καὶ μᾶλλον μὲν πονεῖν δυναμένους, ἧττον δὲ κάμνοντας ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις, νοσοῦντας δὲ σπανιώτερον, ἀνεχομένους δὲ εὐκολώτερον κρύος, θάλπος, ἀγρυπνίαν, πᾶν εἴ τι τοιοῦτον, paraphrased by CL. AL., 1. 157.2 ff. ; LUC. *Somn. s. Gall.*, 23 (the Cock addresses Micyllus, a poor cobbler) : *ὥστε διὰ ταῦτα ὑγιαίνεις τε καὶ ἔρρωσαι τὸ σῶμα καὶ διακαρτερεῖς πρὸς τὸ κρύος· οἱ πόνοι γάρ σε παραθήγοντες οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἀποφαίνουσι πρὸς τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄμαχα εἶναι. ἀμέλει οὐδέν σοι τῶν χαλεπῶν τούτων νοσημάτων πρόσεισιν, ἀλλὰ ἤν ποτε κοῦφος πυρετὸς ἐπιλάβηται, πρὸς ὀλίγον ὑπηρετήσας αὐτῷ ἀνεπήδησας εὐθὺς ἀποσεισάμενος τὴν ἄσην, ὁ δὲ φεύγει αὐτίκα φοβηθεὶς ψυχροῦ τε ὁρῶν ἐμφορούμενον καὶ μακρὰ οἰμώζειν λέγοντα ταῖς ἰατρικαῖς περιόδοις . οἱ δὲ ὑπ' ἀκρασίας ἄθλιοι τί τῶν κακῶν οὐκ ἔχουσι, ποδάγρας καὶ φθόας καὶ περιπνευμονίας καὶ ὑδέρους ; ταῦτα γὰρ τῶν πολυτελῶν ἐκείνων δεῖπνων ἀπόγονα ;* PS.-LUC., *Cyn.*, 5 and 17 ; PS.-DIOG., *Ep.*, 28.5 HERCHER ; GREG. NAZ., *P.G.*, 37.657.115ff. ; St. ISID. PEL. *P.G.*, 78.500B.

(1) MUSONIUS, p. 97.8 ff. HENSE ; PHILO, 2.212.2 ff. C.-W. ; PS.-LUC., *Cyn.*, 9 ; HOR., *Sat.*, 2.2.70 ff ; GREG. NAZ., *P.G.*, 37.655.91 ff ; JOH. CHRYS., *P.G.*, 48.585 ; St. ISID. PEL. *P.G.*, 78.500B ; etc. See H. M. WERHAHN, *Gregorii Nazianzeni Σύγκρισις Βίων* (Wiesbaden, 1953), 50 ff. (= *Klassisch-Philologische Studien hrsgb. von E. Bickel, H. Herter u. W. Schmid*, Heft 15).

(2) "I am a place that heretofore was hateful of aspect, partitioned off all round with mud-brick walls. Here the stomach of stranger, native and rustic used to thunder, pouring forth its filth. But Agathias, father of the city, changed me, and made me resplendent, who before was most ignoble".

inscriptions preserved only in literary sources (1); while the middle couplet returns to the anal coarseness and Homeric parody of the Ephesus inscription (2).

Literary analysis renders these poems more intelligible, but, as in the case of *A.P.* 5.302, it leaves their ultimate motivation unexplained. Are they products of religious enthusiasm, or of personal idiosyncrasy? Even when allowance is made for the influence of the ascetic tradition, and for the fact that poets of the *Κύκλος* often display their virtuosity by varying the same theme in several epigrams (3), it is difficult not to feel an element of obsession in the reiteration of so squalid a theme.

Variation of a moralising *τόπος* is also the basis of Agathias' group of three epigrams on gaming, *A.P.* 9.767-9. (In the Planudean and Renaissance tradition, all three epigrams are attributed to Paul the Silentiary; this is almost certainly an oversight by Planudes, as I have sought to demonstrate in the Appendix, p. 265 below). These are brief compositions, consisting of six lines each, and may have been intended for inscribing on actual gaming-boards (4). The burden of all

(1) See *A.P.*, 9.615 (anon), 631 (AGATHIAS), *A.P.*, 7.564 (anon.); L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, IV (1948), 48 (an inscription from Aphrodisias).

(2) For line 4 *ἐπεγδούπει*, cf. *Iliad*, 11.45 : *ἐπὶ δ' ἐγδούπησαν Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ Ἥρη, / τιμῶσαι βασιλῆα πολυχρύσοιο Μυκήνης*. The Ephesus inscription parodies *Iliad*, 10. 158 : *λὰξ ποδὶ κινήσας* (= *Odyssey*, 15.45), and *Odyssey*, 17.75 : *ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα*.

(3) E.g. *A.P.*, 6.18-20 (JUL. AEG., on Laïs), 64-66 (PAUL. SIL., dedications by calligraphers), 9.152-5 (AGATHIAS, on the ruins of Troy), 425-7 (JOH. BARBUC., on the destruction of Berytus), 767-9 (AGATHIAS, on a gaming-board, see below), 793-8 (LEONTIUS SCH., on pantomime-dancers).

(4) Cf. the less-literate Christian inscription on a gaming-board found at Rome, an account of which is given by BECQ DE FOUQUIÈRES, *Les Jeux des Anciens* (Paris, 1869), pp. 363 ff., and P. KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, I, p. 202 (Athens, 1948), and *ibid.*, pl. *γ'*, 1. The genuineness of this board has been questioned by some, but is accepted by Lamer in *R.E.*, 13.2.1998 f. MARTIAL has five distichs (XIV, 14-18) which are presumably inscriptions for gaming-boards. The six-word Latin inscriptions found on some extant gaming-boards (*R.E.*, *ibid.*, 2010 ff.) are not comparable.

of them is that one should keep one's temper when playing games of chance :

(a) *A.P.* 9.767. Lemma (B) *εἰς τάβλαν* (1).

Ἑζόμενος μὲν τῇδε παρ' εὐλάιγγι τραπέζῃ
παίγνια κινήσεις τερπνὰ βολοκτυπίης.
μήτε δὲ νικήσας μεγαλίζεο, μήτ' ἀπολειφθεὶς
ἄχνυσο τὴν ὀλίγην μεμφόμενος βολίδα.
καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ σμικροῖσι νόος διαφαίνεται ἀνδρός,
καὶ κύβος ἀγγέλλει βένθος ἐχεφροσύνης.

(b) *A.P.* 9.768.

Παίγνια μὲν τάδε πάντα · Τύχης δ' ἑτερότροπος ὁρμὴ
ταῖς ἀλόγοις ταύταις ἐμφέρεται βολίσιν ·
καὶ βροτέου βιότου σφαλερὸν μίμημα νοήσεις,
νῦν μὲν ὑπερβάλλων, νῦν δ' ἀπολειπόμενος.
αἰνέομεν δὴ κεῖνον, ὃς ἐν βιότῳ τε κύβῳ τε
χάρματι καὶ λύπῃ μέτρον ἐφηρμόσατο (2).

(c) *A.P.* 9.769.

Τοῖς μὲν πρηυνόοις τάδε παίγνια, τοῖς δ' ἀκολάστοις
λύσσα καὶ ἀμπλακίη καὶ πόνος αὐτόματος.

(1) *A.P.*, 9.767. "Sitting at this table of goodly stone, you will set in motion the delightful game played with the rattling dice. Do not wax proud when you win, nor, when you lose, grow vexed and blame the little die. For it is over small matters that the mind of a man is revealed, and the die proclaims how deep is our self-control". *τάβλα* (*tabula*) is the generic name for games played with a board, counters, and sometimes dice. For a list of these games see Lamer 1906. Since the board itself was also *τάβλα* (*ibid.*, 1915), our Lemma could mean either "on gaming" or "on a gaming board". Agathias describes such a game at length in *A.P.*, 9.482.

(2) *A.P.*, 9.768. "All this is a game ; yet the impulse of Fortune, inclining to this side and that, is contained in these random dice. Thus you will perceive herein an ingenious replica of human life, as you are at one moment triumphant, at another outstripped. Truly, our praise goes to the man who sets limits to joy and sorrow in dicing, as in his life". For the comparison of life to a game of chance, cf. anon. epyll. ap. *Arch. Pap.*, 7.117, nº 535 (2 B.C.) ; Alexis, fr. 34 Kock ; Epict., 2.5.3 ; Pl., *Rep.*, 604c (Plut., *Mor.*, 467a) ; Philo, 4.127.6 ff. ; Ter., *Adelph.*, 4.7.21, etc.

ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ λέξῃς τι θεημάχον ὕστατος ἕρπων,
μηδ' ἀναροιβδήσῃς ῥινοβόλῳ πατάγῳ.
δεῖ γὰρ μήτε πονεῖν ἐν ἀθύρμασι μήτε τι παίζειν
ἐν σπουδῇ, καιρῷ δ' ἴσθι νέμειν τὸ πρέπον (1).

References to the emotions excited by games of chance are few and brief in extant pagan Greek literature (2). A few longer examples occur in Roman literature of the Empire (3). In Christian homiletic, however, the theme is treated extensively. The Church was bitterly opposed to gambling, which was forbidden by Canon Law (games of pure chance had already been illegal in the Roman republic and pagan empire) (4). Patristic attacks on gambling are accordingly numerous, and the topics which they employ come close

(1) *A.P.*, 9.769. "To the meek this is a game, but to the unbridled it is frenzy and sin and self-inflicted suffering. See that *you* speak no blasphemous word if you come last, and do not snort and breathe hard down your nose. For one should not labour over trifles nor jest in serious matters, but should know how to give each occasion its due".

(2) See *Iliad.*, 23.88 : *ἀμφ' ἀστραγάλοισι χολωθείς* ; Soph. fr. 861 Nauck : *στέργειν δὲ τἀκπεσόντα καὶ θέσθαι πρέπει / σοφὸν κυβευτήν, ἀλλὰ μὴ στένειν τύχην* ; *A.R.*, 3.117 ff. (of Eros and Ganymede dicing) : *ἀμφ' ἀστραγάλοισι δὲ τώγε / χρυσείοις, ἅτε κοῦροι ὁμήθεες, ἐψιόωντο. / καί ῥ' ὁ μὲν ἤδη πάμπαν ἐνίπλεον ᾧ ὑπὸ μαζῷ / μάργος Ἔρως λαιῆς ὑποίσχανε χειρὸς ἀγοστόν, / ὀρθὸς ἐφεστηώς · ... / ... ὁ δ' ἐγγύθεν ὀκλαδὸν ἧστο / σῖγα κατηφιόων · δοιὼ δ' ἔχεν, ἄλλον ἔτ' αὖτως / ἄλλῳ ἐπιπροιείς · κεχόλωτο δὲ καγχαλόωντι* ; HEPH., *Astr.*, 2.2 ENGELBRECHT : *παῖκται καὶ αἰσχρολόγοι* (*π.* = "dicer", as in *A.P.*, 7.422.3 [LEON. TAR.]).

(3) OVID, *A.A.*, 3.369 ff. : *Sed minimus labor est sapienter iactibus uti ; / maius opus mores composuisse suos ... / ira subit, deforme malum, lucrique cupido, / iurgiaque et rixae sollicitusque dolor ; / crimina dicuntur, resonat clamoribus aether ; / invocat iratos et sibi quisque deos ;* LUXORIUS, 47, 3 ff. : *Sed male dum numeros contraria tessera mittit, / clamat et irato pallidus ore fremit. / Tum verbis manibusque furens miserandus anhelat, / de solitis faciens proelia vera iocis. / Effundit tabulam mensam subselia pyrgum, / perditaque Harpyacis aera rapit manibus* ; so *passim* in the anon. poem *De Alea*, in *Poetae Latini Minores*, ed. BAEHRENS, IV, pp. 192 ff., and in some of the monostichs *ibid.*, p. 119 f.

(4) See A. HARNACK in *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, V (1889), Heft 1, 35-43 ; LAMER, 1910 f.

to those of the third epigram of Agathias, (c) above (1). Moreover, Justinian was concerned to suppress certain dice-games and the gambling associated with them. His constitution of 529 A.D. makes the point that such games are occasions of blasphemy, *C.J.* 3.43.1.1 : *Alearum lusus antiqua res est et extra operas pugnantibus concessa, verum pro tempore prodiit in lacrimas, milia extranearum nominationum suscipiens. Quidam enim ludentes nec ludum scientes, sed nominationem tantum, proprias substantias perdiderunt die noctuque ludendo in argento apparatu lapidum et auro. Consequenter autem ex hac inordinatione blasphemare conantur et instrumenta conficiunt ... ib.* 2.2. *Similiter provideant iudices, ut a blasphemiis et periuriis, quae ipsorum inhibitionibus debent comprimi, omnes penitus conquiescant.* Agathias says something very similar in *A.P.* 9.769, *τοῖς δ' ἀκολάστοις / λύσσα καὶ ἀμπλακίη καὶ πόνος αὐτόματος. / ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ λέξῃς τι θεημάχον ὕστατος ἕρπων, κτλ.* (2). Our evidence for this constitution depends

(1) *Tractatus anon. de aleatoribus* (ed. HARNACK, *ibid.*, pp. 22, 26), 6 : *Tabula aleae, dico, ubi dementis furia et venale periurium et conloquium serpentinum. Illic rabiosa amicitia, illic atrocissimi sceleris immanitas, illic fraternitas discordans, illic convicia et audacia saeva et mens insana et fera impatientia. Aleae tabula, dico, ubi possessionum amissio et pecuniarum ingentium perditus et demonstrans litigiosum (sic) et furax dementia; ib.*, 9 : *Certe qualis dementia aleatorum fidelium, ubi insaniunt et furacissimis vocibus perierant, et deorbati diaboli caligine invicem sibi manus inferunt, maledicunt, se devovunt, parentorum originem turbis praesentibus dehonorant*; JOH. CHRYS. *Ad. pop. Antioch. Hom.*, 15.4 (*P.G.*, 49.159) : *ἡ περὶ τὸ κυβεύειν σπουδὴ βλασφημίας, ζημίας, ὀργάς, λοιδορίας, καὶ μυρία ἕτερα τούτων δεινότερα πολλάκις εἰργάσατο* ; AMBROS., *De Tobia*, 11 (dicers are ready victims of the usurer) : *Videas reliquos subito egentes, repente divites, deinde nudos, singulis iactibus statum mutantes ... Clamor plaudentium, fletus despoliatorum, gemitus deplorantium ... Inter has feras vivis, fenerator, atque versaris;* FAUSTUS REIENSIS in *Corpus Vindobonense*, XXI, sermon 16, p. 286.19 : *furioso et animae contrario tabulae ludo, ibid.*, p. 173.3.

(2) For *θεημάχος* = "blasphemous" cf. NONN., *Par.*, 18.66 : *Καιάφα γὰρ ἦην ἐκυρὸς θρασύς, ... / ... ὃς Ἑβραίῳ ποτὲ λαῷ / ζῆλον ἔχων Χριστοῖο θεημάχον ἴαχε φωνήν.* Elsewhere in NONN., *D.* and *Par.*, *θεημάχος* means "irreligious, striving with destiny". Agathias is using it here in preference to the prose *βλασφημεῖν* etc. Blasphemy was punishable under civil law ; Justinian regarded it as on the same level with homosexuality and forbade both in *Nov.*, 77 (535),

on several paraphrases, according to which a list of five permitted games was drawn up and the stake-money regulated (1). There exists a further constitution of the same year (*C.J.* 1.4.25) entrusting the implementation of this legislation to the bishops, with the aid of provincial governors and *patres* and *defensores civitatum*. In 534 Justinian found it necessary to re-enact the previous law in severer terms. This time his constitution is addressed to the Patriarch, and its chief targets are clerics (even including the bishops themselves) whom the earlier enactment had not deterred from playing and watching the forbidden games. Again the point is made, that these games involve blasphemy, *C.J.* 1.4.34.1: *θεῶνται μὲν σὺν ἐπιθυμίᾳ πάσῃ τὰ πάντων ἀτοπώτατα, λόγων δὲ ἀκούουσι βλασφήμων, οὓς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι, μολύνουσί τε τὰς ἑαυτῶν χεῖρας τάς τε ὁράσεις τάς τε ἀκοὰς οὕτως κατεγνωσμένοις καὶ ἀπηγορευμένοις παιγνίοις*. It is noteworthy that, when certain gamblers were cruelly punished in 529, the gravity of their crime lay as much in their blasphemy as in their gaming (2). Viewed against this background, Agathias' epigrams on gaming, no less than his epigrams on homosexuality, seem likely to have had a precise legal and religious motivation.

Among the remaining epigrams of Agathias there are several in which motifs traditional to epigrammatic poetry,

see *ibid.*, 1, 1: *Ἐπειδὴ δέ τινες πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ βλάσφημα ῥήματα καὶ ὅρκους περὶ θεοῦ ὀμνύουσι τὸν θεὸν παροργίζοντες, καὶ τούτοις ὁμοίως παρεγγυῶμεν ἀπόσχεσθαι τῶν τοιούτων βλασφήμων ῥημάτων καὶ τοῦ ὀμνύναι κατὰ τριχός τε καὶ κεφαλῆς καὶ τῶν τούτοις παραπλησίων ῥημάτων. εἰ γὰρ αἱ κατ' ἀνθρώπων γινόμεναι βλασφημίαι ἀνεκδίκητοι οὐ καταλιμπάνονται, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὁ εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ θεῖον βλασφημῶν ἄξιός ἐστι τιμωρίας ὑποστῆναι ... διὰ γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα πλημμελήματα καὶ λιμοὶ καὶ σεισμοὶ καὶ λοιμοὶ γίνονται κτλ.*

(1) See P. KRUEGER on *C.J.*, 3.43, *Corpus Iuris Civilis* (Berlin, 1906), II, p. 147.

(2) MAL., 451 Bonn: *Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ Δεκίου ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς θεσπίσας πρόσταξιν ἔπεμψε ἐν Ἀθήναις, κελεύσας μηδένα διδάσκειν φιλοσοφίαν, μήτε νόμιμα ἐξηγεῖσθαι, μήτε κόττον ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πόλεων γίνεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ εὑρεθέντες τινὲς τῶν κοττιστῶν καὶ βλασφημίαις δειναῖς ἑαυτοὺς περιβαλόντες χειροκοπηθέντες περιεπομπεύθησαν ἐν καμήλοις* (*περιεπομπεύθησαν* Chilmead, *περιεβωμβήθησαν* cod.). For *κόττοι* = *κύβοι*, "dice", cf. *C.J.*, 1.4.25.

but essentially alien to Christian taste, are treated with noticeable moderation. In *A.P.* 16.59, on a statue of a bacchante, he discovers a drawing-room pleasantry where his predecessors and contemporaries alike emphasise the passion and realism of the statue :

> *Οὔπω ἐπισταμένην τάχα κύμβαλα χερσὶ τινάξαι*
> *βάκχην αἰδομένην στήσατο λαοτύπος.*
> *οὕτω γὰρ προνένευκεν · ἔοικε δὲ τοῦτο βοώσῃ ·*
> *« Ἔξιτε, καὶ παταγῶ μηδενὸς ἱσταμένου »* (1).

With this, compare *A.P.* 9.774 f. (Glaucus Athen.), 16.57 (Paul. Sil.), 58 (anon.), 60 (falsely ascribed to Simonides), and perhaps *A.P.* 9.603 (Antipater Sid.). It may be that Agathias has intentionally re-interpreted the characteristic pose in which the Maenad's head is sunk in Dionysiac ecstasy (*οὕτω γὰρ προνένευκεν*) (2). In *A.P.* 11.57, a boisterous description of a drinking-bout, the poet is not represented as taking part, which contrasts with the state of affairs in *A.P.* 11.58 f. (Macedon.), 60 (Paul. Sil.) and 63 (Macedon.), all poems from the *Κύκλος*. The convivial and erotic are united in *A.P.* 11.64, a vivid evocation of a grape-trampling scene, in which the young men are inspired by the presence of Rhodanthe beside the vat. Here, indeed, Agathias is drinking with the rest ; but still the poem ends on the same note of unconsummated longing which characterised several of the erotic epigrams (3). In a somewhat similar way, he twice casts in a moralising framework subjects which do not at first sight invite such treatment. His tour-de-force recounting a memorable game of *τάβλη* played by the emperor Zeno

(1) "I think the sculptor has depicted a bacchante who is shy and does not know how to clash her cymbals. Her head is sunk in just such a pose ; she looks as though she were saying 'Go outside, and I'll bang them when no one is standing by'".

(2) See, for example, S. REINACH, *Répertoire de la Statuaire grecque et romaine* (Paris, 1906), I, p. 29 ; ID., *Répertoire des Vases peints grecs et étrusques* (Paris, 1899), I, pp. 154, 234.

(3) Line 9 ff. : *πάντων δ' ἐκδεδόνητο θοαὶ φρένες, οὐδέ τις ἡμέων | ἦεν, ὃς οὐ βάκχῳ δάμνατο καὶ Παφίῃ. | τλήμονες, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν εἶρπε παραὶ ποσὶν ἄφθονος ἡμῖν, | τῆς δ' ἄρ' ὑπ' ἐλπωρῇ μοῦνον ἐπαιζόμεθα.*

(*A.P.* 9.482) begins and ends with moralising (1). The exquisite house of the dead Musonius evokes a pathos more appropriate to funerary than descriptive verse (*A.P.* 9.677); though his house was so big and so marvellous, Musonius still had to die when his time came, and now is dust, while the extreme (or "superfluous") beauty is squandered on strangers:

Τεῦξέ με πολλὰ καμὼν Μουσώνιος οἶκον ἀγητὸν
τηλίκον ἀρκτῴοις ἄσθμασι βαλλόμενον.
ἔμπης οὐκ ἀπέειπεν ἀφεγγέα δώματα Μοίρης,
ἀλλά με καλλείψας ἐν χθονὶ ναιετάει.
καί ῥ' ὁ μὲν εἰς ὀλίγην κεῖται κόνιν, ἡ δὲ περισσὴ
τέρψις ἐπὶ ξείνοις ἀνδράσιν ἐκκέχυμαι (2).

Much the same considerations seem to have guided Agathias in his editing of the *Κύκλος*. The serious books (I-IV : Anathematica, Ecphrastica, Epitaphia, Protreptica) take precedence

(1) Line 1 ff. : *Οὐτιδανοὶ μερόπων εἰ καὶ μέγα ῥέξαμεν ἔργον, / οὔτινος εἰς μνήμην δηρὸν ἐπερχόμεθα · / οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ κῆν μηδέν, ἀναπνεύσωσι δὲ μοῦνον, / ὡς Λίβυς εἶπεν ἀνήρ, τοῦτ' ἀδάμαντι μένει ...* (27) *τάβλην φεύγετε πάντες, ἐπεὶ καὶ κοίρανος αὐτὸς / κείνης τὰς ἀλόγους οὐχ ὑπάλυξε τύχας.* On the *λόγοι Λιβυστικοί*, a collection of fables to which Agathias refers in *Λίβυς ἀνήρ*, see *R.E.*, 6.2.1719 (HAUSRATH). Agathias returns to the fortunes of ZENO in *Hist.*, 4.29.2, where he observes that the emperors of east and west Rome, and of Persia, all suffered exile at about the same time, *ὥσπερ αὐτομάτως ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ πολιτείᾳ κατὰ τῶν κρατούντων ἐναντίας τινὸς περιφορᾶς ἐνσκηψάσης* (ZENO, 475 ; JULIUS NEPOS, 475 ; KAVAD, 496). Zeno's vicissitudes are also the subject of an anecdote from Malchus, preserved in the *Suda*, *s.v. Ζήνων*, II, 509.5 ADLER. Learning of the defeat of his partisans, Zeno fled to a hill-fort called Constantinopolis. When he heard its name, *τοῖς συνοῦσι στενάξας, θεοῦ παίγνιον, εἶπεν, ἄρα ὁ ἄνθρωπος, εἴγε καὶ ἐμὲ οὕτω παίζειν φιλεῖ τὸ δαιμόνιον. ἐμοὶ γὰρ δὴ οἱ μάντεις τὸν Ἰούλιον μῆνα ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει διατεινόμενοι προὔλεγον. κἀγὼ μὲν ἐνόμιζον ἐς Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἀναβήσεσθαι · νῦν δὲ πάντων ἔρημος καὶ φυγὰς ἐς λόφον ἦλθον, εὑρηκὼς ὁ δείλαιος προσηγορίαν ὁμώνυμον* (=MALCHUS, fr. 9, *F.H.G.*, 4, p. 117 f.).

(2) "Musonius built me, a house wondrous and large, beaten by the blasts of the north wind. Yet he could not escape the dark dwellings of Doom, but left me, and dwells within the earth. So now he is a handful of dust, while I, the surpassing beauty, am squandered on alien men".

over the frivolous (V-VII: Scoptica, Erotica, Sympotica). Further, although the frivolous genres yield only some 110 epigrams, of which 86 are erotic, the serious genres comprise some 250 (1). This disparity might reflect a lack of enthusiasm for some genres on the part of sixth-century poets, or it might be due to the hazards of survival. But is it not at least as likely that Agathias, following his pietistic bent and having regard to the prejudices of the régime, weighted his anthology in favour of the sober genres? Even the erotic book is given a didactic perspective by its opening and closing epigrams, the one counselling moderation in wooing, the other arguing that the pursuit of love is futile (2). (The erotic element will have rendered the *Κύκλος* more attractive to buyers; Agathias says that poetry-books were for sale on the open market, *A.P.* 4.3A.41). A bias towards the harmless and improving is perceptible in some of the short epigram-collections made in the later Byzantine period (3),

(1) The number of serious epigrams would be still greater if some anonyma occurring in immediate proximity to epigrams of the *Κύκλος* (e.g. *A.P.*, 7.570) and some epigrams by Byzantine personages of uncertain date (e.g. *A.P.*, 16.315), do in fact come from the *Κύκλος*. It is especially striking that we have only 16 scoptica and 7 sympotica by contributors to the *Κύκλος*. Even so, I doubt whether many poems of the *Κύκλος* have been lost; the erotic and funerary books, at any rate, have been preserved intact or nearly so, see Mattsson, pp. 5-14. As in the erotic series, the first and last epigrams in the main funerary series from the *Κύκλος* are by Agathias (*A.P.*, 5.216, 302, *A.P.*, 7.551, 614); this is the case also in the scoptic and sympotic genres (*A.P.*, 11.350, 382, *A.P.*, 11.56, 64). The last of the sympotica (*A.P.*, 11.64) would have made a worthy close to the *Κύκλος* and it returns to the "convivium" theme of the prologue (*A.P.*, 4.3A.19 al.); it is, moreover, the last sympotic epigram of *A.P.*, 11.

(2) *A.P.*, 5.216 and 302, both by Agathias. See p. 220 above, and *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LXXXIX (1969), 96. A similar correspondence links the first and last epigrams of Agathias' funerary series; these treat respectively of brotherly and sisterly unanimity (*A.P.*, 7.551.7 f.: *χαίρετον, ὦ γλυκερὼ καὶ ὁμόφρονε· σήματι δ' ὑμέων / ὥφελεν ἱδρῦσθαι βωμὸς Ὁμοφροσύνης*; *A.P.*, 7.614.15 f.: *ὑμνεῦσιν δ' ἔτι πάντες ὁμόφρονας ἠρωίνας, / πάτρας καὶ ποσίων πήματα τισαμένας*).

(3) So the Euphemian sylloge (Syll. E), the sylloge contained in *Parisinus Gr.* 1773 and *Laurentianus Gr.* 57.29 (Syll. *Σ*), and

as well as in the bowdlerisations of Planudes. Agathias may well have been a precursor of later editorial taste in this respect.

III

A.P. I. 34; Christian Testimonies in the Histories

It is possible, I think, to explain the idiosyncratic character of Agathias' poetry more fully in terms both of the general religious background and of specific historical moment. Before attempting this, however, I wish to examine several testimonies in which Agathias employs concepts which are beyond doubt Christian. Although these do not exhibit the same preoccupations as the epigrams discussed in the preceding chapters, they are nonetheless consistent with the interpretation of Agathias' poetry and personality suggested there.

The Christian dedication *A.P.* I. 35 has already been cited (above, p. 207). More abundant evidence is afforded by another dedication, *A.P.* I. 34, which accompanied an icon of the Archangel Michael presented by Agathias at some church in the district of Constantinople called Plate. This epigram uses the language of Hellenic poetry to express arguments identical with those employed by apologists for the Icons:

Ἄσκοπον ἀγγελίαρχον ἀσώματον, εἴδει μορφῆς,
ἃ μέγα τολμήεις, κηρὸς ἀπεπλάσατο.
ἔμπης οὐκ ἀχάριστον, ἐπεὶ βροτὸς εἰκόνα λεύσσων
θυμὸν ἀπιθύνει κρέσσονι φαντασίῃ·
οὐκέτι δ' ἀλλοπρόσαλλον ἔχει σέβας, ἀλλ' ἐν ἑαυτῷ
τὸν τύπον ἐγγράψας ὡς παρεόντα τρέμει·
ὄμματα δ' ὀτρύνουσι βαθὺν νόον· οἶδε δὲ τέχνη
χρώμασι πορθμεῦσαι τὴν φρενὸς ἱκεσίην (1).

the sylloge in *Parisinus Gr.* 1630 (Syll. SB). On these collections, see most recently R. Aubreton in *Revue des Études anciennes*, LXX, (1968), 67 ff.

(1) "The Archangel, invisible and incorporeal, wax has depicted in the semblance of form, bold deed! But the gift is not useless, since by looking upon this picture a mortal man may guide his

The poem's importance was recognised by E. Kitzinger, who commented on it in his study of the early history of the cult of Icons (1). Kitzinger made the following points:

(1) When Agathias says that the icon helps the beholder to imagine its prototype (3-4), he is expressing the "anagogical" view of the function of icons (the icon is an intermediary whereby the human mind is "led up" to a perception of the divine). This is precisely the defence of icons offered by Hypatius, orthodox bishop of Ephesus (fl. 531-8), in a letter to Julian, suffragan bishop of Atramytium: Though the educated will take no pleasure in sacred images, these are a necessary medium in the instruction of simple folk, just as Moses represented the Cherubim in golden images, and God used a star to guide the Magi to Jesus. "Accordingly, we likewise permit material decoration in the churches, not because gold and silver and silk vestments and jewelled vessels are precious and sacred in the eyes of God, but because we allow every class among the faithful to be conducted and led up (*ἀνάγεσθαι*) to God in a manner fitting to itself, since some of them will be led on in turn from these manifestations to the beauty which only the mind can apprehend, from the abundant light in the churches to the intelligible and immaterial light" (2). Agathias' language does not resemble

soul to (or "with") a clearer mental image. No longer is his reverence half-hearted, but he engraves the likeness on his mind and venerates it as if he were in its presence. It is through our eyes that the depth of our soul is stirred: Art knows how to make of its colours a conveyance for the supplication of our heart". The icon was executed in encaustic wax.

(1) *The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, VIII (1954), 139.

(2) *διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ κόσμον ὑλικὸν ἐῶμεν ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν οὐχ ὡς θεῷ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ σειρικῆς ἐσθῆτος καὶ λιθοκολλήτων σκευῶν τιμίων τε καὶ ἱερῶν δοκούντων, ἀλλ' ὡς ἑκάστην τῶν πιστῶν τάξιν οἰκείως ἑαυτῇ χειραγωγεῖσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀνάγεσθαι συγχωροῦντες, ὥς τινων καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ἐπὶ τὴν νοητὴν εὐπρέπειαν χειρογωγουμένων καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὰ ἱερὰ πολλοῦ φωτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ νοητὸν καὶ ἄϋλον φῶς.* Text in F. DIEKAMP, *Analecta Patristica* (= *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 117), Rome, 1938, p. 127 ff. On Hypatius, see also N. BAYNES, *Byzantine Studies and other Essays*, London, 1955, p. 226. On Hypatius' chronology, DIEKAMP, pp. 109-115. According

this, but Kitzinger is surely right in arguing that he is alluding to the same doctrine. Confirmation of this comes from a couplet by Neilus Scholasticus (*A.P.* I. 33, quoted by Kitzinger), also accompanying an icon of the Archangel, which states the doctrine of Hypatius in terms reminiscent of both him and Agathias :

> *Ὡς θρασὺ μορφῶσαι τὸν ἀσώματον. ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰκὼν*
> *ἐς νοερὴν ἀνάγει μνῆστιν ἐπουρανίων* (1).

(2) The defensive tone of these two epigrams was perhaps evoked by the special criticisms which were sometimes directed at the pictorial representation of *angels* (2). For example, a fragment of the *Ecclesiastical History* of John Diacrinomenus mentions such criticisms as having been made by Philoxenus (also called Xenaias), the monophysite bishop of Mabug in Euphratensis, who died in 523 : *μὴ γὰρ εἶναι θεμιτὸν ἔλεγξε ὁ Ξεναίας, ἀσωμάτους ὄντας ἀγγέλους σωματοποιεῖν, καὶ ὡς ἐν μορφαῖς ἀνθρωπίναις ὑπάρχοντας ἐνσωμάτους τυποῦν.* (3). Disapproval of pictorial representation is attributed to Severus

to Kitzinger, the anagogical concept was introduced into Christianity by ps.-Dionysius the Aeropagite in the fifth century (*op. cit.*, p. 137). But already in the fourth century St. Basil of Caesarea says (*De Spiritu Sancto*, ch. 18, *P.G.*, 32.153A) : *ἐπειδὴ δὲ διὰ δυνάμεως φωτιστικῆς τῷ κάλλει τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου εἰκόνος ἐνατενίζομεν, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ἀναγόμεθα ἐπὶ τὸ ὑπέρκαλον τοῦ ἀρχετύπου θέαμα, κτλ.*

(1) "What presumption, to give bodily form to the incorporeal ! But even a picture can lead us up to a mental apprehension of the divine". For the language of line 2, see *A.P.*, 16.128.2 (anon.), on Iphigenia among the Tauroi, re-united with Orestes : *Μαίνεται Ἰφιγένεια· πάλιν δέ μιν εἶδος Ὀρέστου | ἐς γλυκερὴν ἀνάγει μνῆστιν ὁμαιμοσύνης, κτλ.* Since Neilus uses *ἀνάγειν* with reference to a precise theological doctrine, it is likely that the writer of 16.128 copied Neilus, and not vice versa. If this is so, Neilus pre-dates Agathias, and we should not follow Mr. & Mrs. Cameron in assigning him to the *Κύκλος*, see *J.H.S.*, LXXXVII (1967), 131. There is no certainty that Christian epigrams were included in the *Κύκλος*, as I have pointed out in *J.H.S.*, LXXXIX (1969), 93.

(2) The same tone is present, as Kitzinger observes, in another dedication by Agathias, *A.P.*, 1.36 : *Ἴλαθι μορφωθείς, ἀρχάγγελε· σὴ γὰρ ὀπωπὴ | ἄσκοπος, ἀλλὰ βροτῶν δῶρα πέλουσι τάδε, κτλ.*

(3) Mansi, XIII 180E-181A. See Kitzinger, pp. 131, 137.

of Antioch in the same fragment, and it may be that this was above all characteristic of monophysitism (1). Kitzinger does not note, however, that something very similar is said by the secular poet John of Gaza in his verse-description of a famous picture of the Cosmos at Gaza (2). John several times apologises for the artist's temerity in depicting abstract natures :

τὴν εἰκόνα ...
ἣν καλλίτεχνος ζωγράφος ζέων θράσει
ἔγραψε συνθείς, καὶ μεθυσθεὶς τὰς φρένας
ὥσπερ φιλάνθρωπός τις ἀνθρώπους γράφων
ἐσωματοποίει τὴν ἀσώματον φύσιν.
(Proem 12 ff.)

μή με γράφοιτε πρὸς θράσος τόλμης γράφειν.
ἐγὼ γὰρ ἦλθον οὐ γραφεὺς τῆς εἰκόνος,
μηδέν τι τολμῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τόλμαν φράσων.
(ib. 24 ff.)

ὁ δὲ θρασύβουλος ἐκεῖνος
τολμηροῖς καλάμοισιν ἀταρβήτοισι χαράξας
Εὐφορίας ἐκάλεσσε, βαλὼν σημήια μορφῆς.
(II 229 ff, of the Euphoriae, personifications of fertility).

καὶ νόον ἰθύσσων, μεμεθυσμένος ἔμφρονι τέχνῃ,
ζῳοτύπος μόρφωσεν ἀμήτορας εἰν ἑνὶ χώρῳ
τέσσαρας Ἡελίοιο ῥοδώπιδας ἐγγύθι κούρας.
(II 259 ff.)

The scholiast of the Palatine manuscript attaches to John's Proem an epigram, presumably by John himself, which repeats the same idea :

Ζωοτύπος τόλμησεν, ἃ μὴ θέμις, εἰκόνι γράψαι,

(1) MANSI, XIII 184A.

(2) P. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1912. The picture formed part of the decoration of the Winter Baths, opened c. 536. John wrote soon after this, according to FRIEDLÄNDER, p. 111. G. Krahmer proposed a seventh-century date, but on very inadequate grounds. See G. KRAHMER, *De Tabula Mundi ab Ioanne Gazaeo descripta* (Diss.), Halis Saxonum, 1920, p. 64.

εὐεπίῃ δ' ἐτέλεσσε φύσιν ψευδήμονα κόσμου
ἐγγὺς ἀληθείης γε · γραφὴ δ' ἐψεύσατο πάντα.
(= *A.P.* 15.1)

It is true that angels figured in the picture, as keepers of the elemental powers which could overwhelm mankind if not held in check (1). But they are not specifically in question in any of these passages, and the picture also showed other divine natures and abstract powers. It seems to me more likely that John, Agathias and Neilus all reflect unease about the propriety of depicting divine natures in general rather than any particular scruple in regard to angels. Thus the painter of the Gaza picture, for all his boldness, had refrained from depicting the personages of the Trinity in human shape, preferring to render them by a cross within three concentric nimbi (2). Nevertheless, John's words in the first extract above are so close to the formulation of Philoxenus (*μὴ γὰρ εἶναι θεμιτὸν ... ἀσωμάτους ὄντας ἀγγέλους σωματοποιεῖν*) that some connection seems likely. One is tempted to speculate whether Severus, Philoxenus and John may not all have owed their scruples about the depiction of *ἄσωματα* to the influence of the Christian university at Gaza. John's reiteration of this theme is evidence that such ideas were current there in the 530's ; perhaps they were already in the air a generation earlier, when there was certainly contact between the circle of Severus at Berytus and the Christian sophist Aeneas of Gaza (3).

(1) I, 307 ff., II, 77, 133 ff., 163 ff. It should be noted that the last words of the prefatory epigram (*γραφὴ δ' ἐψεύσατο πάντα*) contain an allusion to the theological doctrine that the artist is a deceiver. See KITZINGER, p. 141, n. 251. For the beginnings of this idea in PLATO, see *Rep.*, 598C ; *Crit.*, 107D.

(2) I, 29-44, and FRIEDLÄNDER, *ad loc.* See KRAHMER, *op. cit.*, p. 6 f.

(3) Severus' companion Zacharias (on whom see below, p. 258), tells how he journeyed to Maiuma hoping to join the monophysite monastery there, but was rejected because of his youth by the abbot, Petrus the Iberian. He continues : « Je revins donc à Béryte. Je rapportais avec moi une lettre du fervent Evagrios à son filleul, et une lettre d'Énée, le grand et savant sophiste chrétien de la ville de Gaza, à Zénodore, mon compatriote. Ces lettres excusaient et

(3) Kitzinger asserts that lines 5 f. illustrate the post-Justinianic idea "of the image as an actual abode of the person portrayed. We hear of images being approached 'as if' their subjects were present in them, a concept familiar from the cult of the ruler portrait" (1). This, I think, goes too far. Agathias says that the beholder engraves the Archangel's lineaments on his heart, and (fortified by this mental image, presumably) venerates him as if in his presence (2). He does not say that the icon is the Archangel's *abode*, nor is this implied in the passage of St. Symeon the Younger quoted by Kitzinger as a parallel (3). Agathias continues in his final couplet (7-8): "It is through our eyes that the depth of our soul is stirred; Art knows how to make of its colours a conveyance for the supplication of our heart". This is simply a poetic version of the oldest and most basic defence of the Icons, *ἡ τῆς εἰκόνος τιμὴ ἐπὶ τὸ πρωτότυπον διαβαίνει* (St. Basil of Caesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto*, ch. 18, *P.G.* 32.149C). Concepts such as those in lines 5-8 were indeed a development from the cult of the ruler-portrait, in which the emperor's picture was regarded as a proxy for the emperor himself (4). But the notion of the icon as a *dwelling* of the nature portrayed

me pardonnaient mon retour, c'est-à-dire mon refus [d'embrasser la vie monastique] ». Zenodorus was another member of Severus' circle. *Op. cit.*, n. on p. 208 above, p. 90, tr. KUGENER. See D. J. CHITTY, *The Desert a City* (Oxford, 1964), p. 105.

(1) KITZINGER, p. 147.

(2) The grammatical subject of *παρεόντα* is *τύπον*, i.e. not the Archangel but his lineaments in the picture, and I have translated line 6 accordingly in n. 1 on p. 241. But it can scarcely be doubted that Agathias means, effectively, "venerates the Archangel as if in his presence".

(3) *ὁρῶντες τὸν ἀόρατον διὰ τῆς ὁρωμένης γραφῆς, ὡς παρόντα δοξάζομεν*, *P.G.*, 94.1409C-1412A; *P.G.*, 86 (bis) 3220A. See KITZINGER, p. 147, n. 268.

(4) E.g. JULIAN, *Ep.*, 89B, ed. BIDEZ, p. 162, 5 (addressed to an unknown pagan priest): *ὅστις οὖν ἐστι φιλοβασιλεύς, ἡδέως ὁρᾷ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκόνα ... οὐκοῦν καὶ ὅστις φιλόθεος, ἡδέως εἰς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ἀποβλέπει, σεβόμενος ἅμα καὶ φρίττων ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ὁρῶντας εἰς αὐτὸν τοὺς θεούς*. See G. MATHEW, *Byzantine Aesthetics* (London, 1963), 96 f.

is much more naive, and cannot be elicited from Agathias' words.

Although the present study is concerned primarily with the poetry of Agathias, it would be wrong to ignore the considerable amount of evidence afforded by his prose *History* of the years 552-559, to which reference has already been made. Agathias devotes considerable space to intellectual and cultural matters, enabling us to form a clear impression of his views on causation, scientific enquiry, and the living paganism of his own day. These are aspects of the poet's Christianity about which the epigrams tell us nothing; and it is necessary to give a brief account of each in turn (1).

Unlike Procopius, whose world-view finds room at one and the same time for the Christian God, human free-will, the Hellenistic concept of *Τύχη* and (in the *Anecdota*) a totally superstitious acceptance of Daemonism, Agathias presents a lucid and coherent view of the historical process. In the very first chapter of his narrative, he faces the question of why the world is never free from war (2). That is to say, he propounds the problem of causation as it concerns the relations between one territorial state and another (3). In words borrowed directly from St. Basil, he rejects explanations based on astrology or determinism, since these remove the element of free-will vital to the Christian doctrine of salvation (4). He also rejects the proposition that God can

(1) These topics are treated by Averil CAMERON, *Agathias* (Oxford, 1970), especially in chs. V and IX.

(2) *Hist.*, 1.1.2-5.

(3) His reflexions are occasioned by the Alamanic violation of the treaty of Mons Lactarius and renewal of the war in Italy, 553-4.

(4) *Hist.*, 1.1.3: *αἴτιον δὲ οἶμαι τούτων οὐχ, ὅπερ οἱ πολλοί φασιν, ἀστέρων τε πορείας καὶ τὸ μεμορμένον καί τινας παραλόγους ἀνάγκας· εἰ γὰρ τὰ τῆς πεπρωμένης ἐν πᾶσι νικῴη, ἀφαιρεθείη δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ προαιρετὸν καὶ ἑκούσιον, παραινέσεις μὲν ἁπάσας καὶ τέχνας καὶ διδασκαλίας κενὰ καὶ ἄχρηστα νομιοῦμεν, οἰχήσονται δὲ φροῦδοι καὶ ἄκαρποι αἱ τῶν ἄριστα βιούντων ἐλπίδες.* The last words refer to the Christian's hope of salvation; so St. BASIL, *Homil.* VI *in Hexaemeron*, ch. 7, *P.G.*, 29.133C (quoted by Averil CAMERON, p. 96), *αἱ δὲ μεγάλαι τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐλπίδες φροῦδαι ἡμῖν οἰχήσονται, οὔτε δικαιοσύνης τιμωμένης, οὔτε κατακρινομένης τῆς ἁμαρτίας, διὰ τὸ μηδὲν κατὰ*

cause evil (unlike Procopius, who says that God delivered the Roman empire into the hands of evil demons, *Anecdota* 18.37) (1). His solution is, that the souls of men incline of themselves to evil, and hence comes *greed*, which is the root-cause of wars (2). The view that greed, proceeding from original sin, causes wars and bloodshed, is propounded more succinctly by St. Gregory of Nazianzen in *Oration* 19, ch. 14 (*P.G.*, 35.1061A): *αὕτη* (original sin) *μήτηρ χρείας, ἡ δὲ πλεονεξίας, ἡ δὲ πολέμων, πόλεμοι δὲ φόνων πατέρες, οἱ δὲ τῆς κατακρίσεως, τὸ βαρύτατον* (3). With the idea of human free-will goes the corollary that God intervenes to punish men for deliberately choosing evil, a doctrine invoked again and again by Agathias in his analyses of historical events. To cite only a few examples; Leutharis and the Alamani are beset by a heaven-sent distemper after they have plundered churches in Southern Italy; Ragnaris the Hun is swiftly punished for attempting to strike down Narses while under the rules of parley; the Cotrigurians violate convents and rape nuns, thereby incurring the subsequent extinction of the Hunnic race; the dynastic murder of Justin son of Germanos in 566 is represented as divine vengeance for the *coemptiones* which he permitted when serving as *magister militum per Armeniam* nine years earlier (4). This retributive

προαίρεσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι. ὅπου γὰρ ἀνάγκη καὶ εἱμαρμένη κρατεῖ, οὐδεμίαν ἔχει χώραν τὸ πρὸς ἀξίαν, ὃ τῆς δικαιοκρισίας ἐξαίρετόν ἐστι. Agathias repeats his condemnation of astrology in *Hist.*, 5.5.3.

(1) *Hist.*, 1.1.4: *οὐ μέντοι ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ θεῖον αἴτιον, ὥς γε ἐμὲ γιγνώσκειν, φόνων τε καὶ συμπλοκῶν ἠγεῖσθαι προσήκει. τὸ γὰρ ἀγαθὸν ἐκεῖνο καὶ ἀλεξίκακον φόνιόν τε καὶ φιλοπόλεμον οὔτ' ἂν ἔγωγε φήσαιμι οὔτε εἰπόντι πιστεύσαιμι.*

(2) *Hist.*, 1.1.5: *ἐς δὲ πλεονεξίαν τε καὶ ἀδικίαν αἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχαὶ αὐθαίρετα κατολισθαίνουσαι πολέμων καὶ ταραχῶν ἅπαντα ἐμφοροῦσιν, ἐνθένδε τε ὄλεθροι ξυμβαίνουσι πολλοὶ καὶ γένη ἀνθρώπων ἀνάρπαστα γίγνεται καὶ μυρίαι ἄλλαι ὠδίνονται κῆρες.* (The last four words echo a Homeric phrase of resignation, *Iliad*, 12.126 f.). The greed-motif recurs at *Hist.*, 2.1.10 and 5.12.6.

(3) I am grateful to Mrs. J. Nimmo Smith and Dr. D. A. Sykes respectively for drawing my attention to this passage and the passage of St. Basil quoted on p. 250.

(4) *Hist.*, 2.1.7, 2.3.5 ff., (554); 2.14.3 f. (555); 5.13.1 ff. (559), 5.25.5; 4.22.7 (557).

view of causation belongs to contemporary Christian piety, and is familiar in sermons and the lives of the Saints (1). In Agathias it is repeated to the point of obsession, and I am inclined to see in this an element of psychological compulsion comparable to that governing his preoccupation with sexual sin and (in the gluttony-epigrams) the anal motif.

There is, however, one class of events for which these views of causation offer no explanation. If God is entirely good and beneficent (*τὸ γὰρ ἀγαθὸν ἐκεῖνο καὶ ἀλεξίκακον*, *Hist.*, 1.1.4), so that we must postulate original sin as the cause of wars and bloodshed, what can be the cause of earthquakes, plagues and other catastrophes, which appear to happen mechanically, and cause great suffering? The contemporary Christian answer was that God sends them to punish mankind for their collective sins (Justinian held this doctrine and used it to justify his legislation against homosexuality and blasphemy) (2), or that they are inscrutable acts of divine mercy (3). Agathias rejects these simplistic views and seeks explanations conformable with Hellenic empiricism and a more enlightened Christianity. When examining the causes of the plague of 558, he does indeed mention the view that plagues are divine retribution for sin, but opposes it with the antique conception of history as a series of good and bad cycles ; he declines to judge between

(1) See Averil CAMERON, *Agathias*, p. 55.

(2) Nov. 77 (535), 1 : *διὰ γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα πλημμελήματα καὶ λιμοὶ καὶ σεισμοὶ καὶ λοιμοὶ γίνονται.* So Romanos 54 *ιγ'* M.-Tr. : *ὡς γὰρ οὐ λόγων ἐπῳδαῖς τὰ πάντων ἰατρεύων εὗρῃ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας, / μετέρχεται ἐν ἔργοις τὴν θεραπείαν τὴν ἡμῶν . / σείει γὰρ τὴν κτίσιν καὶ ποιεῖ βρύχειν τὴν γῆν, ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν . / τὸν χρόνον τοῦ σεισμοῦ δὲ στενάξαντες, πάλιν πρὸς τὸ ἔθος / ἐκδραμόντες λησμοσύνῃ δεδώκαμεν ἅπαντα τὸν φόβον . / διὸ προσέταξε νεφέλαις πολλάκις / τὰς ψεκάδας μηδαμῶς δοῦναι τὸν ὄμβρον, / ἵνα τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ῥάθυμον ἀφυπνίσῃ.* The reference is to the earthquake of 526. For the commonplace that repentance undertaken under stress of crisis is short-lived, see also PROC., *Bell. Pers.*, 2.23.13-16 ; AGATHIAS, *Hist.*, 5.5.4-6 ; THEOPHANES, *A.M.* 6046.

(3) MALALAS, 489 f. : *ῥήξας γὰρ ἦν* [sc.. *ὁ τροῦλλος τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας*] *εἰς φανεροὺς τόπους ἐκ τῶν γεγονότων κατὰ φιλανθρωπίαν Θεοῦ φόβων.* THEOPHANES, *A.M.* 6050 : *ἔμεινε δὲ σειομένη ἡ γῆ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας μετὰ φιλανθρωπίας ἡμέρας δέκα.*

them (1). In regard to the earthquakes of 551 and 554, Agathias twice mentions the Aristotelian theory of pent-up subterranean vapours, though each time he rejects it (2). On the first occasion he judges it to be disproved by the occurrence of tremors in Egypt, where, if the theory were true, the vapours should have been able to escape through the sands (*Hist.*, 2.15.9-13). "Yet even though the vapour-theory has been proved false, doubtless other arguments will be found to justify it. These accounts are persuasive enough, in so far as we are able to make scientific inferences from observed phenomena ; but they fall far short of the real truth. For how can we form an exact judgment about things unknown and transcending human understanding? It is enough for us to know that everything is ordered by Divine Intelligence. Enquiry into the beginnings and movements of Nature may not be entirely useless or unpleasant, but to think that it is possible to arrive at actuality, would be impiety, and worse than that celebrated two-fold ignorance [of the statesman in Plato's *Apology*, who was both ignorant, and ignorant of his ignorance]" (3). This guarded tolerance of scientific speculation does not differ greatly from the principle laid down by St. Basil, that Christians should avoid speculation about the nature of the universe because it leads to no certain conclusion (when discussing the essence of heaven and earth, and the question of what supports the earth in space, *Homil. I in Hexaem.* 8 and 9, *P.G.*, 29.21B, 24A) : *ταῦτά τε οὖν καταλιπόντα σε, μηδὲ ἐκεῖνο ζητεῖν παραινῶ, ἐπὶ τίνος ἔστηκεν* (i.e. what supports the earth in space). *ἰλιγγιάσει γὰρ καὶ οὕτως ἡ διάνοια, πρὸς οὐδὲν ὁμολογούμενον πέρας διεξιόντος τοῦ λογισμοῦ ... διὰ τοῦτο ὅρους ἐπίθες τῇ διανοίᾳ, μή ποτέ σου τῆς πολυπραγμοσύνης ὁ τοῦ Ἰὼβ λόγος καθάψηται περισκο-*

(1) *Hist.*, 5.10.5 f.

(2) See *Hist.*, 2.15.9 ff., 5.6.1 (and *ibid.*, 8.1). The theory is propounded in ARIST., *Meteor.*, 2.8, 336A. See Averil CAMERON, *Agathias*, p. 113.

(3) PL., *Apol.*, 21d. For Agathias' phrase *τῆς διπλῆς ἐκείνης ἀγνοίας*, compare GEORG. PISID., *De Vanitate Vitae*, 101 ff. (*P.G.*, 92.1589) : *καὶ μηδὲν εἰδὼς εἰδέναι δοκεῖν θέλει, / διπλῆν ἔχων ἄνοιαν εἰς ψυχὴν μίαν, / πλαστὸς σοφιστής, μωρὸς ἠττικισμένος.*

ποῦντος τὰ ἀκατάληπτα,[1] *καὶ ἐρωτήθης παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ σύ, 'Επὶ τίνος οἱ κρίκοι αὐτῆς πεπήγασιν* (1). When Agathias, in his second passage, pours scorn on the view that we can make valid deductions about natural phenomena from the attempts of scientists to reproduce such phenomena in miniature ("Anthemius caused a house to shake with his steam-apparatus : but so do watch-dogs running about on the roof"), he merely illustrates his acceptance of the traditional logical method of procedure in science, as opposed to the experimental method (2). In his perplexity, he even seems ready to entertain the Gnostic doctrine that matter is inherently corrupt. Each of his earthquake-accounts includes the remark that it is in the nature of matter to undergo such calamities : *ἐσαεὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῆς ὑλῆς χωρίον ποικίλα παθήματα ὑποδέχεσθαι πέφυκεν Hist.*, 2.16.7 ; *τῶν δὲ τῆς ὕλης ἁμαρτημάτων ἄλλα ἄττα (εἴπερ ἄρα καὶ δεῖ) ζητητέον τὰ αἴτια, Hist.*, 5.8.3 (3).

The subject of paganism was of topical interest, since Justinian's legislation and the evidence of the chronographers show that it was still very much alive in the middle of the

(1) "I advise you, therefore, to abandon these problems, and neither to attempt the further question of what supports the Earth in space. For in that case also your mind will grow dizzy, as your reasoning fails to reach any agreed conclusion ... Accordingly, keep your mind within bounds, lest one day your inquisitiveness be subject to the reproach made against Job when he enquired into things incomprehensible, and you also be asked by Him, 'Whereupon are the foundations thereof fastened'". (Job., 38.6. *κρίκοι* is literally *curtain rings*). Cf. *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica, Cantica Dubia*, ed. Maas and Trypanis (Berlin, 1970), n° 60, str. *α'*, 1 : *Ὕψη οὐράνια ἐκμανθάνειν καὶ θαλάσσης τὰ βάθη ἐρευνᾶν τολμηρὸν ὑπάρχει καὶ ἀκατάληπτον.*

(2) *Hist.*, 5.7-8. St. Basil's passage on the nature of the cosmos demonstrates the logical method to perfection.

(3) See E. R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety*, Cambridge, 1965, 13 ff. It should be noted that this view of matter entailed belief in Daemonism, see Dodds, *l.c.* ; Synesius, *Hymn* 5.51 ff., al. In *Hist.*, 1.7.5, Agathias does not completely reject the possibility that evil spirits exist (*τῶν ἄλλων χθονίων φασμάτων ὁπόσα κακοῦργα καὶ μιαιφόνα*), but says that he is disinclined to believe in them. See below, p. 252.

sixth century (1). Here, Agathias writes with moderation. Near the beginning of his narrative (*Hist.*, l. 7), he discusses the religion of the Alamani, who, he says, worship trees and other natural objects, to which they offer sacrifice; they are, however, being won from this by their intercourse with the Christian Franks, and will soon be entirely converted. "Meanwhile", he continues, "all who fall short of the truth (i.e. Christianity) are more to be pitied than condemned, and we should grant them forgiveness. For they are not willingly deceived; on the contrary, they desire good, but go wrong by an error of judgment, and then cling fast to their erroneous beliefs, whatever they are. *But* the savagery and folly of *blood-sacrifice*, whether offered by barbarians to their sacred trees, or by Hellenic pagans to the old gods, cannot be healed, I think, by rational argument. I for my part believe that no power exists which delights in altars defiled with blood or in the violent slaughter of beasts; and if there *is* a power that desires such things, it cannot be good and gentle, but cruel and raving, like Deimos, Phobos, Enyo, Ate and Eris in Greek poetry, to which one may add the Persian Ariman, and the other malevolent and murderous terrestrial spirits". It appears, therefore, that Agathias distinguished an innocent element in paganism, which one might attempt to cure by reasoned argument (*λόγῳ*); and the much more dangerous element of blood-sacrifice, which must be extirpated by other means. Sacrifice, the focal-point of paganism, was regarded by Christians with repugnance, as may be gathered from the rumours of human sacrifice which circulated from time to time (2). Among those "who desire good, but go wrong by

(1) STEIN, *B.E.*, II, pp. 369 ff.; JONES, *L.R.E.*, II, pp. 939 ff.; BURY, *H.L.R.E.*, II, pp. 366 ff.; J. GEFFCKEN, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums* (Heidelberg, 1929), pp. 189 ff.; G. DOWNEY, *A History of Antioch in Syria* (Princeton, 1961), pp. 558 f., 563 f.; D. J. CONSTANTELOS, *Paganism and the State in the Age of Justinian*, in *The Catholic Historical Review*, 50 (1964), pp. 372 ff.

(2) ZACHARIAS SCHOLASTICUS, *Life of Severus* p. 58 f. (*aet. Anastasii*). JOHN OF EPHESUS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3.26-34, pp. 209-227, tr. R. PAYNE SMITH (*aet. Justini* II).

an error of judgment," Agathias may well have classed neoplatonists like Damascius and Simplicius; this would explain his respectful references to these and other neoplatonists in *Hist.*, 2.30. That Agathias allows the pagans credit as scholars and the upholders of antique tradition, while firmly condemning the most essential part of pagan religious observance, should cause us no surprise, and needs no explanation here.

IV

The Ascetic Ideal: Public Life

To base an interpretation of Agathias' personality solely on the evidence of his ninety-five epigrams in the traditional style would have been hazardous (though not impossible; after all, we can learn much about Palladas from only a slightly larger corpus of poetry). In the *Histories* and Christian dedications, however, we possess a means of testing our deductions. These show Agathias to have been, in his maturity, a devout and pietistic man, perfectly capable of feeling and expressing the sympathy for ascetic Christianity which, as I have argued, permeates much of his contribution to the *Κύκλος*. It is this sympathy which gives Agathias his personal voice as a poet and differentiates him from his contemporaries in the *Κύκλος*, and indeed from all traditional poetry. Family-background and early education may in part be responsible, as I have already suggested. It remains to ask ourselves whether there existed, in the more general context of Agathias' life and career, any circumstance which can help us to understand why he writes as he does in his erotic and ascetic epigrams.

There may be truth in the most obvious explanation of all, namely that in his youth Agathias was drawn to the ascetic life. For two hundred years Christians had derived inspiration from the spiritual discipline of the anchorites and coenobitic monks of Egypt and Palestine. Traditionally, these ascetics had tried to remain independent of the ordinary diocesan organisation, sometimes taking to flight in order

to avoid its distractions (1). This seclusion became difficult to maintain in the later fifth century, as the monasteries became more and more embroiled in doctrinal controversy; while in the Holy land especially, the prestige of the monasteries brought them wealth and aristocratic adherents. By the early sixth century, although individuals still pursued the old anachoretic way in the uttermost deserts, the monasteries had been absorbed into the clerical organisation of each diocese, and had reached a peak of fame and secular involvement (2). The life of the celebrated Sabas provides an example of the veneration accorded to the leading ascetics at this time, and of their influence with the civil power (3). Born in 439, Sabas came to Palestine in his eighteenth year and lived first in a monastic community, then as a solitary near the Dead Sea, and finally as abbot of a *lavra* which he founded in the gorge of Cedron. He delayed ordination until he was fifty-one, and thereafter founded other ascetic communities in Palestine. In old age, Sabas became something of an ecclesiastical ambassador, while still maintaining his austerity of life. His chief mission was undertaken at the age of ninety-one, in 531, when he went to Constantinople to plead for the restoration of the parts of Palestine destroyed in the Samaritan revolt of 529 (4). Sabas travelled by sea, and was escorted on the last part of his journey by royal galleys bearing the Patriarch Epiphanius and Hypatius,

(1) Pachomius went into hiding to escape ordination, and Euthymius, though ordained, fled when given charge of all the monks in the diocese. Cyriacus and Sabas put off ordination as long as they could. I owe these examples to the Rev. Dr. CHITTY's book, *The Desert a City*, pp. 23, 82, 107, 126 (see above, p. 245, n. 3). This gives an excellent account of Eastern monasticism from the fourth century to the Arab Conquest, and is a valuable guide to the literary sources. I have used it extensively in this chapter.

(2) CHITTY, p. 115.

(3) CHITTY, pp. 94 ff., 105 ff. The main source for the life of St. Sabas is his biography by Cyril of Scythopolis, edited by E. SCHWARTZ in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, 49.2 (1939), and translated by A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE in *Les moines d'Orient*, III/2 (Paris, 1962). On Cyril, see p. 255, n. 4 below.

(4) *Vit. Sab.*, ed. SCHWARTZ, pp. 172-9; CHITTY, p. 115 f.

bishop of Ephesus. On Sabas' entry into the audience-chamber, Justinian seemed to see a nimbus round the ascetic's head : *καὶ προσδραμὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ καὶ μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ δακρύων τὴν θείαν αὐτοῦ κατεφίλησεν κεφαλὴν καὶ εὐλογηθεὶς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐδέξατο ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀπὸ Παλαιστίνης δεήσεις καὶ ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν εἰσελθεῖν καὶ τὴν αὐγούσταν Θεοδώραν εὐλογῆσαι* (1). Though treated by Justinian with such extraordinary respect, Sabas parried Theodora's twice-repeated request that he should pray Gold to grant her a child ; because, as he afterwards told his companions, any child of Theodora's would have been reared as a monophysite. Sabas obtained a generous answer to his petition. Above all, funds were to be provided for the completion of the New Church of the Mother of God at Jerusalem, and a garrison was to be established near Sabas' monasteries, to protect them from Saracen raids (2). On a previous embassy in 511-512, Sabas, though a champion of Orthodoxy, received little less respect from the monophysite emperor Anastasius, and was made much of by the empress Ariadne and ladies of the Court (3).

At a lower level of society, asceticism exercised equal authority. The biographer of Sabas, Cyril of Scythopolis (a contemporary of Agathias), tells how his father Joannes, a *scholasticus*, met Sabas in 518 on the latter's first visit to Scythopolis (4). Sabas had been sent by the Patriarch of Jerusalem to proclaim the restoration of Orthodoxy by Justin I. Joannes witnessed certain acts of healing performed

(1) *Vit. Sab.*, *ibid.*, p. 173.19-27.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 176.24 ff. ; CHITTY, p. 116.

(3) At the first audience, Anastasius saw an angel conducting Sabas into the chamber, *Vit. Sab.*, *ibid.*, p. 142.17. On his reception by the empress, *ibid.*, p. 145.1 ; STEIN *B.E.*, II, p. 172.

(4) Beth-Shan in Samaria, metropolis of Palaestina Secunda. See SCHWARTZ, p. 408 ; FESTUGIÈRE, III/2 p. 90, n. 192. Cyril was born c. 525 and died c. 558 ; his biographies of Sabas, Euthymius and other ascetic saints were written in the Palestinian desert, at the New Lavra and the Great Lavra of St. Sabas. See CHITTY, pp. 129 ff. ; STEIN, *B.E.*, II, p. 698 ; FESTUGIÈRE, III/1 (*Vie de Saint Euthyme*), p. 9. Some details of the chronology of Cyril's life are disputed, see SCHWARTZ, pp. 340 ff. ; STEIN in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 62 (1944), pp. 169 ff.

by Sabas, and became devoted to him, inviting him to his house and introducing him to his wife. When Sabas visited Scythopolis in 531-2 on another embassy (this time to announce Justinian's benefactions), he claimed the young Cyril as his disciple, to the great joy of his parents. Joannes was now employed in the episcopal palace as legal assessor to the Metropolitan (1). His wife was, in Cyril's phrase, *δούλη θεοῦ* (2). That is, she had become a nun, and the couple were living as brother and sister (3). We learn from the Saints' lives that married couples not infrequently adopted such an arrangement, if one or both wished to lead the ascetic life (4). In this way, they could raise a family and then separate, obeying the precepts both of Moses and St. Paul. Justinian envisaged this situation when he recognised as the only ground for divorce by mutual consent a desire by either

(1) *τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖον κρατῶν τὸ τηνικαῦτα καὶ τῷ μητροπολίτῃ συνεδρεύων*, *Vit. Sab.*, *ibid.*, p. 180.5. Schwartz and Festugière translate *κρατῶν* as "living in", see SCHWARTZ, p. 409 ; FESTUGIÈRE, III/2, p. 109. But some mss. have *τοῦ ἐπισκοπείου*, and *κρατῶν* may mean rather "being in charge of". Cyril uses the same phrase of the uncle of Euthymius, who was also a scholasticus, and there all mss. have a genitive (*ibid.*, p. 10, 7). Compare *τοῦ παλατίου κρατῶν ibid.*, p. 192. 23, where *κρατῶν* certainly means "being in charge of". The precise domestic situation of Cyril's parents does not emerge, see below.

(2) *Vit. Sab.*, *ibid.*, p. 180.21. For *δοῦλος* and *δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ* applied to Church dignitaries, see *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961 ff.), *s.v. δοῦλος*, B3 and 4.

(3) SCHWARTZ, p. 409, and n. 2 there ; FESTUGIÈRE, III/2, p. 109, n. 251.

(4) So Ammoun of Nitria and his wife in 313-30 A.D., the aristocrats Melania the younger and her husband Pinianus early in the fifth century, Andronicus the silversmith and his wife Athanasia in the sixth. See CHITTY, pp. 11, 65, 147. Andronicus and Athanasia took to the religious life after the death of their two children. Pinianus persuaded Melania to wait until they should have two children to continue their race ; two children were born, but died in infancy (PALLADIUS, *Historia Lausiaca*, ch. 61, 2 ; *Greek Life of St. Melania*, ed. GORCE, *Sources Chrétiennes*, 90, Paris, 1962, ch. 2 ff.). Ammoun's marriage was never consummated. One of Zacharias' companions at Berytus, Anatolius of Alexandria, abandoned his wife and children to enter the monastery at Maiuma (*Life of Severus*, 87, see below).

party to take religious vows (1). Obviously the spouses would not always wish to divorce each other, and Cyril's parents seem still to have been holding their house in common (2). Their case shows, however, that during Agathias' lifetime, and in the social class from which he sprang, such arrangements were undertaken in obedience to the ascetic ideal. Considered in this context, Agathias' paraphrase of the Pauline exhortation *καλὸν αὐτοῖς ἐὰν μείνωσιν ὡς κἀγώ* (see above, p. 214) is not empty rhetoric. The question whether even lawful marriage might not involve sin was one which seriously troubled the devout; it was presumably to allay such doubts that Romanos devoted the first three stanzas of his *kontakion* on the marriage at Cana to a defence of the purity of marriage (3). Besides arguing that Jesus had blessed the institution by his presence at Cana, and that the Theotokos was herself the offspring of a marriage, Romanos adds the quaint justification that by marriage future monks and nuns are brought into the world:

Ἔνθεν (i.e. from Jesus' presence at Cana) *εἰκότως λαβὼν*
ἀφορμὰς ὁ μέγας ἔγραψε Παῦλος βοῶν
ὡς τίμιος ἐστὶν ὁ γάμος
καὶ τοῦ γάμου ἡ κοίτη ὑπάρχει ἀμίαντος·
καὶ γὰρ διὰ τοῦ γάμου λάμπουσιν αἱ παρθένοι· διὰ
γάμου γὰρ τίκτονται·
ἡ θεοτόκος γὰρ καὶ ἁγία παρθένος,
κἂν ἔμεινεν ἁγνὴ μετὰ τόκον παρθένος,
ἀλλὰ γάμος αὐτὴν ἀπεκύησεν,
ὡς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν διὰ Χριστὸν παρθενευσάντων ἀεὶ
διὰ γάμου ἐτέχθη, ὃν ἡγίασεν ἐκ μήτρας
ὁ τὰ πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ποιήσας.

7 γ'.

(1) *Nov.* 117.10, 542.

(2) *Vit. Sab.*, *ibid.*, p. 180.28. Several letters by Severus of Antioch are addressed to spouses who had too hastily determined to adopt chastity. Severus admonishes them with an admirable blend of practical commonsense and theological rectitude. See *The Select Letters of Severus of Antioch*, tr. E. W. Brooks (London, 1903-4), II, ii, pp. 433, 436, 448. See also *ibid.*, pp. 427, 442, 447.

(3) « Une vaste introduction », J. GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, *Romanos le Mélode*, Hymnes, II, 296 (Paris, 1965).

Romanos and Agathias were moved by the same scruples as those which exercised the parents of Cyril and the chaste couples in the Saints' lives.

For many young men at this time, the choice betwee marriage and a secular career on the one hand, and the spiritual fulfilment of asceticism on the other, cannot have been easy. Mention has already been made of the devoted band of students which gathered round Severus at Alexandria and Berytus in the late 480's (1). At Berytus, the students combined their legal studies with an ascetic régime, of which Severus was the foremost exponent, and maintained a connection with Peter the Iberian's monastery at Maiuma (2). Severus eventually left law-school with the intention of practising as a scholasticus in Sozopolis, his native-town. So nearly did he carry out this intention, that he had bought his advocate's gown and given instructions for his luggage to be sent home. On a farewell visit to Maiuma, however, he embraced the monastic life, as several of his friends had already done (3). His fellow-student and biographer Zacharias submitted to parental authority and returned home to Gaza on completing his legal course. Later, he practised as a scholasticus at Constantinople (4). In the end, though, he probably did enter the Church ; the minutes of the Synod held at Constantinople in 536 mention a bishop of Mytilene named Zacharias, whom there is good reason to identify with Zacharias the scholasticus (5). The examples of Severus and Zacharias show how narrow must sometimes have been the decision between a civil and ecclesiastical career, and how (in the case of Zacharias) a spiritual ambition might finally be achieved, though held in abeyance through several

(1) Above, p. 208 and n. 1.

(2) Among the companions of Severus was Evagrius of Samosata, whose brother John Rufus, a disciple of Peter the Iberian, later became bishop of Maiuma. See ZACHARIAS, pp. 54 ff. ; CHITTY, pp. 101, 103-4.

(3) ZACHARIAS, pp. 91-93.

(4) ZACHARIAS, p. 95.

(5) MANSI, 878C, 926C, 927A, 934B and C. See CHITTY, p. 105 ; also J.-B. CHABOT, *Littérature Syriaque* (Paris, 1934), p. 152.

decades of public life (1). It may be that the homiletic element in Agathias' epigrams, and the peculiarities which we have noted in his adaptation of traditional motifs and in his selection of poems for the *Κύκλος*, are evidence of a young mind similarly torn between monasticism and secular life.

Even in secular life at this time there were factors which might have encouraged Agathias to bias his poetry in the direction of moral austerity. Justinian's desire to improve the moral life of his people was strong; what more natural than that Agathias, when embarking on his public career, should seek to improve his own prospects by making his poetry echo some of the social legislation enacted or perpetuated by the emperor? (See above, pp. 213, 215f., 222, 236f., and notes). There are other indications that Agathias used his literary talents to court imperial favour; *A.P.* 9.641 commemorates Justinian's completion of the stone bridge over the River Sangarius in c. 559 A.D., and there is a patriotic allusion in *A.P.* 9.155 (2). Above all, the hexameter prologue to the *Κύκλος* was cast in the form of an imperial panegyric (3). Doubtless Agathias also wished to associate himself with Justinian's aspirations in the ethical sphere.

For a young scholasticus, however, there were less remote authorities to be conciliated; and here, I believe, we come

(1) Severus mentions that he intends to ordain four scholastici, see *op. cit.* n. 2 on p. 257 above, II, 1, p. 37; and JONES, *L.R.E.*, II, p. 924. Cassiodorus and Count Marcellinus are other examples of men who became clerics after a life spent in the public service.

(2) For the Sangarius-bridge see THEOPHANES, *A.M.* 6052. *A.P.*, 9.155 turns on the theme that Troy, in the person of Rome, has conquered Greece at last; this was a favourite theme of earlier Roman patriotism, see Propertius 4.1.53, *A.P.*, 9.103 (MUNDUS MUNATIUS), 236 (LOLLIUS BASSUS), 387 (HADRIAN or GERMANICUS).

(3) The emperor is Justin II, in so far that the *Κύκλος* was published early in his reign, see Mr. and Mrs. CAMERON in *J.H.S.*, LXXXVI (1966), 23. But the panegyric is conceived in terms of the Justinianic world-situation, and could well have been written while Justinian was still alive. The phrase *σοφοῦ βασιλῆος* (*A.P.*, 4.3B.48) would have been an appropriate description of the theologically-minded Justinian, but becomes far-fetched when interpreted by Mr. and Mrs Cameron as a reference to Sophia, wife of Justin II.

to a significant factor in the motivation of these epigrams. According to the lemma of *A.P.* 9.662, Agathias held the post of *pater civitatis* in Smyrna at some stage of his career (1). To the *patres* and *defensores civitatum* was committed the legal and financial administration of the municipalities ; the *pater* was the junior of the two. These offices, like those of the *assessores* of the higher magistrates, were regularly filled from the ranks of the younger scholastici (2). It is a reasonable assumption, therefore, that Agathias was *pater civitatis* in Smyrna sometime between his graduation from law-school in 556 and the publication of the *Κύκλος* in c. 568 ; during the time, that is, when he was writing the bulk of his surviving epigrams. Although he returned to the bar in Constantinople (perhaps some years before 568), his presence as *pater* in Smyrna is evidence that, to begin with, he sought a career in the provincial *cursus* rather than the law-courts of the capital. The number of advocates attached to the various courts was delimited by statute, preferential entry to the bar being awarded to the sons of advocates (3) ; for Agathias, whose father was not an advocate, better prospects may have beckoned in his native Asia. Now, since the reign of Anastasius, a principal voice in the election of provincial officials had rested with the ecclesiastical authorities. In 505, the appointment of *defensores civitatum* had been transferred from the municipal *curiae* to a body consisting of the bishops, clergy, and landowners (4). Election of the *patres civitatum* may have passed to them at the same time ; at all events, the *patres* are elected by them in a Novel of 545 (5). Some years before this, the bishops already appear

(1) See *R.E.B.*, XXVIII, (1970), pp. 147 ff. Both Averil Cameron (*Agathias*, p. 3) and R. Keydell (in his review of Cameron, *B.Z.*, 64, 1971, p. 69) accept that Agathias was *pater civitatis* of Smyrna.

(2) On the offices of *pater* and *defensor civitatis*, see JONES, *L.R.E.*, I, pp. 480, 500, III, p. 242. *R.E.*, s.v. *curatores*, *defensor civitatis*, *σχολαστικός* ; E. HANTON, *Byzantion*, IV (1927-8), pp. 80, 114, 130 ; L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, IV (1948), p. 130.

(3) See JONES, *L.R.E.*, I, pp. 509 ff., 514.

(4) *C.J.*, I, 55, 11, 505 ; *M.A.M.A.*, III, 197A. See JONES, *L.R.E.*, II, p. 758.

(5) *Nov.* CXXVIII, sec. 16, 545.

as executive officers of state, working through the provincial governors, *defensores* and *patres civitatum* (1). Considerable power of patronage, therefore, was vested in the clergy. Moreover, candidates for the post of *defensor* had to evince religious orthodoxy (*sacrosanctis orthodoxae religionis imbuti mysteriis*), and this must have been required of the other officials also (2). May not Agathias, when holding the office of *pater civitatis* or even before his appointment, have written his ascetic epigrams in part to assure the clergy of his moral and religious soundness? The effort might have seemed a good investment for his future hopes. When Justinian re-established the administration of Italy in his Pragmatic Sanction of 554, he allowed the Italians to choose their own governors — an innovation, since provincial governors were normally appointed by the emperor himself. The elective body was to be the bishops and foremost citizens (3). This privilege was extended to the whole empire by Justin II in 569, and the development must surely have been mooted in the intervening years (4). From 554 until 574 (when the appointment of governors seems to have reverted to the central administration) (5), evidence of scrupulous piety will

(1) *C.J.*, I.4.25, *ibid.*, III. 43.1 and 3, both 529 A.D. See p. 236 f. above. D. MANDIĆ (*Byzantion*, 34, 1964, 355) rightly observes that Justinian "gave to the bishops and archbishops great influence in the affairs of the state in the promulgation of laws and ordinances in the Provinces, the supervision of the dutiful and correct attitude of governmental officials, and in judicial matters".

(2) *C.J.*, I, 55, 11, 505. There is a similar phrase in *C.J.*, I, 55, 8, 409, the constitution of Honorius and Theodosius which committed the election of *defensores* in the West to the bishops, clergy, land-owners and decurions. See JONES, *L.R.E.*, II, p. 758.

(3) JUST., *App.*, VII, 12, 554 (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*, vol. III, ed. R. SCHOELL and G. KROLL [Berlin, 1904], p. 800). See BURY, *H.L.R.E.*, II, p. 282 ; STEIN, *B.E.*, II, p. 614 ; Jones, *L.R.E.*, II, p. 766.

(4) *Nov.* CXLIX, 569.

(5) *Nov.* CLXI of Tiberius Constantine (574) omits all mention of the provincial council when discussing the appointment of governors. See JONES, *L.R.E.*, II, p. 766. Yet this argument from silence is not conclusive, and the provincial council may have retained its powers.

have been a considerable commendation in those seeking the highest, as well as the lower, provincial offices. Nor will a clear profession of Christian faith have been irrelevant, if we remember the tenacious paganism of many among the governing class both before and after the persecution of 529 A.D. (1).

It would be difficult to attribute to any one of the preceding agencies the major part in determining the peculiar character of Agathias' poetry. In a sense, they all reflect the hardening of certain patterns in conduct, taste and organisation which came to dominate Christendom in the middle ages and are still potent today in many countries. External factors, indeed, may have been less important than the traits of psychology which I sought to establish at the beginning of this study. How successful was Agathias' bid to advance his career by becoming an imperial propagandist (if this part of my analysis is correct)? Later writers call him only *scholasticus* and *rhetor*, and he seems never to have held any office of importance (2). Justinian's capacity to combine energetic puritanism with toleration of secular letters had fostered a special climate ; the moment passed, perhaps, before Agathias could profit from it. Devotion to the values and aspirations of Justinian may even have proved a disadvantage under his successors ; while some eclipse of Agathias' patrons may have contributed (3). Finally, his comparatively early

(1) See above, p. 251 f., Chitty quotes an amusing and unfamiliar testimony from an unpublished question addressed to the ascetic Varsanuphius of Thavatha in Palestine just after 529 : "Since the Duke has lately become a Christian by zeal of the Christ-loving Emperor ..." (*The Desert a City*, p. 137).

(2) Keydell collects the testimonia on p. x of his edition of Agathias' *Histories*.

(3) Two patrons of Agathias are known. The *Κύκλος* was dedicated to Theodorus, a *decurio sacri palatii* (*A.P.*, 4.3 lemma, scribe A); while Agathias tells us in *Hist.*, proem. 11, that he had been encouraged to write history by Eutychianus the younger, the *primicerius notariorum* (*τὰ πρῶτα τελῶν ἐν τοῖς τῶν βασιλέων ὑπογραφεῦσι*), in effect a cabinet minister. These officials were virtually equivalent in rank, since on retirement both were entitled to the codicils of an ex-master of the offices (palace-decurions could claim as an alternative the codicils of an ex-count of the domestics). See JONES,

death (at the age of about 50) will have robbed him of the fruits of seniority at the bar (1). One may, I think, perceive a hint of disappointed ambition in Agathias' reflections on the scant credit given to Belisarius after his deliverance of Constantinople from the Huns in 559 (2):

"That the energy of the finest souls is blunted when they are not praised or given their due, and that in consequence the state declines because the things so dishonoured are no longer pursued, whether in war or culture or any other crucial field, has been said and demonstrated by the philosophers, and one has only to look at the events of everyday to see that it is true".

Perhaps, though, the decisive flaw was psychological. It is noteworthy that, while due attention has been paid to the psychological complexity of Procopius, Agathias has been ignored in this respect. This is not surprising; the *Histories* of Agathias offer less scope for such enquiry than the *Anecdota* of Procopius. Yet many readers of Agathias' epigrams must have detected in them a mentality of more than average complexity. Occasionally, indeed, the strangeness of some of these poems has been noticed; but critics have had nothing to offer beyond a frank admission of bewilderment (3) or (in the case of Mattsson) a superficial literary analysis which leaves the poet's ultimate motivation unexplained. It has seemed to me that an accurate assessment of Agathias'

L.R.E., I, 339, II, 574; *R.E.*, Suppl. 8.618.27 f. (ENSSLIN); *C.J.*, XII, 16, 1, 415; *C.Th.*, VI, 10, 4, 425; *C.J.*, XII, 7, 2, 5, 474. For Agathias' friendship with Paul the Silentiary, see *A.P.*, 5.292 and 293; *Hist.*, 5.9.7.

(1) On the posts awarded to senior members of the various bars, see JONES, *L.R.E.*, I, 508-10.

(2) *Hist.*, 5.21.7: *ὡς μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀρίστων ψυχῶν ἀμβλύνεται τὸ δραστήριον, ἡνίκα μὴ ἐπαίνοιντο μηδὲ τοῦ πρέποντος ἀπολαύοιεν, καὶ ὅπως ἐνθένδε τὰ κοινὰ καταδεέστερα γίγνεται τῷ μὴ ὀρθῶς ἀσκεῖσθαι τὰ ἀτιμαζόμενα, εἴτε πολέμων εἴεν ἀγῶνες εἴτε λόγων παιδεῖαι εἴτε ἄλλο τι τῶν οὕτω καιριωτάτων, εἴρηται μὲν ἤδη τοῖς πάλαι σοφοῖς καὶ ἀποδέδεικται, ῥᾴδιον δέ, οἶμαι, καὶ πάντι τῷ προστυχόντι διαγιγνώσκειν ἐκ τῶν ὁσημέραι ξυμφερομένων.*

(3) "What, though, are we to make of the tone of V 302?" etc., Averil CAMERON, *Agathias*, p. 106, n. 8.

work, his poetry especially, could not be given unless some degree of psychological investigation were ventured. Such speculation is repugnant to classical scholars; but in this case, I submit, it is necessary. It has been equally necessary to present the evidence, administrative and religious, which enables these poems to be judged in their sixth-century context; this is no easy task in a poet who, the Byzantine background apart, demands so much orthodox classical scholarship from his editor (1). I have made the attempt; the reader will judge for himself whether my inferences are valid.

(1) An edition of Agathias' epigrams by the present writer will appear in due course.

APPENDIX

THE ATTRIBUTION OF *A.P.* 9. 767-9

As may be seen from the following table, the traditions represented on the one hand by the Palatine manuscript of the *Anthology*, and on the other by the Planudean manuscript, its contemporary apograph Brit. Mus. Addit. 16409 (1), and the two earliest printed editions, differ in their ascription of *A.P.* 9.767-9 :

		Codex Palatinus	*Codex Planudeus, Codex Britannicus*
	764	εἰς κονωπεῶνα Παύλου σιλεντιαρίου B in text	εἰς κωνωπεῶνα Παύλου σιλεντιαρίου
B in marg	765	τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς αὐτό	εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
	766	εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ Ἀγαθίου σχο-στικοῦ	εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
	767	εἰς τάβλαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ	εἰς τάβλαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ
	768	εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ	εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
	769	εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ	εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ

	Editio princeps, Florence 1494	*First Aldine ed., Venice* 1503
764	εἰς κωνωπεῶνα. Παύλου σιλεντιαρίου	εἰς κωνωπεῶνα. Παύλου σιλεντιαρίου
765	No lemma or attribution. Written continuously with 764, but the beginning of 765 and 766 indicated by large initial letter.	εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
766		Ἄδηλον
767	τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς ταύλαν	τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς ταύλαν
768	No lemma or attribution. Written continuously with 767, but with large initial letter.	εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
769	τοῦ αὐτοῦ. εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ	τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ αὐτό

(1) On the manuscripts of the *Anthology*, see, most recently, R. AUBRETON in *Revue des Études Anciennes*, LXIX (1967), p. 32 ff.

Two of these epigrams are found also in some of the smaller syllogae, where, however, they are unattributed (1). In the other early printed editions, the lemmata are essentially the same as those of the first Aldine edition (1503) (2). Brunck, the first editor to make use of the Palatinus, nevertheless followed Planudes in ascribing *A.P.* 9.767-9 to Paul the Silentiary (3), as did Jacobs when reproducing Brunck's text in his edition of 1794 (4). In his *Animadversiones*, however, Jacobs promised that these epigrams would be ascribed to Agathias in his new edition of the text and commentary (5), a correction which he duly made (6). Subsequent editors (Dübner, Waltz, Beckby) have, with the Palatinus, ascribed these epigrams to Agathias. This ascription was tacitly accepted by P. Merian-Genast, who did not mention *A.P.* 9.767-9 among the poems of Paul the Silentiary, and assigned 766 to Agathias (7). It would have been unnecessary to re-open the question, had not W. Peek in *RE*, 18.4.2368 (1949) attributed *A.P.* 9.767-9 to Paul (but 766 to Agathias), an attribution made with reference to 768 only by G. Hertzog-Hauser in *RE*, 7.A.2.1657 (1943, s.v. Tyche).

The crux of the matter is the lemma of *A.P.* 9.766. That the name of Agathias would have been interpolated at this point in the Palatinus or one of its ancestors is intrinsically unlikely ; that its omission from the Planudean tradition depends merely on an oversight is, on the contrary, exceedingly likely, considering the method of arrangement adopted by scribes of the tenth and eleventh centuries, in so far as we can form an impression of this from

(1) *A.P.*, 9.768-9 in *cod. Laurentianus* 32.16 ; *A.P.*, 9.768 in *cod. Parisinus* 1630 and *cod. Par.* suppl. Gr. 352. On the Syllogae Minores of the Anthology, see AUBRETON, p. 67 ff.

(2) JUNTINE, 1519 ; second ALDINE, 1521 ; ASCENSIAN, 1531 ; BRODEAU, 1549 ; STEPHANUS, 1566.

(3) *Analecta veterum poetarum Graecorum*, t. III, p. 92 (Strassburg, 1776). But Brunck attributed 766 to Agathias (p. 61).

(4) *Anthologia Graeca sive poetarum Graecorum lusus ex recensione Brunckii*, t. IV, p. 62 f. (Lipsiae, 1794).

(5) *Friderici Jacobs animadversiones in epigrammata Anthologiae Graecae*, t. III, 1, p. 171 (Lipsiae, 1802).

(6) *Anthologia Graeca ad fidem codicis olim Palatini, nunc Parisini ex apographo Gothano edita*, t. II, pp. 258 f. (Lipsiae, 1814).

(7) *De Paulo Silentiario Byzantino Nonni Sectatore* (Diss.), Leipzig, 1889, p. 15.

the Palatinus itself. There, scribe B wrote the lemmata and author's names in the text or margin indiscriminately (e.g. *A.P.* 9.663 ff., 764 ff.). When a name is written in the margin, no space is left vertically between the epigrams. With this kind of arrangement, epigrams whose authors' names are given in the margin tend to be misascribed to authors whose names are given in the text. A. S. F. Gow has drawn attention to several cases of fusion or misattribution of epigrams by Planudes which have arisen in this way (1). So here in the Palatinus, *A.P.* 9.764 has its lemma and attribution in the text, but 765-9 have theirs in the margin. Doubtless Planudes found the same arrangement in his exemplar (which was not, of course, the Palatinus), and failed to note the change of author from Paul to Agathias at 766.

As for the lemma ἄδηλον attached to *A.P.* 9.766 in the Aldine edition of 1503, this probably marks the edition's dependence on cod. Parisinus 2744, written c. 1300 A.D., which R. Aubreton has recently postulated as the exemplar of the two earliest printed editions (2). According to Aubreton's description of this manuscript, « là où le Marcianus ne donnait aucune indication, le scribe note ici ἄδηλον, mention qui sera conservée par toutes les copies ou éditions postérieures » (3). Unfortunately, the Parisinus exists only in a mutilated form, and the leaf containing the epigrams in question is missing. It is very likely, however, that the Aldine's ἄδηλον is to be explained in this way.

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(1) *The Greek Anthology, Sources and Ascriptions*, London, 1958, pp. 16, 361.

(2) *Revue des Études Anciennes*, LXIX, (1967), p. 42.

(3) *Scriptorium*, XXIII, (1969), p. 71.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN HERACLIUS AND KAVĀDH-ŠIROE IN THE PASCHAL CHRONICLE (628)

The Paschal Chronicle (Bonn, p. 727 ff.) includes a letter of the Emperor Heraclius which was read at the pulpit of St. Sophia on May 15th, 628. This letter was issued on April 8th from the military camp at Ganzak while the Emperor was setting out for Armenia with the army. Heraclius wished to acquaint the Constantinopolitans with the developments on the eastern front (1).

After their victory at Nineveh (December 627) and the conquering of Dastagerd (January 628) it became obvious that the Byzantines were about to win the war. Significant events then took place in Persia. King Chosroes II was dethroned by his son Kavādh-Široe and was executed four days later. On March 24th two messengers of Široe's ambassador arrived at the military camp of Ganzak. On April 3rd the ambassador himself, " *Φαϊὰκ Χοσδαὴ ἀδσηκρῆτις ὁ καὶ Ῥασνᾶν* » (2) arrived and presented a document to Hera-

(1) F. DÖLGER, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, I, München-Berlin, 1924, n° 192. The document is a *κέλευσις* (*jussio*) : *Chron. Pasch.*, p. 734, l. 1 (cf. p. 727, l. 10 : *ἀποκρίσεις*). Date and place of issuance : *ibid.*, p. 734, l. 13-15. — During his long absence from the capital, Heraclius used to send such letters to the Constantinopolitans : *ibid.*, p. 728, l. 15 ; p. 729, l. 15 ; p. 730, l. 3 = DÖLGER, *Regesten*, n°s 189, 190, 198.

(2) *Chron. Pasch.*, p. 730, l. 14-15 : *ἀπό τινος ἀδσηκρῆτις Περσῶν, ἔχοντος ὄνομα Χοσδάη καὶ ἀξίωμα Ῥασνᾶν* ; p. 733, l. 16-17 : *Φαϊὰκ ὁ ἀδσηκρῆτις ὁ καὶ Ῥασνᾶν* ; texts, *infra*, l. 32-33, 64-65. Cf. MENANDER PROTECTOR, *Excerpta de legationibus*, ed. C. DE BOOR, Berlin, 1903, I, p. 213 : *τῶν τις παρὰ Πέρσαις τοῖς βασιλικοῖς τε καὶ δημοσίοις πράγμασιν ἐξυπηρετουμένων* (*οὗς, εἴ τις τῇ Λατίνων χρήσοιτο φωνῇ, ἀσηκρῆτίς τε προσαγορεύσειεν*). See also N. V. PIGULEVSKAJA, *Vizantija i Iran na rubeže VI i VII vv.*, Moskva-Leningrad, 1946, p. 211.

clius in which the new King of Persia announced his enthronement and submitted peace propositions (*ὑπομνηστικὸν ... περιέχοντα τὴν ἀναγόρευσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅτι θέλει μεθ' ἡμῶν καὶ μετὰ ἑκάστου ἀνθρώπου εἰρήνην ἔχειν*: p. 733, l. 18-21). On April 8th the Persian ambassador set off on his return journey. He was accompanied by an ambassador of Heraclius, the *tabullarius* Eustathius, carrying with him the Emperor's reply to the King of Persia.

The main topic of Heraclius' letter to the Constantinopolitans concerned the exchange of ambassadors, described in much detail. At the bottom, as a postscript, the Emperor had ordered that both Široe's *hypomnestikon* and his own reply be copied: *συνείδαμεν οὖν τὸ ἴσον τοῦ ὑπομνηστικοῦ τοῦ Καβάτου τοῦ καὶ Σειροίου τοῦ ἡμερωτάτου ὑποτάξαι τῇ παρούσῃ ἡμῶν κελεύσει, εἶθ' οὕτω καὶ τὸ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀντιγραφὲν αὐτῷ ὑποτάξαι* (p. 733, l. 21-p. 734, l. 2). And indeed, immediately following the salutation to the Constantinopolitans, we find the copy of the *hypomnestikon* and, as we shall see further on, Heraclius' reply of which only the beginning has been preserved.

The last folios of the only known important manuscript of the Paschal Chronicle, the *cod. Vaticanus* 1941 (10th cent.) (1), are missing. The *hypomnestikon* begins at f. 300. However, f. 301, where the text continues, has been torn so that three-quarters of it is missing; the preserved portion includes an irregular vertical strip of text, from which we can determine that the pages had been completely filled (see plates I-III). There is no doubt that at least one more folio has been lost; at the end of f. 301^{v} the text is abruptly interrupted. On the existing portion of f. 301, Široe's memorandum ended and Heraclius' reply began.

The entire *Vaticanus* 1941 was written by one scribe. Each page has 32 lines, and each line has 31-39 letters with few abbreviations. On f. 301^{r} which contains the last part of Široe's memorandum, there are only 30 lines: the space

(1) In addition there are three copies of this manuscript and two other manuscripts including excerpts of the Chronicle: Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I, Berlin, 1958^{2}, pp. 241-242.

that should have contained the last two lines is blank, in spite of the fact that the corresponding part of the parchment has been preserved (see plate II). This peculiarity leads us to believe that at the bottom of the page, in the place of lines 31 and 32, a title was written in capital letters in the centre, as was done on f. 300^{r-v} where Široe's memorandum begins, and that this title was lost with the torn portion of the page. This hypothesis leads us to search for a new text at the top of f. 301^{v}, where we find in fact the beginning of Heraclius' reply (1).

This correspondence is presented below as it is preserved in the Paschal Chronicle. The suggested restitutions, we must stress, are provided to clarify the essence of the text and not meant to restore it in its original form (2). Brief explanations are included in the apparatus or in footnotes. In the commentary, several problems concerning the form of the epistles will be examined and a study will be made of the essential content of this correspondence between Heraclius and Široe and of the procedure followed for the realization of peace in 628.

The Texts

(*Codex Vaticanus gr.* 1941, f. 300-301 ; *Chronicon Paschale*, Bonn, pp. 735-737)

Title : *Ἴσον ὑπομνηστικοῦ γενομένου ἀπὸ Καβάτου / τοῦ καὶ Σειροΐου τοῦ ἡμερωτάτου / βασιλέως Περσῶν πρὸς Ἡρά-/κλειον / τὸν εὐσεβέστατον καὶ θεοφύλα-/κτον ἡμῶν βασιλέα.*

/[1] *Παρὰ Καβάτου σαδάσαδασάχ, Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ ἡ-/[2]μερωτάτῳ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων, τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἀδελ-/[3]φῷ.*

(1) As far as I know, V. Bolotov, *K Istorii Imperatora Iraklija*, in *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 14 (1907), p. 77, n. 1, is the only scholar who understood the existence of Heraclius' letter in the last page of the Chronicle and commented on it.

(2) The restitutions proposed by Dindorf (Bonn edition, not exempt from misreadings) and by Bolotov (*loc. cit.*) are often similar to ours. I shall comment on some of them in the following footnotes.

Πλείστην χαρὰν ἀπονέμομεν τῷ ἡμερωτά-/[4]*τῳ βασιλεῖ Ῥω-μαίων καὶ ἀδελφῷ ἡμῶν. Ἡμεῖς* /[5] *διὰ τῆς προστασίας τοῦ Θεοῦ καλοποδίνως τῷ* /[6] *μεγάλῳ διαδήματι ἐκοσμήθημεν καὶ τοῦ θρόνου* /[7] *τῶν πατέρων καὶ γονέων ἡμῶν ἐπελαβόμεθα.* /[8] *Διὰ οὖν τὸ οὕτως εὐεργετικῶς ἀξιωθῆναι ἡ-*/[9]*μᾶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἐπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ τοιούτου* /[10] *θρόνου καὶ τῆς δεσποτείας, συνείδαμεν, εἴ τι ἐστὶν* /[11] *πρὸς ὠφέλειαν καὶ θεραπείαν τῆς ἀνθρωπότη-*/[12]*τος, διαπράξασθαι πρὸς τὸ ἡμῖν ἐνδεχόμενον ·* /[13] *καὶ ὡς ἔπρεπεν εὐεργετικῶς ἐκελεύσαμεν* /[14] *γενέσθαι. Ἐπὰν ὁ Θεὸς ἀφιέρωσεν ἡμᾶς εἰς τοι-*/[15]*οῦτον μέγαν θρόνον καὶ δεσποτείαν, πρόθεσιν* /[16] *ἔχομεν τοῦ ἀπολῦσαι ἕκαστον καὶ οἱονδή-*/[17]*ποτε ἄνθρωπον κατεχόμενον ἐμ φρουρᾷ, καὶ λοι-*/[18]*πόν, εἴ τι ἐστὶν πρὸς ὠφέλειαν καὶ θεραπείαν* /[19] *τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ταύ-*/[20]*της, καὶ ἐνδεχόμενον ἦν κελευσθῆναι παρ' ἡμῶν,* /[21] *ἐκελεύσαμεν καὶ ἐγένετο. Καὶ τοιαύτην πρόθεσιν* / [22] *ἔχομεν ἵνα μεθ' ὑμῶν, τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ῥω-*/[23]*μαίων καὶ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν, καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς* /[24] *πολιτείας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ ἑτέρων* /[25] *βασιλίσκων, τῶν κύκλῳ ὄντων τῆς ἡμετέρας* /[26] *πολιτείας, ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγάπῃ διάγωμεν. Διὰ* / [27] *δὲ τὸ χαροποιηθῆναι τὴν ἀδελφότητα ὑμῶν,* /[28] *τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τοῦ ἐπιλαβέσθαι* /[29] *ἡμᾶς τοῦ αὐτοῦ θρόνο[υ (1) .. .[1].[3].-.[2].[1]. . .]* /[30] *πρωτοτύπως μὲν πο[. . .[8].-.[1].[6]... τὴν ὑμετέ-]*/[31]*ραν ἀδελφότητα καὶ [ἐκελεύσαμεν πρὸς τὴν ὑ-]*/[32] *μετέραν παραγενέσθαι ἀδελ[φότητα Φαϊὰκ τὸν]* /[33] *ἀδσηκρῆτις τὸν καὶ Ῥασνᾶν, σ(2) [. .[4].-.[1].[2]. . ἡμῶν]* /[34] *ὑπάρχοντα · ἀλλ' ἡ ἀδελφότης [ὑμῶν, τὴν διά-]*/[35]*θεσιν καὶ ἀγάπην ἡμῶν καὶ φιλί[α]ν [γνοῦσα, ἣν]* /[36] *ἔχομεν πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφότητα ὑμῶν, [οὐ μόνον δὲ]* /[37] *πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τ[ὴν πολιτείαν ὑμῶν,]* /[38] *ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην ἡμῶν κ[ελεύσατε καὶ ὑ-]*/[39]*μεῖς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, τοὺς κρατηθ[έντας*

L. 3 : *χαρὰν* : *leg. χάριν*? cf. Menander protector, *infra*, p. 273 // l. 32 : cf. *supra*, p. 268, note 2 // l. 37 : cf. l. 22-24 // l. 39 : cf. Agapius, *infra*, p. 279. //

(1) In the l. 29-30 it seems that Široe declares to Heraclius his willingness to communicate with him *πρωτοτύπως*. The unintelligible letter after *π* in l. 30 could be an *ο* or *ε* or *α* ; so, the restitution *π[ληροφορῆσαι]*, although convenient, should be excluded.

(2) Here should be found a qualification of the ambassador : *σ[ύμβουλον]*, *σ[υγγενῆ]* ?

ἀπὸ τῆς] /[40] πολιτείας ταύτης παρὰ τοῦ [στρατοῦ τῆς] /[41] ἀδελ-φότητος ὑμῶν, ἀπολυθ[ῆναι · προσέτι] /[42] δὲ κελεύσατε τοῦ παν-τοίως [τούτους παραγε-] /[43] νέσθαι εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀπὸ [γονέων πολι-] /[44] τείαν. Καὶ περὶ τοῦ πα[γίαν (1) καὶ αἰωνίαν γενέσ-] /[45] θαι εἰρήνην καὶ [ἀγάπην μεθ' ἡμῶν . .[6].-.[1.0]. .] /[46] οἷαν αἴτησιν ἔχε[τε(2) . . .[1.5].-.[2.3]. . .] /[47] ἡμ[ᾶς] κ[αὶ] δι' αὐτ[οῦ . . .[1.7].-.[2.5]. . .] / [48] λε [. . .[2.9].-.[3.7]. . .] /[49] δ [. . .[3.0].-.[3.6]. . .] /[50] μαι [. . .[2.8].-.[3.6]. . .] / [51] μῖν [. . .[2.8].-.[3.6]. . .] /[52] του[. . .[2.8].-.[3.6]. . .] /[53] χαν [. . .[2.8].-.[3.6]. . .] / [54] φοτ [. . .[2.8].-.[3.6]. .] /[55] νεῦμ [. . .[2.7].-.[3.5]. . .] /[56] [. . .[3.1].-.[3.9]. . .] / [57] [. . .[3.1].-.[3.9]. . .] /[58] . . τη [. . . . .].

/[59-61] [Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ δεσπότου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν. Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Φλάβιος Ἡράκλειος πιστὸς ἐν Χριστῷ βασιλεὺς] Ῥωμαίων. Πλείστην /[62] [χάριν ἀπονέμομεν] καὶ σημαίνομεν ὡς, ὅτι τὸ /[63] [ὑπομνηστικόν, τὸ πεμ]φθὲν ἡμῖν παρὰ τῆς ὑμε-/[64] [τέρας υἱότητος] διὰ Φαϊὰκ Χ[οσ]δαὴχ τοῦ ἀδση-/[65] [κρῆτις τοῦ καὶ Ῥασ]νᾶν, ἐδεξάμεθα · καὶ ἐγνωκότες /[66] [ὡς προστασίᾳ] τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπ' εὐτυχίᾳ τῷ βασιλικῷ δια-/[67] [δήματι κοσ]μηθέντες εἰς τὸν θρόνον τῶν γονέων /[68] [σου καὶ π]ρογόνων] ἐκαθίσατε, καὶ πολλῷ πλέον /[69] [ἐχαροποιήθη]μεν καὶ παρακαλοῦ-μεν τὸν Θεόν, /[70] [ἵνα ἐπὶ πολλοὺ]ς χρ[ό]νους ἐν εὐπραγίᾳ καὶ ἐν εὐ- / [71] [τυχίᾳ ἀενά]ῳ καὶ εἰρήνῃ μεγάλῃ ἀξιώσει ὑμᾶς /[72] [ἐπιβαίνειν] τοῦ θρόνου τῶν γονέων σου καὶ /[73] [προγόνων. Κ]αὶ ὃ δὲ ἐδηλώσατε ἡμῖν διὰ τοῦ ὑπο-/[74] [μνηστικοῦ ὑμ]ῶν, ὅτι, ἡνίκα εἰς τὸν τοιοῦτον θρόνον /[75] [ἐκαθίσατε καὶ] τὴν δεσποτείαν ὑμῶν ἀπελάβετε, /[76] [πρόθεσιν ἔχετε τοῦ ἀπολῦσ]αι τοὺς ἀπὸ διαφόρων /[77] [αἰτιῶν ἐν φρουρᾷ κατεχομένους,] οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ /[78] [πρὸς ὠφέλειάν τε καὶ εὐε]ργεσίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐ-/[79] [κε-

l. 41 : *προσέτι vel πρὸς τούτοις* // l. 43 : [*πολι*]*τείαν* cf. l. 19, 40, Patr. Niceph., *infra*, p. 276 sq, Menander protector I, p. 461, II, p. 465 // l. 44 : cf. l. 26 ; *πα-*[*γίαν*] cf. Theophanes, *infra*, p. 278 : *ἀειπαγῆ* // l. 54 : [*ἀδελ*]*φότ*[*ης*]? // l. 55 : *νεῦμ*[*α*]? // l. 59-61 ; cf. pp. 275-276 // l. 62 : cf. l. 3 // l. 64 : *υἱότητος* cf. Patr. Niceph., *infra*, p. 276 : *τέκνον* ; *vel ἀδελφότητος vel ἡμερότητος* cf. Chronicon Paschale, p. 734 // l. 66 : cf. l. 5 // l. 67 : cf. l. 6 // l. 68 : cf. l. 72 // l. 69 : cf. l. 27 // l. 72 : *ἐπιβαίνειν vel κρατεῖν vel ἔχεσθαι* etc. // l. 73 : cf. l. 68 // l. 75 : cf. l. 68 / l. 76 : cf. l. 15-16 // l. 77 : cf. l. 17 ; *αἰτιῶν vel ἐθνῶν*? // l. 78-79 : cf. l. 18-21.

(1) Bolotov proposed *περὶ τόπου* [*ὅπου μέλλει γενέσ*]*θαι εἰρ.* without having consulted the Vatican manuscript.

(2) Bolotov proposes *ἔχε*[*τε πρὸς*] *ἡμᾶς*. The gap in the manuscript is considerably bigger.

λεύσατε γενέσθαι, καὶ π]ρόθεσιν τοιαύτην (1) /80 [ἔχετε . . .2.3.-8.1. . .] τοῦ /81 [. . .8.0.-8.8. . .]ε /82 [. . .2.9.-8.7. . .]ων /83 [. . .2.9.-3.7. . .]τε. / 84[. . .2.7.-3.5. . .]ν πρέ /85 [. . .2.7.-8.5. . .]α σου /86 [. . .2.8.-3.6. . .]ου καὶ /87 [. . .2.8.-3.6. . .] τῶν /88 [. . .2.9.-3.7. . .] ἐκ /89 [. . 2.9.-8.7. . .] το / 90 [. . .2.5.-3.3. . .] τούτου /91 [. . .2.5.-3.3. . .] ἀπὸ τοῦ /92 [. . .2.0.-2.8. . .] οἱ ἀμφότεροι . . . . .

COMMENTARY

1. Široe's document is characterized by the Byzantines as an *hypomnestikon* (title, l. 63 and Paschal Chronicle, p. 733, l. 18, 21). Sebeos refers to it as "adresse" (see below, p. 278). The term *hypomnestikon* is usually used in reference to a document addressed to the Emperor for the purpose of requesting a solution to a specific problem (2). In the early Byzantine period, the same term seems to have been used in reference to certain Byzantine imperial documents (3). However, since Široe's document was written in Persian, one could assume that the term *hypomnestikon* is a translation of a Persian nomenclature for the document.

Široe's letter has been composed in accordance with the principles of the Royal Persian Chancery. The first lines can be compared to the Greek translation of the letter which King Chosroes sent to sanction the fifty-year peace treaty of 562. At that time the representatives of both states had met at Daras and, having discussed and agreed upon terms, they exchanged the epistles of their respective kings (*σάκραι, ὁμολογίαι*) sanctioning the peace agreement. This information derives from Menander protector (4): *Ἡ μὲν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων*

(1) The immediately following lines must include a question regarding the intentions of Široe to conclude peace: cf. l. 21 ff.

(2) F. DÖLGER-J. KARAYANNOPULOS, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre. I. Die Kaiserurkunden*, München, 1968, pp. 82-83.

(3) E. g. DÖLGER, *Regesten*, nº 191; DU CANGE, *Glossarium ... Graecitatis*, 1646-1647; E. A. SOPHOCLES, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byz. Periods*, 1914, p. 1122.

(4) *Loc. cit.*, pp. 176-177. Descriptions of other embassies of the 6th century between Byzantines and Persians found in MENANDER, *loc. cit.* I, pp. 171-188, 188-191, 198-203, 210-220; II, pp. 446-450,

αὐτοκράτορος περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὁμολογία, τὴν συνήθη φέρουσα προγραφήν, γνώριμος ἡμῖν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τυγχάνει · ἣ δὲ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως γράμμασι μὲν ἐγράφη Περσικοῖς, τῇ δὲ Ἑλληνίδι φωνῇ κατὰ ταῦτα δήπουθεν ἰσχύει τὰ ῥήματα · « Θεῖος, ἀγαθός, εἰρηνοπάτριος, ἀρχαῖος Χοσρόης, βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, εὐτυχής, εὐσεβής, ἀγαθοποιός, ᾧτινι οἱ θεοὶ μεγάλην τύχην καὶ μεγάλην βασιλείαν δεδώκασι, γίγας γιγάντων, ὃς ἐκ θεῶν χαρακτηρίζεται, Ἰουστινιανῷ καίσαρι ἀδελφῷ ἡμετέρῳ ». Ἡ μὲν οὖν προγραφὴ οὕτω πη ἐδήλου, ἀτὰρ ἡ δύναμις τῶν λεχθέντων ... εἶχε <δὲ> οὕτω : « Χάριν ἀπονέμομεν τῇ ἀδελφότητι τοῦ καίσαρος περὶ τῆς χρείας τῆς εἰρήνης τῆς μεταξὺ τούτων τῶν δύο πολιτειῶν ... ». Further down, the names of the representatives who were appointed by Chosroes and Justinian are mentioned and the fifty-year peace pact is confirmed, having been agreed upon, drafted and sealed by the two deputies.

The schematic order of the first lines of Široe's document is similar to that which Menander quotes. In the *hypomnestikon* of 628 we find the *prographe* (*intitulatio* and *inscriptio*, l. 1-3) and the introductory address to the Byzantine Emperor, called now *Basileus* (l. 3-4). We note also in the *intitulatio* that Široe omits the plethoric and pompous titles used by Chosroes : moderation on the part of the defeated Persian Monarch ? tendency characteristic of the 7th century toward simplicity ?

That part of Heraclius' reply, wherein would be found its qualification as a document, has not been preserved. The Emperor himself, however, in his letter to the Constantinopolitans, makes reference to his epistle to Široe with the word "*ἀντιγραφέν*" (1). This term which is the equivalent to the general concept of "reply" must be related to the word "*ἀντιγραφὴ*" which frequently characterizes documents of Byzantine emperors to heads of foreign states (2).

460-463, 463-469 ; PETRUS PATRICIUS, in *De Cerimoniis aulae byzantinae* Bonn, pp. 398-408, 408-410. — Insulting letters exchanged between sovereigns (such as preserved in SEBEOS, transl. MACLER, p. 79, cf. MENANDER, II, p. 462) are useless for our study.

(1) *Chron. Pasch.*, p. 734, l. 2.

(2) F. DÖLGER, *Byz. Diplomatik*, Ettal, 1956, p. 35.

It is difficult to reestablish the beginning of Heraclius' document (l. 59-61) because, as mentioned earlier, two and a half lines are missing in the manuscript. The last two lines of f. 301[r] (l. 59 and 60 of the text), which we believe have been written in the centre of the page in the form of a title, would have been smaller than the usual lines of the manuscript (25-27 letters, see the title of Široe's letter). In view of the above, there should be a gap of 66-78 letters in lines 59-61. Two solutions are possible.

One might suppose that this space contained a title written by the scribe indicating the beginning of Heraclius' document. E.g. *Ἴσον τῆς γενομένης ἀντιγραφῆς Ἡρακλείου τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ θεοφυλάκτου βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων* (see title of Široe's document). However, this hypothesis is in conflict with the fact that the same scribe in the title of Široe's document refers to Heraclius as "our emperor" and not "emperor of the Romans". Moreover, the latter expression would be meaningless since Heraclius' letter had been directed to subjects of the empire. Therefore it is probable that Heraclius' document followed immediately after Široe's *hypomnestikon*, and that the two and a half missing lines contained the preliminary phrases of the imperial reply.

There is little doubt, I believe, that the space preceding the word *Ῥωμαίων* (l. 61) contained the word *βασιλεύς*. This title is found in the official headings of the imperial documents during the reign of Heraclius, eventually replacing the title *αὔγουστος* (1). The combination *βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων*, unusual for this period, is repeatedly used in the document of Široe (l. 4, 22, 28) who, in fact, stresses the distinction between Heraclius and the other neighbouring *βασιλίσκοι* (l. 25). We can therefore assume that Heraclius used the phrase *βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων* in his document as well, since he was addressing a foreign monarch.

In accordance with the known habits of the imperial chancery, the beginning of each document addressed to a foreign monarch usually bore the following: the *invocatio*,

(1) G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byz. Staates*, München, 1963[3], p. 86.

the *intitulatio* and the *inscriptio* (1). These constitute the *prographe* to which Menander makes reference. In the document we are studying, we can restitute with some likelihood the *invocatio* and the *intitulatio* based on other documents of that period, e.g. the *novella* of March 21st, 629, bearing the following *prographe*: *Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ δεσπότου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν. Αὐτοκράτορες Καίσαρες Φλάβιοι Ἡράκλειος καὶ Ἡράκλειος Νέος Κωνσταντῖνος πιστοὶ ἐν Χριστῷ βασιλεῖς* (2). The restitution we are prosposing, l. 59-61, is feasible in the available space when one realizes that some of the words of the *prographe* would have been abbreviated when written in the manuscript (e.g. *ὀνόματι*, *Ἰησοῦ*, *Χριστοῦ*, *Θεοῦ*, *Χριστῷ*, etc.); and that Heraclius, who was away from Constantinople, most probably did not mention the name of his son and co-emperor, Heraclius *Neos* Constantine.

That which does not appear in the *prographe* of Heraclius' reply is the indication of the recipient, although this *inscriptio* is a logically necessary part of the document and appears in most of the known imperial charters of that period (3), always following the *intitulatio* (4). Is it an omission of the scribe? However, we can assume that the name and the titles of the recipient (Široe) were undoubtedly located on the outer side of the folded document, as part of the address.

2. The narrative sources give additional information about the above documents concerning the clauses of the treaty.

a) Patriarch NICEPHORUS, *History*, ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig, 1880, p. 20: after his enthronement, Široe *εὐθὺς πρὸς Ἡράκλειον διαπρεσβεύεται δῶρά τε ἐξέπεμψεν ὡς σπείσεσθαι αὐτῷ. Γράφει δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἑνοῦσθαί τε ἀλλήλαις τὰς ὑπ' αὐτοὺς πολι-*

(1) DÖLGER-KARAYANNOPULOS, *loc. cit.*, p. 91 ff.

(2) ZEPOS, *Jus graecoromanum*, Athens, 1931, I, p. 36 = DÖLGER, *Regesten*, n° 199. Different titles in ZEPOS, *loc. cit.*, p. 27, 33; J. D. MANSI, *Sacrorum conciliorum ... collectio*, XI, c. 195, 201, 698, 737 = DÖLGER, *Regesten*, n°s 165, 212, 243, 244, 245, 254 (VIIth century).

(3) Exceptions: *Byzantion*, 17 (1944/5), p. 123; ZEPOS, *Jus*, I, p. 45 (IXth cent.).

(4) A questionable exception in the Xth cent.: *De Cerimoniis*, p. 686.

τείας καὶ εἰρήνην παρὰ Θεοῦ ἀσπάζεσθαι, ὡς ἑκάστην καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἡσυχάζειν. Ὃ ἀντέγραφε καὶ Ἡράκλειος, τέκνον τὸν Σειρόην καλῶν, καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ ποτε κατὰ γνώμην βασιλέα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δόξης ἐκπεπτωκέναι· διὸ οὐδὲ Χοσρόην, « ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ πλεῖστα καὶ κάκιστα Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Πέρσαις ἐπέδειξεν, ἔσπευσα ἄν », ἔφασκε, « περισωθέντα, εἰ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπικρατέστερος ἐγενόμην, εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποκαθιστᾶν βασιλείαν. Θεὸς δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου πρόθεσιν ἐγνωκὼς μετῆλθεν αὐτῷ ἀξίαν τὴν δίκην, ὡς μὴ τῶν πολλῶν γενέσθαι κατάλυσιν, ἡμῖν νῦν τὴν ἕνωσιν παρασχόμενος ». Περί τε τῶν ζωοποιῶν ξύλων, ὧν εἵλε Σάρβαρος ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων, λιπαρῶς ἐπέκειτο ἐπιζητῶν· ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχετο δώσειν, εἴπερ αὐτῷ κατάφωρα γένοιτο, περί τε τῶν πρεσβευτῶν, οὓς Σάϊτος πρὸς Χοσρόην ἀπήγαγε δόλῳ, ὡς Λεόντιος μὲν κοινῷ θανάτῳ ἐτελεύτα, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Χοσρόης ξύλοις ἔκτεινεν, αἰσθόμενος αὐτὸν (1) *Ἡράκλειον εἰς τὴν Περσικὴν εἰσβαλόντα.*

Patriarch Nicephorus quotes some lines of Heraclius' reply (2). As the Paschal Chronicle is one of Nicephorus' sources, one may suppose that this quotation comes from a complete manuscript of the Paschal Chronicle, as it was preserved in the 9th century.

According to Nicephorus, Heraclius addressed Široe as "his son", thus putting himself in a superior position and appearing as the spiritual father of the defeated Persian King (3). That part of his letter is not preserved in the manuscript of the Paschal Chronicle (cf. the restitution of l. 64). On the other hand, Široe continued addressing Heraclius as his brother (l. 2-3, 4, 23, 27, 31, 32, 34, 36, 41) using an official term indicating the theoretically recognized equality between the two sovereigns (4).

(1) *Leg. αὖ τὸν*? in reference to the second campaign of Heraclius against Persia (627).

(2) This quotation does not correspond to any part of the text preserved on f. 301^{v} of the *Vaticanus* 1941.

(3) We have similar examples from earlier times: e.g. in 598, Chosroes was adopted by Emperor Mauricius; in 615, Heraclius himself requested to be recognized as the "son" of Chosroes: F. DÖLGER, *Die « Familie der Könige » im Mittelalter*, in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 60 (1940) = *Byzanz und die Europäische Staatenwelt*, Ettal, 1953, p. 61, n. 63.

(4) Cf. DÖLGER, *loc. cit.*, pp. 59-61. One should also notice the

b) THEOPHANIS *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, I, Leipzig, 1883, p. 327 (1) : *Τότε ὁ Σιρόης γράφει πρὸς Ἡράκλειον εὐαγγελιζόμενος αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ μιαροῦ Χοσρόου ἀναίρεσιν · καὶ εἰρήνην ἀειπαγῆ πρὸς αὐτὸν ποιησάμενος πάντας τοὺς ἐν φρουραῖς Χριστιανοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐν Περσίδι πάσῃ αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῷ σὺν τῷ πατριάρχῃ Ζαχαρίᾳ καὶ τοῖς τιμίοις καὶ ζωοποιοῖς ξύλοις τοῖς ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ληφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ Σαρβαραζᾶ, ὅταν τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ παρέλαβεν.*

c) SEBEOS, *Histoire d'Héraclius*, transl. F. Macler, Paris, 1904, p. 86 : *Ensuite, le roi Kawat tint conseil avec les naxarars de son royaume : Il faut faire la paix avec l'empereur et lui céder toutes les limites de son royaume, et de tous côtés faisons la paix. D'un commun accord ils consentirent tous à agir de la sorte. Alors, le roi Kawat donne l'ordre d'écrire à Héraclius une adresse de salutation et lui cède toutes ses frontières ; il fait porter avec son adresse du sel scellé ; il charge un išxan du nom de Raš de confirmer cet accord par de grands présents.*

Or, lorsque Raš arriva, annonçant la bonne nouvelle, présentant l'adresse et offrant les présents, l'empereur Héraclius et tous ses soldats rendirent de grandes actions de grâce à Dieu. Alors l'empereur Héraclius donna l'ordre de mettre en liberté les nombreux captifs et de renvoyer tout le butin ; il écrit un témoignage de bénédiction et établit la paix sous serment. Ensuite il envoie un de ses principaux naxarars, dont le nom était Yustath avec des grands présents et, après avoir comblé d'honneurs et de précieux trésors ce Raš, il le congédie. Et lui rentra en paix chez lui. Yuzdath se rendant avec des présents devant le roi Kawat, présente le décret et offre les cadeaux. Le roi Kawat le reçut avec joie, lui confirmant à nouveau les paroles de paix et les frontières cédées par le serment des décrets ...

d) MICHEL LE SYRIEN, XI, 3, transl. Chabot, II, p. 409 : *Quand Široi commença à régner, il fit connaître la mort de son père à Héraclius et fit la paix avec lui, sous la condition*

distinction established by Široe between the *basileis* and the *basiliskoi* (l. 25).

(1) Text repeated by CEDRENUS I, pp. 734-735 and abridged by ZONARAS (XIV, 16).

que les Perses quitteraient le pays des Romains et descendraient dans leur pays.

e) AGAPIUS DE MENBIDJ, transl. A. Vasiliev, *Patrologia Orientalis* 8/3 (1912), p. 465 : *Chirouyah, fils de Chosroes, envoya des messagers à Héraclius pour lui demander la paix. Héraclius accepta ses propositions, à condition qu'il lui restituerait toutes les villes et tous les villages dont son père s'était emparé et qui avaient appartenu aux Grecs ; et qu'Héraclius renverrait en Perse tous les Perses qui étaient dans son empire.* (Compare also p. 452).

Following is a synopsis of the main sources of information presented with respect to the correspondence between the two sovereigns :

1) *The hypomnestikon* of Široe. Date : between February 29th (death of Chosroes) and March 23rd, 628. — Široe accepts previous proposals of Heraclius and declares his readiness to release all Byzantine prisoners of war (1). He makes proposals for peace and requests the liberation of Persian prisoners of war with guarantees for their safe return to his country. There may have been other terms unknown to us. According to Sebeos, Široe suggested that the boundaries fixed between the two countries (in 591) be recognized. On the other hand, Agapius attributes this proposal to Heraclius.

2) The *antigraphe* of Heraclius. Date : 7 or 8 April 628, from the military camp at Ganzak. — The Emperor recognizes Široe as king of Persians but refers to him as "his son" to indicate his own superiority ; he accepts his proposals, demands the return of the Holy Cross, probably sets other conditions as well (see above) and certifies under oath that he will agree to a peace pact (2).

3) Reply of Široe. Probable date : summer 628. — Široe sanctions under oath the peace agreements, promises to return the Holy Cross, and provides information regarding the fate of the ambassadors sent to Chosroes by Heraclius.

(1) There has been some previous correspondence concerning the liberation of prisoners : DÖLGER, *Regesten*, n° 187.

(2) Heraclius was ready to conclude peace since the beginning of the year 628 : DÖLGER, *Regesten*, n° 186.

The above three documents are clearly discernable by Sebeos who claims that the exchange of these letters was sufficient for the realization of the peace agreement.

It has been suggested that around June 628 another formal peace pact was signed by Heraclius and Široe (1). The sources mentioned herein do not refer to the existence of any such separate document, the preparation of which would have necessitated long and detailed negotiations (2). We know that Kavādh-Široe died in September 628 and that during the summer of 628, Heraclius was constantly moving about with his army; the Persian army of Šahrbarāz had not yet vacated Byzantine territory. This peace agreement must therefore have been made with the successors of Široe and is most probably the Byzantine-Persian agreement of 629 (3), which in fact only sanctioned the original agreement of 628 between Heraclius and Široe.

Université de Montréal. N. OIKONOMIDÈS.

(1) *Ibid.*, n° 194.

(2) Such as those described by MENANDER, *loc. cit.*, I, pp. 171-188.

(3) DÖLGER, *Regesten*, n° 201, cf. n° 200. Heraclius negotiated with Šahrbarāz, representative of Široe's son Ardašir.

Note de la Rédaction

KAVĀDH - ŠIROÉ OU HORMISDAS V?

Il ne sera peut-être pas inutile de profiter de l'occasion qui nous est offerte par l'excellent article de M. N. Oikonomidès pour faire remarquer ici que le roi Široé dont il a été question plus haut n'est pas le souverain perse qui appela son fils « l'esclave » de l'empereur byzantin, comme on l'a dit parfois (cf. G. OSTROGORSKY, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, transl. by J. Hussey, Oxford, 1968, p. 103, avec la note 1). Du moins le texte du patriarche Nicéphore qu'on a cité à l'appui de cette assertion (NICEPHORI *Opusc. histor.*, ed. de Boor, pp. 20 sqq.) est-il formel à cet égard : ce n'est pas Kavādh II Široé, fils de Chosroès II, mais le roi Hormisdas V, un de ses successeurs, que l'historien byzantin désigne nommément comme le roi sassanide qui appela son fils « l'esclave » (*τὸν δοῦλον*) d'Héraclius, en le confiant à la tutelle de celui-ci (1). Nous voudrions, à propos de ce passage de Nicéphore, faire ici une double observation. Nous remarquerons, d'une part, que le contexte où il se lit ne saurait, en dépit des méprises qu'on y relève, fournir une raison valable pour récuser la valeur du renseignement qu'il nous a transmis. En effet, il ne s'agit pas, en l'occurrence, d'un fait de l'histoire intérieure de l'Iran à propos duquel le témoignage d'un écrivain

(1) Ce n'était pas, à vrai dire, la première fois qu'un roi sassanide — ou un empereur romain — recourait à un expédient de ce genre pour assurer à l'héritier du trône un puissant protecteur. Le roi Kavādh Ier avait demandé à l'empereur Justin d'adopter le jeune Chosroès comme son fils (*εἰσποιητὸν παῖδα* ; PROCOPE, *De Bello Persico*, I, 11, p. 51 Bonn). Et, plus anciennement, l'empereur Arcadius avait institué le roi Yazdgard Ier tuteur (*ἐπίτροπον*) du futur Théodose II (*ibid.*, I, 2, p. 14 Bonn). Mais il convient, dans le cas qui nous intéresse ici, de relever la qualification dont le roi Hormisdas V fit usage à propos de son fils, en le confiant à Héraclius. Kavādh-Široé, le successeur du grand Chosroès, aurait-il poussé l'humilité à ce point, lui qui continua à se prévaloir, comme on l'a vu plus haut, du titre de « frère » du *βασιλεύς* ? Quoi qu'on puisse penser de la formule adoptée par le roi Hormisdas, il est difficile de ne pas y voir un signe des temps, qui nous révèle une Perse ayant accepté sa défaite.

byzantin doive, en quelque sorte, éveiller de prime abord une légitime méfiance, mais d'un épisode des relations entre Perses et Byzantins assez remarquable, on en conviendra, pour qu'il ait laissé un souvenir durable parmi ces derniers. Nous voudrions, d'autre part, insister ici sur le fait qu'aucune date ne saurait mieux convenir à l'épisode dont il s'agit que celle qui lui a été assignée par le chroniqueur byzantin. Après la mort de Chosroès II et le court règne de Kavādh-Široé s'ouvre, comme on sait, un nouveau chapitre — le dernier — de l'histoire de l'empire sassanide, qui sera marqué, en ses débuts, par des troubles et des malheurs dont on ne s'étonne point, après le brusque effondrement, en 627-628, de la puissance perse. En l'espace d'environ quatre ans — de 628 à 632 —, l'Iran eut au moins, comme on l'a dit, une dizaine de « rois des rois », qui ne firent guère que passer sur le trône et dont le pouvoir toujours menacé ne s'exerçait souvent que sur une partie du royaume (cf. A. CHRISTENSEN, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, Copenhague, 1936, pp. 492 sqq.). C'est au cours de cette triste période que régna, vers 630, Hormisdas V. Et ceci nous permet de mieux comprendre le geste — si surprenant à première vue — par lequel un souverain perse vengea, en quelque sorte, l'empereur byzantin de la lettre injurieuse que Chosroès II avait adressée, une dizaine d'années auparavant, à celui qu'il appelait « notre serviteur, imbécile et infâme, Héraclius » (SÉBÉOS, *Histoire d'Héraclius*, trad. E. Macler, p. 179). On voit, dirons-nous en manière de conclusion, quelles raisons nous avons de faire confiance, sur le point que nous avons examiné ici, au patriarche Nicéphore, et comment son témoignage peut nous aider, en somme, à mieux discerner les phases successives du déclin d'un empire. Et l'on voit aussi, par conséquent, que l'excellent historien de l'Iran sassanide que nous avons cité plus haut a eu tort d'écrire, à propos des rois Hormisdas V et Chosroès IV, que nous ne savons rien d'eux, « excepté les noms » (CHRISTENSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 493) : cette note nous aura permis d'attirer l'attention sur l'éclatante réparation accordée par l'un de ces rois au maître de Byzance.

Paul ORGELS.

DER DUX VON DALMATIEN UND DIE BELAGERUNG ANCONAS IM JAHRE 1173.

ZUR ITALIEN- UND BALKANPOLITIK MANUELS I.

Wie nur wenigen Byzantinisten ist es Pater R.-J. Loenertz gegeben, in verborgenen und unbeachtet gebliebenen Notizen und Textstellen den Zusammenhang mit dem Ganzen eines historischen Vorganges zu sehen. Daher mag es angebracht sein, auch in diesem dem Jubilar gewidmeten Band einen Beitrag zu veröffentlichen, der die Interpretation einer historischen Einzelnotiz zum Ausgangspunkt hat.

Im *Par. gr.* 1564, einer Handschrift des April-Menäum aus dem 11. Jahrhundert, findet sich auf ff. 18-18^{v} (unter dem 8. April) ein historisch und prosopographisch bemerkenswerter Eintrag (1). Es lässt sich nicht mit Sicherheit ausmachen, ob wir es mit einer Originalnotiz zu tun haben oder mit einer späteren Kopie nach den Angaben einer Familienchronik. In der grossen Mehrzahl der Fälle sind historische Notizen in liturgischen Büchern jedoch als original anzusehen (2). Ausserdem spricht auch die Schrift unseres Eintrages für das 12. Jahrhundert. B. de Montfaucon hat die Notiz in seine *Palaeographia graeca* aufgenommen, allerdings mit erheblichen Lücken und Fehlern, die auf die schlechte

(1) Der Codex enthält noch weitere prosopographische Eintragungen aus dem 12. Jahrhundert, die Montfaucon in dem unten S. 284 Anm. 1 genannten Werk herausgab. Sie stehen in keinem Bezug zu dieser Untersuchung und bleiben daher ausser Betracht.

(2) Man vergleiche etwa die kypriotischen Obituarnotizen, hrsg. J. Darrouzès, *Un obituaire chypriote :* le *Par. gr.* 1588, in *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί*, 15 (1951), pp. 25-62, oder das Obituar der Kirche von Sugdal, ed. M. G. Nystazopulu, *Ἡ ἐν τῇ Ταυρικῇ Χερσονήσῳ πόλις Σουγδαία ἀπὸ τοῦ ιγ΄ μέχρι τοῦ ιε΄ αἰῶνος*, Athen, 1965.

Lesbarkeit des Textes zurückzuführen sind (1). Wir edieren im folgenden die mit Hilfe der Quarzlampe gelesene Notiz in der Originalform unter Angabe der üblichen Auflösungszeichen (2):

(f. 18) *μη(νὶ) ἀπριλλ(ίῳ) η΄ : (ἰνδικτιῶνος) ιβ΄ : ἐκοιμήθ(η) ὁ δοῦλ(ος) τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ Κωνστ(αν)τ(ῖνος) σε(βα)στ(ὸς) ὁ Δοῦκ(ας)· ἔτους ,ϛχπζ΄ † οὕτως γὰρ ἀποσταλὴς πα<ρὰ τοῦ κραταιοῦ>* ‖[2] *(καὶ) ἀγ(ίου) ἡμῶν βα(σιλ)έως κυρ(οῦ) Μανοὴλ τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ εἰς φυλ(ακ)ὴν τοῦ κάστρου Ἄγκονος· τὸ ἅπαν φωσσάττ(ων) τῆς ἀλαμανικῆς χώρ(ας)· καὶ τῆς ὅλ(ης) Βενετίας διὰ κατέργων τοῦτ(ον) περικυκλοῦντ(ες) κα<ὶ>* ‖[3] *οὐκ ὀλίγους κατ' αὐτῶν συν-*

am 8. April der 12. Indiktion starb der Diener Gottes, Konstantin Dukas, sebastos, im Jahr 6687.

Dieser wurde nämlich von unserem (mächtigen) und heiligen Kaiser Manuel zum Schutz der Festung Ancona abgesandt. Das ganze Heer des deutschen Landes und das Venedigs auf Schiffen umlagerte es ringsherum und sie kämpften mit nicht wenigen (Belagerern) gegen sie (die Anconitaner) an.

(1) Bernard DE MONTFAUCON, *Palaeographia Graeca*, Paris, 1708, p. 47 (*cod. reg.* 2476): *μηνὸς Ἀπριλλίου η̄, ἰνδ. β̄, ἐκοιμήθη ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ Κωνσταντίνος σεβαστὸς ὁ Δούκας ἔτει ,ϛχπζ΄. οὕτος γὰρ ἀποσταλεὶς παρὰ ... καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν βασιλέως κυροῦ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ εἰς φυλακὴν τοῦ ... Ἄγκονος, τὸ ἅπαν φοσσάτον τῆς Ἀλαμανικῆς χώρας, καὶ τῆς ὅλης βενετίας διὰ κατέργων τοῦτον περικυκλοῦντας ... οὐκ ὀλίγους κατ' αὐτῶν συνάπτων, ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ μῆνας κατὰ τοὺς ἐναντίους πολέμους ὑποστάς. τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείᾳ καὶ τῇ ὑπεροτάτῃ αὐτοῦ φρονήσει καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ τούτους κατὰ κράτος ... καὶ τελείως συντρίψας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, κατὰ λαὸν τοῦτον δούκα καὶ ἀρχηγὸν καταστήσας ἐπὶ πᾶσαν Διοκλῆα Δαλματίαν ... Δυῤῥάχιον ... καὶ Σπάλαθρον ... καὶ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ οἰκήματι νόσῳ πλευριτίδος περιπεσὼν, δι' ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ πρὸς κύριον ἀπεδήμησεν.* Diese Notiz wurde nur einmal, und zwar in der von Montfaucon gegebenen Form, in der Forschung erwähnt bei L. STIERNON, *Notes de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines. Sébaste et gambros*, in *Revue des Ét. Byz.*, 23 (1965), p. 237, n. 75.

(2) Ich danke an dieser Stelle ganz besonders M. Charles Astruc, Conservateur an der Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, der für die Abfassung dieses Artikels die Notiz nochmals kollationierte. Die unterschiedlichen Lesarten gegenüber Montfaucon werden nicht angegeben, da die Notiz in dieser Form in der vorausgehenden Anmerkung abgedruckt ist. (...) bezeichnen Auflösungen von Abkürzungen, <...> eigene Ergänzungen und Konjekturen.

άπτων· ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ μῆνας κατὰ τοὺς ἐναντίους πολέμους ὑποστὰς· τῇ τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ βοηθ(είᾳ)· καὶ τῇ ὑπερβολ(ικῇ) αὐτοῦ φρονήσει καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ· τούτους κατὰ κρά<τος .....> ||⁴ καὶ τελείως συντρήψας· πρὸς τὸν βασιλ(έα) καταλα(βὼν)· τοῦτον δοῦκ(α) καὶ ἀρχηγὸν· καταστήσ(ας)· ἐπὶ πάσῃ Διοκλήᾳ, Δαλματ(ίᾳ), Χορβατ(ίᾳ), Ἀρβαν(ίᾳ) καὶ Σπαλάθ(ρῳ)· ἐπὶ γραμ(μασι) δυσὶ || (f. 18ᵛ)¹ .... ||² τὴν μεγαλ(ό)π(ο)λ(ιν) καταλα(βὼν)· καὶ ἐν τῷ εἰδύῳ οἰκ(ή)μ(α)τ(ι) νόσῳ πλευρητ(ικῇ) περιπεσὼν· δι' ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ πρὸς κ(ύριο)ν ἀπεδείμη(σεν) †

Sieben Monate lang nahm Ancona Kämpfe gegen die Feinde auf sich. Mit Gottes Hilfe und mit seiner über die Massen grossen Klugheit und Tapferkeit (besiegte?) er (Konstantin Dukas) diese und rieb sie völlig auf. Er kam zum Kaiser und (dieser)... ihn, den er zum Dux und obersten Beamten in ganz Diokleia, Dalmatien, Kroatien, Arbania und Spalathron ernannt hatte ... auf Grund von (?) zwei Schreiben ... in die grosse Stadt (Konstantinopel) kommend, zog sich zu Hause eine Erkrankung an der Lunge zu und verschied binnen einer Woche.

Der Text der griechischen Notiz ist kaum übersetzbar, da ihm nahezu jede grammatikalische Konstruktion fehlt und zudem auf f. 18ᵛ beim Binden der Handschrift die erste Zeile abgeschnitten wurde. Trotzdem bereitet es keine Schwierigkeiten, mit Ausnahme der fehlenden Zeile, die Hauptfakten der Aussage festzuhalten:

1) Konstantin Dukas, sebastos, wurde durch kaiserlichen Befehl nach Ancona gesandt.
2) Ancona war zu diesem Zeitpunkt von deutschen und venezianischen Truppen belagert.
3) Die Belagerung dauerte sieben Monate.
4) Konstantin errang den Sieg über die feindlichen Truppen.
5) Konstantin kommt zum Kaiser.
6) Er war (wurde?) dux von Dalmatien.
7) Rückkehr (nach Durchführung einer Aufgabe unbekannter Art) und Tod in Konstantinopel (8. April 1179).

Ancona (1149-1167). Ein Überblick

Es waren zwei Hauptfaktoren, die Ancona in der 2. Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts wieder in den Blickpunkt des byzan-

tinischen Interesses rückten (1): die Ansprüche Kaiser Manuels auf Italien und die Bannung der normannischen Gefahr. Ancona war der geographisch gegebene Ort, von dem die byzantinische Expansion in Italien ihren Ausgang nehmen konnte. Das Vordringen der Normannen auf byzantinisches Gebiet in den Jahren 1147-48 und die Besetzung Corfus führten zum Gegenschlag Kaiser Manuels. 1149 eroberte er Corfu zurück und schickte eine Flotte unter dem Kommando des megas domestikos Johannes Axuch nach Ancona. Das Unternehmen scheiterte jedoch am Unbill der Witterung. In diesem Zusammenhang kennzeichnet Johannes Kinnamos Ancona als « Ankerplatz Italiens » (2). Wenige Jahre später, 1155, nimmt Manuel die Italienpolitik erneut aktiv auf und entsendet mit einer Flotte Johannes Dukas und Michael Palaiologos nach Ancona. Es kam zu einer Unterredung mit Friedrich Barbarossa, der auf seinem Italienfeldzug in der Nähe dieser Stadt lagerte. Eine Einigung auf ein gemeinsames Unternehmen gegen die Normannen kam jedoch nicht zustande (3). Von diesem Zeitpunkt an scheint Ancona ganz in die byzantinische Einflusssphäre gekommen zu sein. Im Jahr 1157 befindet sich wiederum ein byzantinischer Legat in Ancona, Alexios Axuch, der Sohn des megas domestikos, der mit Hilfe seiner Unterhändler Andreas von Rupecanina und Konstantin Opos die mittelitalienischen Lokalherrn zum Kampf gegen die Normannen anstachelt (4). Der

(1) Zusammenfassend zur Geschichte Anconas siehe Mario NATALUCCI, *Ancona attraverso i secoli, I. Dalle origini alla fine del quatrocento*, Città di Castello, 1960. Die Bände II und III dieses Werkes behandeln die Geschichte Anconas bis in die Epoche nach dem 2. Weltkrieg.

(2) Joh. KINNAMOS, III, 6 = 102, 3 (Bonn) : *ἐπίνειον δὲ Ἰταλίας ἐστὶν ὁ Ἀγκών*. Vergl. ID., 170, 6 (Bonn), wo Ancona als *ὁρμητήριον* bezeichnet wird.

(3) KINNAMOS, IV, 1-2 = 134, 13-137, 2. Nik. CHON., *Manuel Comn.*, II, 6 = 120, 19-24 (Bonn). Zusammenfassend siehe jetzt P. CLASSEN, *La politica di Manuele Comneno tra Federico Barbarossa e le città Italiane*, in *Popolo e stato in Italia nell'età di Federico Barbarossa* (= Relazioni e Commemorazioni al XXXIII Congresso Storico Subalpino, Alessandria 1968), Torino, 1970, pp. 265-279.

(4) KINNAMOS, IV, 14-15 = 170, 5-175, 23. In der Ausgabe des Bonner Corpus (und bereits in der *Editio princeps* des C. TOLLIUS, 1652, p. 184) heisst es (pp. 170, 16) *Κωνσταντῖνόν τε τὸν Ὄττον* ...

zweite Italienzug Friedrich Barbarossas und die Ankunft Reinald von Dassels vor Ancona machten dem Wirken des Legaten ein schnelles Ende. Die Bewohner mussten Friedrich den Treueid leisten und dem byzantinischen Gesandten gelang es nur mit Mühe, nach Konstantinopel abzureisen (1). Trotzdem behielt in der Stadt die byzanzfreundliche Partei die Oberhand und bedeutete ein Gefahrenmoment für die Politik Friedrich Barbarossas. Vermutlich aber war es nicht diese Haltung der Bewohner im allgemeinen, sondern uns unbekannte konkrete Vereinbarungen mit Byzanz, die 1167 den deutschen Kaiser veranlassten, selbst die Stadt in seine Gewalt zu bekommen (2). Die Belagerung wurde allerdings bereits nach drei Wochen unter vertraglichen Vereinbarungen abgebrochen, da Friedrich die Truppen seinem vor Rom in

ἐκπέμψας. Im *Vat. gr.* 163, auf den alle Kinnamoshandschriften zurückgehen, ist dieser Konstantinos dagegen als « τὸν Ὦπον » bezeichnet (f. 248v). Die richtige Form findet sich auch in den beiden von mir eingesehenen Kopien, *Vat. Barb.* 167 und 242. NATALUCCI, *Ancona*, p. 250 spricht irrtümlich von drei Gesandten « Costantino, Ottone e il conte di sant' [!] Andrea ». Zum Namen « Opos » siehe Anna KOMNENA, *Alexias* (ed. Leib) I, 151, II, 80, 81, 111, 112, 227, und GAUTIER in *Revue des Ét. Byz.*, 28 (1970) 12. Erstmals begegnet der Name, soweit ich sehe, im Jahr 1094 : der πρωτοπρόεδρος Konstantinos Opos nimmt an einer Synode im Blachernenpalast teil (*PG*, 127, 973 B).

(1) F. CHALANDON, *Les Comnène*, II, Paris, 1912, p. 380 ; ID., *Histoire de la domination Normande en Italie et en Sicile*, II, Paris, 1907, pp. 249-254, und P. LAMMA, *Comneni e Staufer*, I, 1955, pp. 289-306 (siehe auch unten S. 288, Anm. 2). Von Verhandlungen zwischen Byzanz, dem Papst und dem Normannenkönig (Wilhelm I.) *nach* der Abfahrt der byzantinischen Gesandten, wie sie NATALUCCI, *Ancona* 252 postuliert (unter Hinweis auf *Chalandon, Histoire* 254) kann nicht die Rede sein. Wenn überhaupt je solche Verhandlungen in *Ancona* stattfanden, so nur um 1157, während der Anwesenheit der Gesandten. Vergl. DÖLGER, *Regesten* II, n° 1413.

(2) Es war die zweite Belagerung Anconas in diesem Jahrhundert. Bereits 1136 hatte Lothar III. von Supplinburg ohne Erfolg versucht die Stadt in seine Hand zu bringen. Damals diente allerdings nicht die Gefahr des griechischen Bündnisses als Vorwand, sondern die Rückgabe der formell zum Kirchenstaat gehörenden Stadt an den Papst.

Bedrängnis geratenen Kanzler Reinald zu Hilfe schicken musste (1).

Wir hielten diesen kurzen Exkurs über die Beziehungen Anconas unter Manuel I. für nötig, da nur so die Vorgänge des Jahres 1173 verständlich werden, auf die die edierte Notiz Bezug nimmt (2).

Die Belagerung Anconas 1173

Die Unterstützung Anconas durch Byzanz war nicht nur für die Italienpolitik Friedrich Barbarossas eine Gefahr. Der Aufstieg Anconas bedeutete eine unmittelbare Bedrohung der Interessen Venedigs. Eine Einmischung Venedigs in die Angelegenheiten der Seestädte in den Marken wird erstmals 1141 greifbar, doch ist Ancona in den Verträgen dieser Jahre noch nicht ausdrücklich als Rivalin genannt (3). Von einer ersten Auseinandersetzung zwischen den beiden Städten erfahren wir zum Jahr 1151, also einem Zeitpunkt, zu dem Ancona schon in den Blickpunkt der byzantinischen Politik getreten war (4). Bereits im folgenden Jahr kam es zu einem Vertrag zwischen Venedig und Ancona (5). Bis 1168, als

(1) Die Quellen (es sind ausschliesslich westliche) werden bei Natalucci, *Ancona*, pp. 253-255 angeführt.

(2) Zum Gesamtthema der byzantinisch-westlichen Beziehungen unter Manuel siehe jetzt vor allem P. Lamma, *Comneni e Staufer. Ricerche sui rapporti fra Bisanzio e l'Occidente nel secolo XII*, t. I, Rom, 1955, t. 2, Rom, 1957 (= *Istituto Storico Ital. per il Medio Evo, Studi Storici*, 14-18 und 22-25).

(3) G. Luzzatto, *I più antichi trattati tra Venezia e le città marchegiane* (1141-1335), in *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, N.S. 11 (1906), pp. 5-91. Die Behauptung des Autors (p. 5), die Verträge seien gegen Ancona gerichtet gewesen, ist ein Schluss *e silentio*. Immerhin scheint es so gewesen zu sein, dass sich Venedig eine Einflusssphäre sicherte, ehe Ancona zuvorkam. Zur Aktivität Venedigs in den Marken im 13. Jahrhundert siehe vor allem W. Hagemann, *Le lettere originali dei dogi Ramieri Zeno (1253-1268) e Lorenzo Tiepolo (1268-1375) conservate nell' Archivio diplomatico di Fermo*, in *Studia Picena*, 25 (1957), pp. 87-111, und Id., *Herzog Rainald von Spoleto und die Marken in den Jahren 1228-1229*, in *Adel und Kirche* (Gerd Tellenbach zum 65. Geburtstag), Freiburg, 1968, pp. 436-457, bes. 438-439.

(4) Marin Sanudo, *Le vite dei Dogi*, ed. G. Carducci, *Rer. Ital. Script.* (Neued.), Città del Castello, 1900, p. 233.

(5) Siehe Luzzato, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

anconitanische Schiffe von venezianischen Galeeren überfallen wurden (1), berichten die Quellen von keinen unmittelbaren Auseinandersetzungen. Eine entscheidende Wendung konnte erst das Jahr 1171 bringen, als Venedig durch kaiserlichen Befehl als Handelsmacht ausgeschaltet wurde (2). War die Lagunenstadt noch 1165 (1167 ?) in ein Bündnis des byzantinischen Kaisers gegen Friedrich Barbarossa miteinbezogen (3), so bot sich nun eine Verbindung zum deutschen Kaiser an. Sie war in der Intention Venedigs kaum auf lange Dauer berechnet, da die wirtschaftlichen Interessen eben doch auf den Osten gerichtet waren, konnte aber wenigstens dazu dienen, die verhasste Rivalin Ancona auszuschalten.

Nach der Katastrophe, die das deutsche Heer 1167 vor den Mauern Roms heimgesucht hatte, war in Oberitalien schnell eine antikaiserliche Liga entstanden, zu deren Niederwerfung im März 1172 auf dem Reichstag in Worms eine Heerfahrt beschlossen wurde (4). Bis zum Eintreffen des Kaisers (1174) war es Erzbischof Christian von Mainz, der (seit Ende 1171) die Unternehmungen in Italien leitete (5). Das Itinerar Christians in den Jahren 1172-74 steht mit Genauigkeit fest (6).

(1) *Annales Venetici breves*, ed. H. SIMONSFELD, *M.G.H., SS.* 14, 1883, p. 71, linn. 50-53.

(2) DÖLGER, *Regesten II*, n° 1500.

(3) *Ibid.*, n° 1464. Zum Datum siehe P. CLASSEN, *Mailands Treueid für Manuel Komnenos*, in *Akten des XI. Int. Byzantinistenkongresses* 1958, München, 1960, p. 80 Anm. 3.

(4) Die umfassendste Übersicht gibt noch immer W. VON GIESEBRECHT, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, V, Leipzig, 1880, pp. 564-743.

(5) Zusammenfassend über Christian immer noch C. VARRENTRAPP, *Erzbischof Christian I. von Mainz*, Berlin, 1867. Christian war es auch, der 1170 an der Spitze einer Gesandtschaft nach Byzanz stand ; siehe W. OHNSORGE, *Die Byzanzpolitik Friedrich Barbarossas* .., in *Deutsches Archiv für Geschichte des Mittelalters*, 1943, pp. 118-149, = *Abendland und Byzanz*, Darmstadt, 1958, pp. 456-491.

(6) Peter HERDE, *Die Urkunde des Erzbischofs Christian von Mainz für Viterbo vom 13. Februar 1174*, in *Römische Quartalschrift*, 57 (1962), pp. 175-188, bes. pp. 179-184. Zur urkundlichen Tätigkeit des Legaten in Italien, die das Itinerar chronologisch stützt, siehe nun D. HÄGERMANN, *Die Urkunden Erzbischof Christians I. von Mainz als Reichslegat Friedrich Barbarossas in Italien*, in *Archiv*

Er kam Ende 1171 nach Genua, führte nahezu das ganze Jahr 1172 Krieg mit Pisa und weilte bis April 1173 im Gebiet von Spoleto und Assisi. Entgegen der bisherigen Meinung kann es nun als sicher gelten, dass er Ende 1173 nicht nach Deutschland zurückkehrte (1). Im Frühjahr und Sommer 1174 schliesslich hielt er sich in der Toskana auf (2).

Die Chronologie des Itinerars ist von entscheidender Bedeutung für die Datierung der Belagerung Anconas, die in den Quellen 1172, 1173 oder 1174 angesetzt wird. Wie die Reisewege Christians zeigen, müssen die Jahre 1172 und 1174 ausscheiden. Der Zeitpunkt 1173, der hiermit ohne Zweifel feststeht, erfährt eine weitere indirekte Stütze durch eine Rede des Eustathios von Thessalonike, die Anfang 1174 gehalten worden sein muss und die auf die Belagerung Bezug nimmt (3).

Über die Belagerung berichten, von der notizartigen Erwähnung bis zur ausführlichen Schilderung, drei griechische und elf lateinische Quellen. Die betreffenden Stellen aus Johannes Kinnamos und Niketas Choniates sind seit langem bekannt und in der Literatur verwendet (4). Eine Kaiserrede des Eustathios von Thessalonike wurde dagegen erst jüngst als Quelle für das Geschehen ausgewertet (5). Unter den west-

für Diplomatik, 14 (1968), pp. 202-297, und ID., *Beiträge zur Reichslegation Christians von Mainz*, in *Quellen und Forschungen aus Ital. Archiven und Bibliotheken* 49 (1969), pp. 186-238.

(1) HERDE, *a.a.O.*, 183.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Siehe unten Anm. 5.

(4) Siehe die Übersetzung der beiden Stellen im Appendix.

(5) Eustathios VON THESSALONICA, *Oratio ad Manuelem imperatorem*, ed. W. Regel, *Fontes rerum Byzantinarum*, I, 1, Sankt Petersburg, 1892, pp. 92-125. Siehe P. LAMMA, *Aldruda, Contessa di Bertinoro, un panegirico di Eustazio di Tessalonica*, in *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le provincie di Romagna*, N.S. 3 (1953), pp. 57-72, = *Oriente e Occidente nell' Alto Medioevo*, Padua, 1968, pp. 383-394. Wie aus der von Regel *a.a.O.*, edierten Rede III hervorgeht, war Eustathios am 6. Dezember 1174 bereits Metropolit von Myra (siehe REGEL, *ibid.*, pp. XI-XII). Im Titel der vorliegenden Rede bezeichnet er sich noch als Mönch des Phloros-Klosters in Konstantinopel. Da in der Rede der Asienfeldzug und die Befreiung Anconas als jüngste Ruhmestaten des Kaisers hervorgehoben sind, entstand sie Ende 1173/Anfang 1174, jedenfalls

lichen Quellen ist durch ihre Ausführlichkeit wichtigste der *Liber de obsidione Ancone* des Boncompagno de Signa (1). Hinzu kommen als weitere zeitgenössische Quellen die *Annales Pisani* des Bernaldo Maragone, das *Chronicon* des Romuald von Salerno und das *Chronicon* des Magister Tolosanus aus Faenza (2). Keiner der genannten Chronisten war allerdings Augenzeuge.

Die Belagerung durch die Truppen des Christian von Mainz begann am 1. April und dauerte bis Mitte Oktober (3). Überraschend scheint zunächst die Beteiligung Venedigs (mit 40 Galeeren, wie Marangone sagt), das ebenfalls dem antikaiserlichen, lombardischen Bund beigetreten war (4). Vertragliche Abmachungen zwischen Venedig und Christian von Mainz sind nicht überliefert. Die Vertreibung der Venezianer aus dem byzantinischen Reichsgebiet (1171) und die wachsende Macht Anconas machen jedoch das für den Augenblick bestimmte venezianisch-deutsche Bündnis genügend erklärbar. Trotz des Widerstandes der Bevölkerung und der Bereitstellung

nicht Ende 1174. Lamma hat die Rede paraphrasiert und ausführlich kommentiert, und es wurde deshalb auf eine Übersetzung im Appendix verzichtet.

(1) L. A. MURATORI, *Rer. It. Script.* VI, 3 ed. nova G. C. Zimolo, Bologna, 1937. Zusammenfassende Literatur über Boncompagno siehe *Repertorium Fontium Historiae Medii Aevi*, II, Rom, 1967, pp. 554-556, und *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, t. 11 (1969), pp. 720-725 (V. Pini).

(2) Die Ancona betreffenden Stellen aus diesen Chroniken hat Zimolo in der Edition des *Liber de Obsidione*, pp. XI-XVI zusammengestellt. Die Belagerung wird noch in den folgenden späteren Quellen erwähnt: *Brevarium Historiae Pisanae*, *Annales Venetici Breves*, *Historia ducum Veneticorum*, *Cronica imperatorum* des Alberto Milioli (im Bericht über Ancona identisch mit dem *Chronicon* des Frater Salimbene), *Cronica* des Andrea Dandolo, *Vite dei Dogi* des Marin Sanudo, *Chronicon* im *cod. Bibl. Marc. lat.*, IX, 124. Auch diese Stellen sind bei Zimolo *a.a.O.*, abgedruckt.

(3) Diese chronologische Angabe bringen zuerst die *Annales Pisanes* des Bernaldo MARAGONE (*R.I.S.*, VI, 2 p. 59 ed. Gentile), gefolgt von *Brevarium Historiae Pisanae* (*R.I.S.*, Vl, p. 190 B ed. MURATORI). Boncompagno allerdings setzt den Beginn der Belagerung Ende Mai an (p. 13, 1). Unsere oben edierte griechische Notiz gibt den Angaben des Maragone recht.

(4) W. VON GIESEBRECHT, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, V, pp. 588-590.

von Geldern durch den in der Stadt anwesenden byzantinischen Legaten, auf dessen Rolle wir im folgenden Abschnitt eingehen, wurde die Stadt nur durch äussere Hilfe von der Belagerung befreit. Als Truppen des Guglielmo Marcheselli (Ferrara) und der Altruda die Bertinoro heranrückten, gab Christian die Belagerung auf, und auch die venezianischen Schiffe verliessen den Hafen (1).

Die Anwesenheit eines oder mehrerer byzantinischer Gesandten erwähnen Niketas Choniates, Boncompagno, Romuald von Salerno und Bernaldo Margarone, sowie in dessen Folge das *Brevarium historiae Pisanae* (2). Da die eben genannten Quellen entweder von einem oder von mehreren Gesandten sprechen, darf man annehmen, dass eine byzantinische Delegation in der Stadt weilte. An ihrer Spitze stand jener Mann, den Boncompagno « Constantius » nennt und der zweifelsohne mit dem Konstantin Dukas der griechischen Notiz identisch ist. Die anderen Quellen erwähnen den Namen des Legaten nicht (3). Das wichtigste und ausführlichste Zeugnis für die Tätigkeit des Konstantin ist der *Liber de obsidione* (4). Doch ist Boncompagno nicht immer gut unterrichtet gewesen und hat mitunter mehrere Gegebenheiten vermengt. Nachdem

(1) Zu den Einzelheiten der Belagerung, auf die wir an dieser Stelle nicht eingingen, siehe NATALUCCI, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-270, sowie Lamma im oben S. 292 Anm. 5 genannten Aufsatz (Aldruda di Bertinoro).

(2) Bernaldo MARGARONE, *Annales Pisani*, *M.G.H.*, *SS* 19, p. 265 : *civitatem ... in qua legatus imperatoris Constantinopolitani cum multa pecunia pro eius auxilio erat ... Considerato predicto legato Constantinopolitani imperatoris, Anconenses civitatem defendere non posse, de civitate egressus est et dictum cancellarium ab obsidione expulsit.* Romuald VON SALERNO, *R.I.S.*, VII, 1 (1914), p. 265, 10-12 : *credebat enim* (sc. Christian von Mainz) *Grecum quendam Constantinopolitani imperatoris nuntium, qui in eadem civitate erat, cum sua pecunia capere.* Zu Niketas Choniates siehe unten Appendix II, pp. 306-311. Auf Boncompagno gehen wir ausführlich im folgenden ein.

(3) Völlig irrtümlich zitiert Zimoli in der Edition des BONCOMPAGNO, p. 34, 6 die Kinnamos-Stelle (p. 170, ed. Bonn), die sich, wie wir sahen (oben S. 288), in Wirklichkeit auf die Gesandtschaft des Jahres 1157 bezieht. Der dort genannte Konstantinos Opos hat mit unserem Konstantinos nichts zu tun.

(4) *Liber de Obsidione*, pp. 34, 14-38, 1 ; 38, 15-39, 5.

die Stadt bereits geraume Zeit belagert war, eine schwere Hungersnot herrschte und man Gesandte an Guglielmo Marcheselli und Altruda de Bertinoro mit der Bitte um Entsatz geschickt hatte, « tauchte plötzlich der Gesandte des byzantinischen Kaisers auf ». Da bald nach seiner Ankunft das Hilfsheer der Altruda und des Guglielmo die Belagerer in Verwirrung setzt, dürfte Konstantin erst im September 1173 auf geheimen Wegen in der Stadt eingetroffen sein (1). Der Grund seiner Mission war die Belagerung : *causa dicebatur esse civitas obsessa.* Den Sonderauftrag betont auch die griechische Notiz. In der Folge finden sich allerdings Widersprüche im Bericht des Boncompagno. Er sagt, Konstantins Aufgabe sei es gewesen, gewisse italienische Städte und Bürger dem byzantinischen Kaiser tributpflichtig zu machen ; zu diesem Zweck sei er auch in Ancona gewesen. Die Intention Manuels, sich italienische Städte untertan zu machen, bleibt unbestritten (2). Konstantin konnte allerdings schwerlich mit dieser Aufgabe betraut sein, da, wie im folgenden Kapitel mit Hilfe der griechischen Notiz gezeigt wird, sein Wirkungsbereich Dalmatien war. Die Einberufung einer Versammlung durch den Legaten erwähnt auch Niketas Choniates. Während jedoch in der von Boncompagno fingierten Rede keine konkreten Hilfsvorschläge erkenntlich sind (3), ergibt sich aus Choniates,

(1) Diesen Zeitansatz rechtfertigt auch die Rede des Legaten, in der es (p. 36, 14) heisst : *recessit estas ... yemps venit.* Demzufolge ist DÖLGER, *Regesten*, II, n° 1515 (« 1173, vor April 1) zu verbessern. Auch die Chronologie des kaiserlichen Feldzuges in Kleinasien spricht nicht gegen diesen Zeitansatz, da Manuel im August wieder in der Hauptstadt weilte ; cf. DÖLGER, *ibid.*, n° 1516.

(2) In diesem Sinn interpretiert die Stelle auch ZIMOLO, *Liber de Obsidione*, p. 34, n° 5.

(3) Die Rede passt stilistisch in keiner Weise zum Tenor des *Liber de Obsidione.* Während die übrigen im *Liber* eingefügten Reden konkrete Gegebenheiten ausdrücken, bleibt die des griechischen Legaten völlig gegenstandslos und rein rhetorisch. Sie ist in dieser Hinsicht vielen originalen byzantinischen Reden nicht unähnlich, obwohl eine griechische Vorlage für Boncompagno ausgeschlossen ist. Auch kann sich der byzantinische Gesandte angesichts der katastrophalen Lage der Stadt nicht auf blosse Phrasen beschränkt haben. Immerhin mag es nicht ausgeschlossen sein, dass die Rede dem griechischen Stil, so wie er im Westen bekannt war, in irgend-

dass die Griechen den Kampf der Anconitaner nicht mit Waffen, aber mit Geld unterstützen können. Diese Version bestätigen auch die *Annales Pisani*, denen zufolge der Legat « mit viel Geld in der Stadt war, um Hilfe zu leisten » (1).

Die Rolle Konstantins bei der Vertreibung der Belagerer bleibt trotz verschiedener Berichte im Unklaren. Bei Boncompagno verschwindet er nach der Einberufung der Versammlung völlig von der Bildfläche. Auch bei Niketas Choniates ist von einer unmittelbaren Mitwirkung der Griechen nicht die Rede. Die *Annales Pisani* des Bernardo Margarone berichten nur, dass es dem griechischen Gesandten gelang, aus der Stadt zu entweichen, ein Entsatzheer zu gewinnen und Christian zu vertreiben (2). Die griechische Notiz bestätigt in gewissem Sinne die Darstellung der Pisaner Annalen. Da sie sicherlich aus der Feder eines Mannes stammt, der Konstantin nahe stand, kann die ausschliessliche Rolle, die dem Legaten zugeschrieben wird, übertrieben sein, zumal es sicher zu sein scheint, dass überhaupt kein entscheidender Kampf mit Christian stattfand. Wir kommen kaum umhin anzunehmen, dass Konstantin mit diplomatischem Geschick (*ὑπερβολικῇ φρονήσει*) kaiserliche Gelder an die Hilfstruppen verteilen liess und im entscheidenden Augenblick heimlich die Stadt verliess, um gegebenenfalls den Kampf zu führen.

Der dalmatinische Dukat

Die besondere Bedeutung der chronologischen Notiz liegt weniger in den Angaben über Ancona, die wir aus anderen Quellen ausführlicher kennen, als in der Tatsache, dass der griechische Verteidiger der Stadt, Konstantin Dukas, dux

einer Form nahekommen wollte. Es muss offen bleiben, ob Boncompagno damit etwa erreichen wollte, die Griechen lächerlich zu machen. Obwohl eine abschätzige Beurteilung der Byzantiner im *Liber de Obsidione* nicht festzustellen ist, sollte doch nicht vergessen werden, dass Boncompagno während der Vorbereitungen zum 4. Kreuzzug schrieb.

(1) Siehe Anm. 3, S. 293.

(2) *Ibid.* Dieser Version folgt W. von Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, V, p. 742.

des dalmatinischen Dukats war. Der Sinnzusammenhang ist durch den Ausfall einer Zeile, die am oberen Rande des Textes beim Neubinden der Handschrift abgeschnitten wurde, unklar geworden und es lässt sich schwer entscheiden, ob dem Schreiber nicht ein historischer Irrtum unterlaufen ist. Die Notiz kann nämlich intendieren, dass Konstantin zu Kaiser Manuel kam und dieser ihn für die Verteidigung Anconas mit dem Dukat in Dalmatien belohnte. Diese Darstellung entspräche nicht den Gegebenheiten, da Konstantin schon seit 1170 dieses Amt innehatte, wie unten gezeigt werden kann. Die Verwendung des Partizips der Vergangenheit an dieser Stelle (καταστήσας) lässt jedoch die Möglichkeit offen, dass der Schreiber, dessen stilistische Ungeschicklichkeit ohnehin evident ist, erst hier die Funktion des Konstantin Dukas erwähnt. Diese Interpretation kann nur eine Hypothese sein, die jedoch am Sachverhalt, dass Konstantin dux in Dalmatien war, nichts ändert.

Über die Rolle Dalmatiens in der byzantinischen Provinzverwaltung sind wir durch Ferlugas Darstellung eingehend unterrichtet, so dass wir uns in diesem Zusammenhang im wesentlichen auf die Zeit unseres Konstantin beschränken können (1). Mit der Übergabe Dalmatiens an den kroatischen Herrscher Petar Krešimir IV. im Jahr 1069 war die byzantinische Herrschaft in diesem Gebiet beendet, obwohl die Souveränität des Kaisers formell noch anerkannt wurde (2). Mit der Expansion Ungarns und Venedigs in Richtung auf die dalmatinische Küste in der 1. Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts war selbst diese Souveränität in Frage gestellt (3). Dalmatien war in drei Interessenbereiche geteilt : Zadar und die Inseln im Norden gehörten de facto Venedig, Split, Trogir und das Gebiet bis zur Neretva waren ungarisch, und nur Dubrovnik kannte die byzantinische Souveränität an. Erst Kaiser Manuels Ungarnpolitik brachte Dalmatien, obgleich nur für einen Zeitraum von 15 Jahren, wieder unter byzan-

(1) J. FERLUGA, *Vizantiska uprava u Dalmaciji*, in *Srpska Akad. nauk*, posebna izdanja, 291, *Vizantološki Institut*, 6, Beograd, 1957.

(2) *Ibid.*, 120-127. Siehe auch K. JIREČEK, *Geschichte der Serben*, I, Gotha, 1911, pp. 231-252.

(3) FERLUGA, pp. 127-130.

tinische Herrschaft (1). Nach dem Sieg bei Zemun (1165) schien Dalmatien bereits für Byzanz gesichert, doch konnte es Ungarn nochmals zurückgewinnen, einschliesslich der Küstenstädte. Erst durch den Sieg des Andronikos Kontostephanos an der Save (1167) kam Dalmatien und Kroatien endgültig in byzantinische Hand.

Bereits nach dem ersten Sieg über die Ungarn (1165) wird im eroberten Gebiet Nikephoros Chaluphas als dux (mit dem Sitz in Spalato) eingesetzt (2). Beim Gegenangriff der Ungarn im folgenden Jahr wurde Chaluphas gefangen (3). Trotzdem wird in einer Urkunde aus Kotor (vom 19. Juni 1166) ein Izanacius (Isaak?) als dux von Dalmatien und Diokleia erwähnt (4). Dieser Umstand ist wohl darauf zurückzuführen, dass nach der Gefangennahme des Chaluphas in dem restlichen, Byzanz noch verbliebenen Gebiet sogleich ein neuer dux eingesetzt wurde. Unter Hinweis auf diese Urkunde nahm man in der Forschung lange Zeit zwei Dukate an, der eine Zentraldalmatien, der andere die süddalmatinischen Städte umfassend. Diese Meinung hat Ferluga bereits zurückgewiesen (5). Als Argumente dienten die Angaben über den dux Konstantinos, den (vermutlichen) Nachfolger des Izanacius.

Konstantin wird in drei Urkunden als dux genannt. Für den Beginn seiner Tätigkeit ist ein Dokument vom April 1171 von Bedeutung, in dem es heisst : *dominantis Constantini*

(1) FERLUGA, pp. 130-135. F. CHALANDON, *Les Comnène*, II, pp. 469-492. JIREČEK, *Geschichte der Serben*, I, pp. 252-254. Das grundlegende Werk von F. Šišić, *Povijest Hrvata za kraljeva iz doma Arpadovića*, Zagreb, 1944, ist mir leider nicht erreichbar. Siehe auch T. WASILEWSKI, *Le thème byzantin de Sirmium-Serbie au XIe et XIIe siècle*, in *Zbornik radova*, 8, 2 (1964), pp. 481-482, und zusammenfassend V. LAURENT, *La Serbie entre Byzance et la Hongrie à la veille de la quatrième croisade*, in *Revue historique du Sud-Est Européen*, 18 (1941), pp. 109-130.

(2) John. KINNAMOS, 248, 20. Zu seinem Sitz in Split siehe *ibid.*, 263, 5. Eine urkundliche Erwähnung kennen wir nicht.

(3) KINNAMOS, 263, 2-9 (Bonn).

(4) T. SMIČIKLAS, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, t. II, Zagreb, 1904, p. 102 (n° 98).

(5) FERLUGA, 130 Anm. 54.

ducis ducatus anno primo (1). Die beiden folgenden Urkunden (1171 und 1174) geben Split als seinen Sitz an und bezeichnen ihn als *sebastus* (2). Diese zuverlässigen Angaben bestätigen in genügender Weise die griechische Notiz, und lassen keinen Zweifel, dass der Verteidiger Anconas, Konstantin Dukas, und der Statthalter des byzantinischen Kaisers in Dalmatien ein und dieselbe Person ist. Dem Wortlaut der lateinischen Dokumente nach umfasste sein Amtsbereich « ganz Dalmatien und Kroatien » (3). Noch klarer als diese lateinischen Texte zeigt die griechische Notiz, dass nur *ein* dalmatinisches Thema existiert haben kann, da Konstantin auch als dux in Diokleia genannt wird (4). Konstantin verwaltete gleichermassen Zentraldalmatien wie die Küstenregion. Da in einer 1174 (ohne Monatsangabe) in Split ausgestellten Urkunde ebenfalls Konstantin als dux erwähnt ist, muss er nach seiner Mission in Ancona (Herbst 1173) wieder an seinen eigentlichen Sitz zurückgekehrt sein (5). Diese Urkunde ist gleichzeitig das letzte Dokument, in dem er genannt ist. Erst wieder zum Jahr 1178 wird ein gewisser Philokales als dux erwähnt (6). Der Wortlaut der Urkunde, in der er angeführt wird, lässt vermuten, dass er schon längere Zeit im Amt war (7). Ferlugas Hypothese, der Wechsel könne im Jahr 1167 stattgefunden haben, entbehrt daher nicht einer gewissen Wahrscheinlichkeit (8).

Die Notiz zwingt uns auch, erneut auf ein umstrittenes Problem der Balkangeschichte einzugehen : den Sitz des albanischen Stammes im 12. Jahrhundert. Zur Diskussion um die geographische Lage der albanischen Wohnsitze im 11.

(1) Smičiklas, p. 129 (n° 125).

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 130 (n° 126) und 138 (n° 135).

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 130 (n° 126) vom Jahr 1171.

(4) Im vorliegenden Fall dürften sich keine methodischen Bedenken ergeben, wenn wir eine Privatnotiz als ein mit einer Urkunde gleichrangiges Beweismittel ansehen.

(5) Smičiklas, p. 138 (n° 135).

(6) Diesen dux hat erst Ferluga, 139 aus den Quellen eruiert.

(7) Smičiklas, p. 157 (n° 153), lin. 4, und Ferluga, 139.

(8) Ferluga, 140. Die Vermutung stützt sich auf die Tatsache, dass in einer Urkunde dieses Jahres (Smičiklas, II, 143, n° 151) kein dux genannt ist, sondern, an dessen Stelle im Dokument, der regierende Kaiser Manuel.

Jahrhundert hat erst kürzlich A. Ducellier einen bemerkenswerten Beitrag geleistet (1). Die Albaner begegnen bekanntlich in den byzantinischen Quellen erstmals bei Michael Attaleiates, zum Jahr 1040, und ein halbes Jahrhunder später bei Anna Comnena (2). Beide Stellen zeigen nur, dass die Albaner ein Volk im Gebirgsland hinter Dyrrachion waren und den Byzantinern Heereskontingente stellten. Die Erwähnung bei Anna Comnena im Sinn eines byzantinischen Verwaltungsbezirkes « Arbana » (Neutrum Plural) zu deuten, hat Ducellier mit Recht zurückgewiesen (3). Aus weiteren Angaben über die Albaner bei Anna Comnena glaubte er schliessen zu können, dass sich deren Kernland im 11. Jahrhundert nördlich des Devolli, zwischen Elbassan und dem Ohrider See befand. Für das 11. Jahrhundert kann diese These ihre Richtigkeit haben, weil die Quellen für die geographische Fixierung der Albaner in einer anderen Gegend kein Material geben. Nach dem Jahr 1108 fehlen für 60 Jahre jegliche Hinweise über die Albaner in griechischen und lateinischen Texten.

Georgios Akropolites bezeichnet in der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts *Κροαί* (Kroja) als Kastell im Gebiet Albanon (4). Der Ort ist erstmals erwähnt in der Diatyposis des Kaiser Leon (886-911) als Suffragan von Dyrrachion, und erneut in der dritten Notiz bei Parthey, die in die Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts zu datieren sein dürfte (5). In einer Urkunde

(1) A. Ducellier, *L'Arbanon et les Albanais au XIe siècle*, in *Travaux et Mémoires*, 3 (1968), pp. 355-368.

(2) Attaleiates, p. 9, 9-15 (Bonn) ; Anna Comnena, IV, 8 = I, 168, 15-16 (Leib).

(3) Ducellier, 360-364. Im Hinblick auf einen bisher unbekannten Verwaltungsbezirk interpretierte die Stelle E. L. Vranussi, *Κομισκόρτης ὁ ἐξ Ἀρβάνων. Σχόλια εἰς χορίον τῆς Ἄννης Κομνηνῆς*, Jannina, 1962.

(4) Georgios Akropolites, *Χρονικὴ συγγραφή*, p. 92, 1-2 (Heisenb.) : *καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἀλβάνῳ φρούριον τὰς Κροάς*. Zu Kroja siehe zusammenfassend L. von Thallóczy-C. Jireček, *Zwei Urkunden aus Nordalbanien*, in *Archiv für Slav. Philologie*, 21 (1899), pp. 78-99.

(5) H. Gelzer, *Ungedruckte und ungenügend veröffentlichte Texte der Notitiae episcopatuum*, in *Abhandl. der Bayer. Akad. der Wissensch., Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, 21 (1901), p. 558, lin. 627 ; G. Parthey, *Hierocles synecdemus et notitiae graecae episcopatuum*, Berlin, 1866, Not. 3, lin. 608. Eine Gründung des Bistums bereits im 7. Jahr-

vom 19. Juni 1166, ausgestellt in Kotor, wird erwähnt, dass *Lazarus, episcopus Arbanensis* in der Kirche des Hl. Triphon einen Altar weihte, in Anwesenheit des dux Izanacius und des *Andreas prior Arbanensis* (1). Derselbe *Lazarus, episcopus de Arbania* wird lobend in einem Schreiben des Papstes Alexander III. vom Jahr 1167 genannt (2). Im Dekret der Synode von Bar (1199) unterschreibt ein *Dominicus archipresbyter Arbanensis* (3). Zu diesen lateinischen Quellen tritt Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts noch ein Brief des Demetrios Chomatianos an den Bischof von *Κρόαί* (4).

Von besonderem Interesse im Hinblick auf die griechische Notiz ist die bereits erwähnte Urkunde vom Juni 1166, in der die Weihe der Kirche des Hl. Triphon in Kroja beurkundet wird (5). Die Tatsache, dass der byzantinische dux an der Weihe teilnimmt, zeigt, dass das Gebiet Albanon auch verwaltungsmässig dem Territorium des byzantinischen Reiches eingegliedert war (6). *Terminus post quem* für die feste Verbindung des Albanon mit dem byzantinischen Reich

hundert anzunehmen, scheint recht zweifelhaft zu sein ; vergl. jedoch die positiven Argumente bei THALÓCZY, *Acta Albaniae* (folgende Anm.), pp. 10-11 (n° 48).

(1) SMIČIKLAS, p. 102 (n° 98). Siehe auch *Acta et Diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis illustrantia*, collegerunt ... L. DE THALLÓCZY, C. JIREČEK, E. DE SUFFLAY, I, Wien, 1913, p. 31 (n° 93).

(2) SMIČIKLAS, 110 (n° 104) ; *Acta Albaniae*, p. 32 (n° 97). Mit Kommentar im Band I der *Acta Romanorum Pontificum* (*Pontificia Commissio ad redigendum codicem iuris canonici orientalis, Fontes*, Series III, Rom, 1953), pp. 803-805 (n° 390).

(3) SMIČIKLAS, pp. 335-338 (n° 312) ; cf. *Acta Innocentii III* (*Fontes*, Ser. III, vol. 2, 1954), p. 187 (n° 8).

(4) Der Brief wurde im Hinblick auf Kroja im Detail ausgewertet von M. DRINOV, *O nekotorych trudach Dimitrija Chomatiana kak istoričeskom materiale*, in *Viz. Vrem.*, 1 (1894), pp. 319-340, bes. 332-340. Edition des Briefes bei J. PITRA, *Analecta Spicilegio Solesmensi parata VII* (eigentl. VI), Paris, 1891, pp. 21-28.

(5) Es geht aus der Urkunde nicht direkt hervor, dass sich die Kirche in Kroja-Arbania befand ; doch lässt der letzte Satz *Andreas, prior Arbanensis, cum toto populo civitatis* darauf schliessen.

(6) Es ist zu diesem Zeitpunkt nicht als aussergewöhnlich zu betrachten, dass der Vertreter des oströmischen Kaisers an der Weihe einer lateinischen Kirche teilnimmt. Zum Problem allgemein siehe B. LEIB, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance*, Paris, 1924, und *Acta Romanorum Pontificum*, I, pp. 803-804 (n° 390), Anm. 1.

dürfte ebenfalls 1165 sein, als Kaiser Manuel siegreich gegen die Ungarn vorgedrungen war. In diesen Gesamtzusammenhang fügt sich auch die Erwähnung « Arbania » in der griechischen Notiz. Konstantin Dukas (vermutlich Nachfolger des Izanacius) war, mit dem Sitz in Split, dux in Kroatien, Dalmatien, Diokleia und Albania (1). Unsere Notiz ist allerdings der früheste Beleg für die Namensform *Ἀρβανία*. Ältere und jüngere griechische Quellen sprechen nur vom (*τὸ*) *Ἄλβανον* (2). Als *Arbanium begegnet das Gebiet in der *Partitio imperii* (3), und erst Portulane des 15. Jahrhunderts kennen den Namen *Ἀρβανία* (4).

Mit dem Ende der Herrschaft des oströmischen Kaisers über Dalmatien nach dem Tode Manuels I. gerät das albanische Gebiet einerseits unter serbischen, andererseits unter bulgarischen Einfluss (5), doch berührt der weitere Verlauf nicht mehr den Themenkreis dieses Aufsatzes.

Die Person des Konstantin Dukas

Leider bleibt die Person des Konstantin Dukas ziemlich im Dunklen, zumal seine genealogische Verbindung zu anderen Mitgliedern der Familie Dukas unbekannt ist. Der Hinweis auf eine Verwandtschaft mit dem Kaiserhaus ergibt sich allein auf Grund des Titels *σεβαστός* (6). Es scheint uns ausgeschlossen, dass er identisch ist mit Konstantin Dukas, Mit-

(1) Die von Era Vranussi (siehe S. 300, Anm. 3) beigebrachte These einer Verwaltungseinheit Arbania zu Beginn des 12. Jahrhunderts lässt sich m.E. nicht aufrechterhalten. Zumindest reicht die einzig vorhande Stelle im Geschichtswerk der Anna Comnena zum Beweis nicht aus.

(2) Siehe die Zusammenstellung bei Ducellier (S. 300, Anm. 1), pp. 362-363.

(3) « Provintia Dirrachi et Arbani », ed. A. Carile, *Partitio terrarum imperii Romanie*, in *Studi Veneziani*, 7 (1965), pp. 125-305, bes. 220, lin. 65, und Kommentar p. 264. Das dort genannte Werke von D. Zakythinos, *Grecs et Albanais dans l'Illyrie médiévale*, Athen, 1947, ist mir nicht erreichbar.

(4) A. Delatte, *Les Portulans grecs*, in *Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège*, 107 (1947), p. 46, 16 und 47, 12.

(5) Drinov, *O nekotorych trudach*, p. 338.

(6) L. Stiernon, *Notes de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines. Sébaste et gambros*, in *Rev. Ét. Byz.*, 23 (1965), pp. 222-243.

glied der Synoden von 1166 und 1170, da letzterer *γαμβρὸς καὶ σεβαστός* Kaiser Manuels war, während keine Quelle unseren Konstantin als *γαμβρός* bezeichnet (1). Der Bericht des Boncompagno schildert ihn als *vir sapiens, discretus, eloquens et curialitate multimodo redimitus* (2). Wir erfahren aus keiner Quelle, welches Amt er vor dem Dukat des Jahres 1170 innehatte, noch wo er sich zwischen 1174 (1176?) und seinem Tod 1179 befand (3). Dem Wortlaut der griechischen Notiz zufolge ist er wohl erst kurz vor seinem Tod in die Hauptstadt zurückgekommen.

Die wenigen Zeilen der griechischen Notiz machten es möglich, neue Verbindungen der west-östlichen Politik Kaiser Manuels zu zeigen. Es ist nicht überraschend, doch auch nicht ganz ohne Interesse, dass gerade der dux von Dalmatien in die Verteidigung jener Stadt eingreift, die von allen italienischen am meisten griechenfreundlich war. Wir sehen, dass eine für die Verbindung zum Westen besonders wichtige Randprovinz von einem Manne verwaltet wurde, der in persönlicher Bindung zum regierenden Kaiserhaus stand (4). Somit ist eine unbeachtet gebliebene Notiz auch in einer Epoche, in der westliche und byzantinische Quellen reichlicher vorhanden sind als zu anderen Zeiten, nicht unwesentlich für die Kombination historischer Fakten, die ohne dieses Verbindungsglied isoliert stehen und sich einer sicheren Einordnung entziehen.

(1) STIERNON, *a.a.O.*, 237, n. 3 schliesst die Identifizierung ebenfalls aus.

(2) *Liber de obsidione*, p. 35, 1-2. Wenn Boncompagno an derselben Stelle weiterfährt ... *protosevasto dicebatur, nec erat ita magnus princeps in curia post logothetam*, begeht er einen zweifachen Irrtum. Konstantin war nicht protosebastos, eine Würde, die allein dem ältesten Sohn des Sebastokrators vorbehalten war (STIERNON, *a.a.O.*, 224 und n. 17). Ausserdem hat die *Würde* eines sebastos nichts zu tun mit dem *Amt* eines Logotheten. Boncompagno konnte als Italiener der Aufbau des byzantinischen Beamtenapparates nicht geläufig sein und der Logothet (*λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου*), der im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert mehrfach Gesandtschaften nach dem Westen leitete, war wohl der einzige Hofbeamte, unter dem sich Boncompagno etwas vorstellen konnte ; cf. F. DÖLGER, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung*, Berlin, 1927, p. 23 und Anm. 1.

(3) Zum Jahr 1176 (Wechsel im Dukat?) siehe oben S. 299.

(4) Zur Besetzung höherer Ämter mit Mitgliedern der Kaiser-

ANHANG

GRIECHISCHE QUELLEN ZUR BELAGERUNG ANCONAS UND DER ITALIENPOLITIK KAISER MANUELS I.

I

JOHANNES KINNAMOS VI 12 = 288, 10-289, 13 (ed. Bonn)

Als er (Manuel) in der Gegend von Philadelpheia im Heerlager war und auf diese (d.h. die Heeresbewegungen des Nur ed dîn) sein Augenmerk richtete, kamen die Alamanen und die Venezianer nach Ancona, um es zu belagern, die einen von der See aus, die andern mit einem Landheer. Es befehligte die Alamanen einer von den Männern, die einen Bischufsstuhl innehaben (1). Als sich die Belagerung in die Länge zog, entstand unter den Bewohnern Mangel an Lebensmitteln, und die Stadt war schon beinahe daran eingenommen zu werden.

Da war eine Frau, Italienerin von Geschlecht, hochherzig wie nur irgend, und mit kühnem Mannesmut. Sie führte, nachdem sie schon lange verwitwet war, ein besonnenes Leben (2). Als sie vom Schicksal Anconas erfahren hatte und (hörte), dass sich die Stadt in einer schlechten Lage befinde, fühlte sie sich von Eifer durchglüht — sie war nämlich mit den Rhomäern freundschaftlich verbunden — und sah sich veranlasst, mit eigenen Mitteln der Stadt zu helfen. Da diese ganz und gar nicht für die Bedürfnisse des Krieges ausreichten, verpfändete sie sogar die Habe ihrer

familie unter den Komnenen siehe A. HOHLWEG, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des Oströmischen Reiches unter den Komnenen*, München, 1965, pp. 15-34, (= *Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia*, 1).

(1) Christian, Erzbischof von Mainz ; siehe oben S. 291, Anm. 5.

(2) Altruda di Bertinoro. Ihr Mann, Rainiero, starb vermutlich bereits 1143. Siehe P. AMADUCCI, *Notizie storiche su gli antichi conti di Bertinoro*, in *Atti e Memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Provincie di Romagna*, Ser. III, vol. 12 (1895), pp. 185-249, bes. 210-215. Altruda starb 1177 (*ibid.*, p. 216). Siehe auch den oben S. 292, Anm. 5, genannten Aufsatz von P. Lamma.

Kinder (1) und, auf diese Weise in genügend grossem Besitz von Gold, schickte sie nach der Stadt, liess bekannt machen, für die Zukunft Mut zu fassen und sich nicht den Feinden zu ergeben.

Als die Anconitaner davon erfuhren, schöpften sie wieder Mut und beschlossen, gegen die Feinde zu kämpfen. Als jene es merkten, verlegten sie sofort ihr Feldlager (2). Inzwischen war auch die Feldherrin an die Stadt herangerückt und vereinigte ihr Heer mit dem der Anconitaner; als es aber zum Angriff gekommen war, hielten die Alamannen dem Ansturm nicht aus und flohen von einem Heer, das eine Frau befehligte, und verloren viele der ihren (3). Beinahe wäre auch der bischöfliche Feldherr gefangen worden, wenn er sich nicht durch die Flucht die Rettung erstohlen hätte (4). Sie aber wandte sich nun gegen die Venezianer, die, wie gesagt, von der Seeseite her die Stadt belagerten, überwand auch sie in einer Schlacht (5) und kehrte in die Stadt zurück, wobei sie den grossen Kaiser akklamierte (6).

(1) Von einer Verpfändung der Güter ist bei Boncompagno nirgends die Rede. Kinnamos ist hier ein Irrtum unterlaufen; er verwechselt, in diesem Sachzusammenhang, Altruda mit Wilhelm III. Adelardi (Marchesella), der seinen und seiner Freunde Besitz verpfändete, um das Entsatzheer aufzubringen (BONCOMPAGNO, *Liber de obsidione*, p. 29 und 44, 1-3). Wilhelm wird von Kinnamos überhaupt nicht erwähnt.

(2) Die Verlegung des Lagers berichtet keine andere Quelle. Sie ist wohl ausgeschlossen, da Christian bei der Ankunft Altrudas die Belagerung aufgab.

(3) Zu einer regelrechten Schlacht ist es überhaupt nicht gekommen. Nach Boncompagno 46, 2-3 griff Altruda das kaiserliche Heer auf dem Rückzug an.

(4) Von der drohenden Gefangennahme weiss nur Kinnamos zu berichten. Sie wurde erfunden, um den Ruhm der Frau zu erhöhen.

(5) Die Seeschlacht ist eine Erfindung des Kinnamos oder seiner Gewährsmänner.

(6) *εὐφήμοις φωναῖς βασιλέαν μέγαν* [Manuel] *ἀναβοῶσα*. Zu *μέγας βασιλεύς* siehe P. SCHREINER, *Zur Bezeichnung μέγας und μέγας βασιλεύς in der byzantinischen Kaisertitulatur*, in *Byzantina 3* (Thessaloniki 1970).

II

NIKETAS CHONIATES, MANUEL COMNENUS VII, 1 = 259, 15-264, 24 (ed. Bonn) (1)

Nun ist noch auf das folgende hinzuweisen. Dieser Kaiser, der kriegerisch nicht gegen die Völker vorgehen konnte, die rings um den jonischen Golf [Adria] ihre Wohnsitze haben, vielmehr immer ihre Angriffe gegen das Gebiet der Romäer mitansehen musste und sie für schrecklich und lästig hielt, dabei aber wusste, dass die Streitkräfte der Romäer untauglich seien, den westlichen Widerstand zu leisten und sie sich so verhielten wie irdene Töpfe zu ehernen Becken, war argwöhnisch, zumal es im Bereich des Möglichen lag, dass die Völker im Westen ein gegen die Romäer gerichtetes Bündnis schlössen und sich vereinigten, und sagte, dass, wenn er sich auf lange Sicht vor den östlichen Barbaren schützen wolle, er diese durch Geld zur Freundschaft bewegen könne und sie im Kampfe dazu bringe, nicht ihre Grenzen zu verlassen, dass er aber den Westen mit seinen verschiedenartigen Völkern fürchte; es seien hochmütige Leute und stolz in ihrem Denken, immer blutgierig, sie seien nicht nur sehr reich und trügen eiserne Waffen im Krieg, sondern hegten auch ohne Unterlass Abneigung gegen die Romäer, seien immer hasserfüllt gegenüber ihnen, blickten neidvoll auf sie und seien in gereizter Stimmung.

In der Tat machte er Venedig, Genua, Pisa, Ancona und die sonstigen Anwohner des Meeres zu Freunden der Romäer, band sie durch Eide, brachte sie durch mannigfache Bezeugungen des Wohlwollens auf seine Seite und nahm sie in Konstantinopel freundlich auf (2). Angstvoll darauf bedacht, dass nicht irgendeiner der von ihnen sogenannten Könige (ῥῆγες) eine grössere Macht erhalte und dann gegen die Romäer vorgehe, stärkte er sie mit Geldgeschenken, liess sie in der Kriegskunst unterweisen und trieb Leute,

(1) Das Kapitel liegt ebenfalls in deutscher Übersetzung vor im 7. Band der «Byzantinischen Geschichtsschreiber»: *Die Krone der Komnenen*, übers. F. GRABLER, Graz, 1958, pp. 247-251. Auf sinnverändernde Abweichungen gegenüber unserer Übersetzung wird in den Anmerkungen hingewiesen.

(2) R. JANIN, *Constantinople Byzantine*, Paris, 1964², p. 254.

die Gefahr liefen, einem übermächtigen Gegner zu unterliegen, zum bewaffneten Widerstand.

Die Italiener bewaffnete er oft zum Kampf gegen Friedrich, den König Alamaniens. Dieser war nämlich in höchstem Masse darauf bedacht, dass die Italiener ihm untertänig würden und ihre Einkünfte ihm zuwenden. Manuel aber schickte Gesandte, gab ihnen Mut, veranlasste sie, sich stark zu machen und riet ihnen, sich vor den Ränken des Königs zu hüten. Auch das alte Rom hielt er vom Versuch ab, dass es der nämliche König betrete und gekrönt werde, obwohl er oft danach strebte, indem er dem Papst schrieb : « Gib nicht einem andern deinen Ruhm und überschreite nicht die von den Vätern gesetzten Grenzen, damit du nicht, wenn du nachher an den Werken selbst den Charakter der unbedachten Handlung erkennst und das ganze rettungslos verloren ist, es in deiner Seele bereust, weil du das, was sich gehört hätte, gering geachtet hast » (1). Und er war aus dem hochberühmten Rom ausgeschlossen, wie ein Waffenloser, obwohl er sich mit Tausenden von Legionen brüsten konnte.

Einstmals waren die Mauern Mailands von den Alamanen niedergerissen worden (2), die Bewohner aber überlisteten diejenigen, die sie eidlich verpflichtet hatten, die Mauer nicht wieder aufzubauen, und siedelten sich zunächst an einem tiefen und befestigten Graben an, indem sie sagten, dass sie damit nicht gegen den Eid verstiessen, bauten dann aber, wie früher, ihre Mauern auf, wobei ihnen dieser Kaiser [Manuel] Beistand leistete (3).

Ferner brachte er den Grafen von Montferrat, der auf Grund seiner Abstammung und seiner Nachkommen in Ansehen und

(1) Der Brief ist als rein fiktiv anzusehen. Er hätte vor 1155 (Krönung Friedrichs I. durch Hadrian IV) abgefasst sein müssen. Siehe auch H. von Kap-Herr, *Die abendländische Politik Kaiser Manuels*, Strassburg, 1881, pp. 67-69.

(2) Nach siebenmonatiger Belagerung hatte sich im Februar 1162 Mailand Barbarossa unterworfen, der befahl, die Stadt dem Erdboden gleichzumachen ; siehe *Storia di Milano*, IV (1954), pp. 62-70 und P. Classen in dem oben S. 288 Anm. 3 genannten Aufsatz.

(3) Der Wiederaufbau der Stadt mit Unterstützung des Lombardischen Bundes beginnt im Frühjahr 1167 und endet 1171 mit dem Einzug der Bewohner in die neuerrichtete Stadt ; siehe *Storia di Milano*, IV, pp. 84-85. Die byzantinische Hilfe ist auch in der Vertragsurkunde des Lombardischen Bundes erwähnt ; zu den Quellen siehe P. Classen (wie vorausg. Anm.) p. 79 Anm. 2.

Macht stand (1), unter die Zahl seiner Freunde, teils durch Geschenke, teils dadurch, dass er dessen jüngeren Sohn mit seiner Tochter Maria verheirate (2), und somit noch mehr die Pläne des Beherrschers der Alamanen verletzte. Dieser schickte deshalb seinen Kanzler, wie die Lateiner sagen, Logothet bei den Griechen, — es war der Bischof von Mainz —, mit einer grossen Streitmacht und suchte sich die italienischen Städte zu unterwerfen, sie dem Bündnis mit dem Papst zu entreissen und in unverhüllter Offenheit davon zu trennen (3).

Der Kaiser machte den Grafen durch Geldversprechungen gefügig und überedete ihn so, seinen Sohn, einen schönen Mann in den besten Jahren, der ein Höchstmass an Mannhaftigkeit und Verstand besass und von ausnehmendem Körperwuchs war, dem Bischof von Mainz als Gegner zu schicken. Er schlug im Kampf die Alamanen und trieb sie mit der Kavallerie in die Flucht (4). Bei der Verfolgung nahm er auch Leute gefangen, darunter den Bischof von Mainz, und es wäre dieser wohl nach Byzanz geschickt worden, wenn nicht inzwischen der Kaiser gestorben wäre.

Es gab keine italienische Stadt, auch nicht im weiteren Umkreis, in der dieser Kaiser nicht einen Geschworenen oder ihm treu Gesinnten gehabt hätte. In der Tat wusste und erfuhr der Kaiser alles, was diejenigen, die zu der innersten Staatsverwaltung Zutritt

(1) Das gesamte Kapitel über die Beziehungen des byzantinischen Kaisers zu den Grafen von Montferrat ist chronologisch falsch eingeordnet. Es gehört in die Zeit nach der Belagerung Anconas und hat mit deren Vorgeschichte nichts zu tun. Zu den Markgrafen von Montferrat im allgemeinen siehe L. Usseglio, *I marchesi di Monferrato in Italia ed in Oriente*, I-II, Casale Montferrato, 1926, = Società Storica Subalpina, 100-101. Manuel nahm mit dem Führer der gegen Friedrich opponierenden italienischen Fürsten 1176 Kontakt auf. Siehe auch Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 599.

(2) Die Hochzeit zwischen Rainer von Montferrat und Anna, Tochter Manuels, fand 1180 in Konstantinopel statt. Chalandon, *op. cit.*, p. 600.

(3) Der historische Zusammenhang ist, wie wir bereits S. 308, Anm. 1 zeigten, falsch dargestellt. Christian von Mainz kam bereits Ende 1171 nach Italien (siehe oben S. 291), als zwischen Wilhelm von Montferrat und Manuel noch keine Verbindung bestand.

(4) Schlacht bei Camerino im September 1179. Usseglio, *op. cit.*, I, p. 424. C. Varrentrapp, *Erzbischof Christian von Mainz*, Berlin, 1867, pp. 95-96.

hatten, soweit es sich um den Romäern feindlichen Kreise handelte, im Geheimen berieten und in Unordnung zu bringen suchten.

Einmal kamen vom Kaiser Gesandte nach Ancona, da es die Situation erforderte. Diese führten nun das, was sie beabsichtigt hatten, aus und brachten ihren Auftrag zu Ende, sei es dass dieser darin bestand, mit einigen ein freundschaftliches Bündnis gegenüber dem Kaiser zu schliessen und die man Litzioi nennt, sei es dass sie irgend etwas anderes für die Romäer Nützliches machten (1). Der König der Alamanen aber war von Zorn erfüllt und schickte Truppen, die Ancona zerstören, die Bürger büssen lassen und sie bestrafen sollten, weil sie dadurch, dass sie mit den Romäern ein Bündnis schlossen und Gesandte in ihr Gebiet einliessen, nichts anderes verfolgt hätten, als seine [des Königs] gegenteilige Ziele, und die dort gelegenen Städte vom Wohlwollen und der Treue gegen ihn abgebracht hätten.

Das vom König geschickte Heer ging gegen die Anconitaner wie gegen Feinde vor, umzingelte die Stadt und forderte die Auslieferung der romäischen Gesandten, die Anconitaner aber hörten so einsichtig auf der Drohungen oder waren durch das von den Feinden errichtete befestigte Lager so verwirrt oder durch die kriegerische Belagerung so in Furcht gesetzt, dass sie nicht nur die von den Alamanen geforderten Gesandten nicht herausgaben, sondern sich sogar noch freuten, die gegenwärtige Gefahr auszuhalten (2); als sich aber die Belagerung in die Länge zog und die Feinde geraume Zeit blieben, griffen sie zu ungewöhnlichen Mitteln und machten sich an Speisen, die normalerweise einem Menschen nicht erlaubt sind zu nehmen.

(1) Choniates bezieht sich kaum auf eine bestimmte Gesandtschaft, wie er überhaupt bei der Schilderung der italienischen Verhältnisse unpräzis vorgeht. Er bringt nur allgemein zum Ausdruck, dass die enge Verbindung Anconas zu Byzanz den Grund für das Einschreiten bot. Zu *λίτζιοι* siehe P. LAMMA, in dem oben S. 292, Anm. 5 genannten Aufsatz, p. 389, n. 1, F. DÖLGER, *Byzantinische Diplomatik*, Ettal, 1956, p. 395, Anm. 41, und ID., *Byzanz und das Abendland vor den Kreuzzügen*, in *Relazioni del X Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche*, III (1956), p. 111, = *Paraspora*, Ettal, 1961, p. 105, Anm. 109, und besonders J. FERLUGA, *La ligesse dans l'empire byzantin*, in *Zbornik radova* 8 (1964) 97-123.

(2) Der Satz ist wörtlich übersetzt und muss in ironischem Sinn verstanden werden.

Die Gesandten des Kaisers berufen nun eine Versammlung des Volkes ein und suchen zu erfahren, ob sie Hilfe herbeibringen könnten. Jene [die Vertreter des Volkes] sagten, sie seien mit einer Hilfeleistung einverstanden, könnten aber keine Mittel beibringen und behaupteten dies fest (1), riefen Gott zum Zeugen für ihr Wort an und rieten (den Gesandten des Kaisers) nicht zu zögern, dass der Kaiser die ganzen Kriegskosten übernehmen solle ; andernfalls, so sagten sie voraus, müssten sie Unerträgliches auf sich nehmen, wenn die Stadt erobert sei, indem Kinder und Frauen weggeführt, Hab und Gut geraubt würden. Dann beschliessen sie, dass ein gewisser Fürst, Wilhelm mit Namen, herbeigeholt werden müsse und eine adelige Frau, deren Mann kurz vorher gestorben sei, und die dessen finanzielle Mittel und die Herrschaft übernommen hatte (2). Als sie [die Bewohner Anconas] diesen reichlich Geschenke gegeben und somit ohne jede Anstrengung den Feind abgewehrt hatten, freuten sich über die wiedergewonnene Freiheit, wie wenn ihre Stadt aus der Tiefe des Meeres aufgetaucht wäre.

Der Kaiser war über diesen Erfolg gebührend erfreut, lobt die Anconitaner für das Geschehene, stellt sie romäischen Bürgern gleich und verspricht ihnen, alles zu gewähren, was er ohne Tadel geben könne und sie mit Fug verlangen dürften. Auch das Gold liess er in vielfacher Menge schicken (3).

Auf diese Weise kam die Angelegenheit mit den Anconitanern zu einem Ende, die von Natur aus gerecht und nicht ihr Fähnlein nach dem Winde zu hängen scheinen. Es könnte nämlich einer sagen, wieso sie den Befehl eines ihnen benachbarten Fürsten und der (deshalb) über sie zu herrschen verdiene, nämlich des Königs der Alamanen, abwiesen, dem Kaiser der Romäer aber,

(1) Im griechischen Text inkonzinne Konstruktion.

(2) Wilhelm III. Adelardi (Marchesella) aus Ferrara ; siehe zusammenfassend *Liber de obsidione*, p. 27, Anm. 6. Die « adelige Frau » ist Altruda di Bertinoro (oben S. 304, Anm. 2). Die Behauptung des Choniates, ihr Mann sei « kurz zuvor » gestorben, ist falsch ; vergl. oben S. 304, Anm. 2. Der Abschnitt ist bei Choniates zeitlich unrichtig eingeordnet. Nach Boncompagno erfolgte der Hilferuf noch ehe der byzantinische Gesandte auftrat.

(3) Verleihungen neuer Privilegien für Ancona sind aus anderen Quellen nicht bekannt.

den man nur zu Gesicht bekomme, wenn man schattige Berge überwunden habe, die Treue gehalten haben, wenn ihnen nicht das Bewusstsein des Guten angeboren wäre und in schwieriger Lage ein unerschrockener Drang, der auch in schwerer Gefahr immer bleibt und unerschütterlich ist. Es könnte aber etwas anderes, das mit dem eben Geäusserten nicht im Einklang steht, entgegengebracht werden : nämlich dass sie, unterlegen im Gewinn, zum Betteln gezwungen und genötigt, die Hand auszustrecken, um überhaupt etwas zu bekommen, von dem, dem sie gestern und ursprünglich als Führer unterworfen waren, abfielen, vielmehr einem andern nachgegangen seien, der Sorge trug für ihre Wünsche, ihr Gewinnstreben und ihren Kaufmannsgeist (1).

Rom, Bibliotheca Vaticana. Peter SCHREINER.

(1) Die Übersetzung Grablers an dieser Stelle (p. 251) ist irreführend.

PROCOPIUS AND ARETHAS AGAIN

An article in two parts entitled *Procopius and Arethas* appeared in 1957 in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (1), in which the author dealt with a number of problems involving Arethas, Procopius, Belisarius, and Justinian. One of the major concerns of this article was the examination of the charges brought by Procopius against Arethas, namely, that he betrayed the cause of the Romans and contributed to their defeats in the Persian Wars.

Fourteen years later an article appeared in *Byzantion* which raised again the problem of these charges levelled by Procopius against the Ghassanid king, Arethas (2). The writer tries to show that these charges are not Procopian but Byzantine —, i.e. that the *prodosia* theme in Procopius is not the expression of an individual personal prejudice on the part of Procopius but the reflection of an "image" which prevailed among the Byzantines (*Prodosia*, pp. 5-6).

The argument in *Procopius and Arethas* is a complex one. Among other things it has uncovered the employment of a special technique by Procopius for fastening the *prodosia* charge upon Arethas — a series of *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi* applied twice to the career of Arethas during the First and the Second Persian War; other auxiliary devices have also been noted such as the use of rhetorical speeches, ethno-

(1) See I. KAWAR, *Procopius and Arethas*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, Band 50 (1957), pp. 39-67, 362-382. This article will be referred to as *Procopius and Arethas*. For notices of this article by an Arabist and a Byzantinist, see D. SOURDEL, *Arabica* V/2 (1958), pp. 213-214; B. RUBIN, *Das Zeitalter Justinians*, (Berlin) 1960.

(2) V. CHRISTIDES, *Saracens'* Prodosia *in Byzantine Sources*, in *Byzantion* XL, (1970) pp. 5-13. The printed fascicle appeared in February 1971. This article will be referred to as *Prodosia* and its writer as Ch.

graphic digressions, and strident contrast (*Procopius and Arethas*, pp. 380-382).

In *Prodosia*, Ch. shies at a direct confrontation with the argument in *Procopius and Arethas* in its entirety and complexity. Consequently, for the examination of his *Prodosia*, one must first draw attention to this shyness on his part and then proceed to perform the tedious task of going through the various statements he makes in order to test their validity as "evidence" for the views he has put forward. This is necessary to do in view of the fact that a crucial reign — that of Justinian, as well as a major Byzantine historian — Procopius, is involved; furthermore, the sources are such that a Byzantinist with no specialized background in the Orient and the Oriental sources will encounter difficulties in examining them.

Ch.'s *Prodosia* falls roughly into two parts: (1) he goes through some of the sources used in *Procopius and Arethas* trying to reach different conclusions; but he also produces "new" evidence; (2) then he operates with the concept of "image" as a key to arguing away Procopius's attitude towards Arethas, and ends up with two flings involving Thermopylae and the Muslim conquests in the seventh century. In this order his views will be examined.

Part One

A preliminary statement opens the first part of his argument, and it is supposed to summarize Procopius's handling of the *prodosia* theme. Procopius "begins with a cautious presentation of the possibility of *prodosia* and finally arrives at explicit exoneration, leaving no doubt in his reader's mind about the Saracen's innocence", *Prodosia*, p. 6.

Procopius does, indeed, present the *prodosia* theme cautiously, but this happens to be only a feature of his technique, since as has been noted by Procopian scholars, he does not as a rule tell outright lies. And he does also exonerate the Saracen but the "exoneration" is done in true Procopian fashion — incidentally, as an afterthought, in the course of an episode relatively unimportant, and what is more, without making this exoneration retroactive, as he was bound to. As a result of this ambivalence, the reader is far from being

left in "no doubt about the Saracen's innocence". The contrary is indeed what has happened since the times of Procopius, and this is precisely what *Procopius and Arethas* has explained at great length (1).

The rest of the first part of *Prodosia* is a series of statements brought forward by Ch. to support his views :

I

(1) The conferment of the Basileia on Arethas ca. 530 : according to Ch. there is no need to look for "hidden motives" behind Procopius's statement that this was a novelty, because Procopius "obviously was referring to the novelty of such titles being acquired for the first time by a Ghassanid Saracen phylarch", *Prodosia*, p. 6, n° 1.

There is nothing in the text of Procopius to support this interpretation. The actual phrase used, "a thing which among the Romans had never been done before", with its "never" suggests the alternative explanation and interpretation presented in *Procopius and Arethas*, pp. 366-69, to which the following points may be added : (a) Procopius does not mention the word "Ghassanid" in his work and he succeeds in giving the impression that he views the clients of Byzantium from Odenathus to Arethas as Saracens rather than as figures belonging to different dynasties which followed one another consecutively ; (b) the word "never" would have been inappropriately used if Procopius had wanted the reader to know that he had been thinking of only the Ghassanids ; these crossed the *limes* only some thirty years before A.D. 530, while "never" implies a *longer* period if the conferment of the Basileia in 530 was a novelty ; (c) Odenathus may be irrelevant to Ch. but he is not so to Procopius who knows of him (History, II, v, 6) or to B. Rubin the Procopian specialist ; see B. Rubin, *op. cit.*, p. 495, n° 830 ; (d) Odenathus was

(1) Apparently Ch. has not read *Procopius and Arethas* in its entirety, since it is difficult to believe that he would have expressed such views if he had done so ; see *Procopius and Arethas*, pp. 41-43, and 372-373.

not the only Saracen on whom the Basileia was conferred but he was singled out in *Procopius and Arethas* because he was particularly relevant to the argument against Procopius in view of the fact that Procopius knew of him.

Ch. is ill-informed about the Basileia ; he speaks of it as though it were the same as the Supreme Phylarchate (p. 6) and also refers to it as a "decorative title" (p. 5). The two, however, must be distinguished although they were combined in the person of Arethas and have been confused with each other by Ch. who, furthermore, does not seem to be aware of the problem of the *insignia* of the Ghassanid Kings — their crowns and coronets.

(2) "Procopius speaks reservedly of Arethas' disappointing inability to deal with his dangerous rival al-Moundhir" (*Prodosia*, p. 6).

The restrictive adverb "reservedly" is hardly appropriate for describing Procopius's well-known attitude towards the Ghassanid Arethas. The actual words in *History* (I, xvii, 48), are : "since Arethas was either *extremely* unfortunate in *every* inroad and *every* conflict or else he turned traitor as *quickly as he could*" (1). A value judgment expressed in such strong

(1) The italics are mine. The text in the original Greek reads as follows : *Ἀρέθα ἐν πάσῃ ἐφόδῳ τε καὶ ἀγωνίᾳ ἢ ἀτυχοῦντος ὡς μάλιστα ἢ καταπροδιδόντος ὡς τάχιστα.* It is significant that Ch. does not cite this quotation in its proper place for supporting what he calls "speaking reservedly" of Arethas, but relegates it to a note further on (*Prodosia*, p. 8, n° 2), where his conclusions on Procopius's "reserve" and "caution" lead him into another mistake of a different order. In this note he quotes a sentence from *Procopius and Arethas* which, according to him, expresses *hyperbolai*. The quoted sentence reads : "His (Justinian's) folly consists not so much in the conception of a unified phylarchate to supersede the previous organization, but in the execution ; he picked the wrong man, a chief whose ability had not been proved". The comparison of this statement with that of Procopius on Arethas, that he "was either *extremely* unfortunate in *every* inroad and *every* conflict, or else he turned traitor *as quickly as he could* », can hardly yield the conclusion that the first statement compared to the second is a hyperbole ; furthermore, the comparison is inapposite since the first brings out the *implication* of Procopius's judgment on Justinian while the second one is an *explicit* judgment by Procopius. Ch.'s rhetorical question in the same note, p. 8, n. 2, "is it folly to use a phylarch whose ability has not yet been proved ... ?

terms which gives Arethas no chance, as it makes him either a loser or a traitor, can hardly be described as one which comes from a historian who "speaks reservedly" of Arethas, especially as a careful analysis of the passage has shown that Procopius was engaged in a series of *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi*, for which see *Procopius and Arethas*, pp. 59-66. Further on, Ch. refers to the expression of this disjunction which made of Arethas either a loser or a traitor as evidence of impartiality on the part of Procopius who is described as one who made this disjunction "without favoring either"! (*Prodosia*, p. 8).

As to Procopius's description of the prowess of Mundhir, this is not a reflection of any desire on the part of Procopius to be fair to Arethas ; it is mainly written to embarass Justinian and show his folly in choosing as a counterbalance to Mundhir one who, according to Procopius, was either a loser or a traitor (1).

(3) Procopius's statement which describes Arethas ca. 530, "but up to this time we know nothing certain about him" : the disingenuousness of this statement has been analyzed (2) in *Procopius and Arethas*, p. 367, n. 1. And yet Ch. writes : "When Procopius uses the present tense *we know*, naturally he does not mean that up to the time he was writting his *History* Arethas' loyalty was open to question, but that at this chronological point of his narration neither himself nor the Byzantines in general were sure about Arethas' trust-worthiness". *Prodosia*, p. 8, n. 3.

is obtuse. The author of *Procopius and Arethas* clearly does not think it is folly nor did Justinian think it was ; it is Procopius who by *innuendo* and implication suggested that it was folly, and the author of *Procopius and Arethas* was only bringing out that implication in Procopius.

(1) Ch. fails to understand the device of strident contrast employed by Procopius to ridicule Justinian, for which see *Procopius and Arethas*, pp. 366-380.

(2) Ch. omits any reference to this analysis in his note, which discusses this very statement and purports to give a different interpretation ; see *Prodosia*, p. 8, n° 3.

The Byzantines (and Procopius) knew about Arethas's trustworthiness, since he took part in the two successful operations against Mundhir and against the Samaritans, both of which commended Arethas to their favorable judgement; shortly after, he became the Supreme Phylarch. Procopius, and this Ch. does not seem to know or like to mention, was the secretary of Belisarius and an eyewitness of these events. So, even if the use of the "present tense" reflects this chronological point of his narration" that is ca. 530, the statement is still disingenuous. But it is *doubly* disingenuous since the passage was written ca. 554 concerning the year 530, as is clear from paragraph (40) earlier in the section which speaks of Mundhir "as a man who for a space of fifty years forced the Roman state to bend the knee" (the date of Mundhir's death is known to be A.D. 554). Procopius would have shed half of his disingenuousness if he had used the *past* tense to indicate that at that time, namely, A.D. 530, the truth about Arethas had not yet been known. He is doubly disingenuous since in addition to the fact that he knew about Arethas's trustworthiness ca. 530, he later "exonerated" Arethas when describing a military engagement between the two Saracen chiefs, and that engagement took place *before* A.D. 554.

II

The Battle of Callinicum

Serious as Ch.'s mistakes are in interpreting Procopius and in understanding what has been written about him, they are not as serious as those he has committed in regard to the major piece of evidence against Procopius, namely, the battle of Callinicum. The mistakes in this case reach the dimensions of "howlers", and they concern mainly "new" evidence he brings for the re-habilitation of Procopius. Before this "new" evidence is discussed, a few observations must be made on his handling of the "old" material.

A

(1) He speaks of "the caution with which Procopius approaches the subject" *Prodosia*, p. 9 and recommends that

it "should be noted". This has, indeed, been "noted" in a longish article on Procopius's technique in drawing the picture of Arethas, which he succeeded in doing, by the employment of the two methods of *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi* in his account of the Saracen's share in the battle of Callinicum. His caution is not that of one who aims at accuracy or truth, but rather that of one who wishes to reach his goal by implication than by explicit statement in order that he may not get the reputation of a liar. Here is Procopius's account (*History*, I, xviii, 35-37) in his own words instead of those of his apologist:

> "Then by mutual agreement all the best of the Persian army advanced to attack the Roman right wing, where Arethas and the Saracens had been stationed. But they broke their formation and moved apart, so that they got the reputation of having betrayed the Romans to the Persians. For without awaiting the oncoming enemy they all straightway beat a hasty retreat. So the Persians in this way broke through the enemy's line and immediately got in the rear of the Roman cavalry".

The falsehoods, however "cautiously" presented, have been pointed out in *Procopius and Arethas*, pp. 44-48. Especially relevant here is Procopius's false statement that Arethas fled together with his Saracens; another source, Malalas, who will be presently discussed, explicitely states it was he, Arethas, who stood firm when the Phrygians and other Saracens fled. Procopius manipulated the description of those who fled in such a way as to include Arethas. In addition to doing this, he extended the motive behind the flight of the Phrygians and the other Saracens, suspected of *prodosia*, to Arethas also, by making a *general* statement about Saracen *prodosia*. That he uses the word *δόξα* of which Ch. makes much is beside the point (1). Arethas neither fled nor

(1) His philological endeavors on behalf of Procopius are unfortunate. According to him, *δόξα* in this passage in *History*, I, xviii, 36 "bears the meaning of an opinion rather than a fact". Even a superficial look at the passage shows that *δόξα* there does not mean "opinion" at all but "reputation". Ch.'s is not simply a mistake

betrayed and it is this fact which is the subject of the discussion in *Procopus and Arethas*, pp. 44-46 and which Ch. has failed to comprehend.

(2) Malalas's account is quoted as a "third" version for the battle of Callinicum (*Prodosia*, p. 9, n. 3), in the hope of showing that Procopius is not the only one who spoke of Saracen *prodosia* at Callinicum (1). The two relevant points brought out by Malalas are: (1) the Phrygians were the ones who started the flight and with them fled *some* of the Saracens; (2) Arethas stood firm with his Saracens.

The evidence of Malalas argues against Ch. since this chronographer clearly and explicitely exonerates Arethas of both having fled and having betrayed the cause of the Romans, and this exoneration exposes Procopius or seriously questions his veracity. That *prodosia* was spoken of the Saracens who fled (not those of Arethas) is irrelevant, since the article Ch. had in mind when he decided to compose his *Prodosia* is specifically on Procopius and *Arethas*. It is also pertinent to remark, in view of the employment of such terms as "caution", that Malalas is remarkably precise in his account of the battle and uses appropriate terms about the flight of *part* of the Saracen contingent who were not with Arethas. Unlike the "caution" predicated of Procopius by Ch. this is the caution which is inspired by a desire to tell the truth.

These probings into both Procopius and Malalas cause Ch.'s conclusion to disintegrate:

"Thus, it is evident that the rumors of *prodosia*, as they are reflected in all three Byzantine sources, whether including

in expressing the correct nuance of the Greek word in English; it is a mistake in construing the sentence grammatically. The verb which goes with δόξα is ἀπήνεγκαν and its subject is not others who formed an "opinion" about the Saracens, but the Saracens themselves. The correct interpretation of δόξα in this carefully composed passage as "reputation", not "opinion", draws the accusation of treachery further away from mere "suspicion".

(1) This account in Malalas has been analyzed intensively in *Procopius and Arethas*, pp. 44-46. Ch. avoids referring to this in *Prodosia* and the unsuspecting reader could infer that the passage is a new discovery by him.

Arethas or not, are simply a product of the general Byzantine attitude towards their Saracen allies" (*Prodosia*, p. 9, n. 3).

As will be argued presently, the term "three" is inaccurate since the *Life* he adduces as new evidence is irrelevant in this context; besides, it does not speak of *prodosia* at all, as he himself curiously enough, must be aware when he says "there is no suspicion of treachery" (*Prodosia*, p. 9). Yet he includes the *Life* to swell the number of sources from two to three, in addition to shifting the ground on which the argument has been principally conducted, namely, *Arethas's prodosia*, not the Saracens' in general. As for what he calls "the general Byzantine attitude", this will be a further port of call in Part II of this article.

B

What is even more remarkable than his misinterpretation both of Procopius and of Malalas for arriving at a "generalization", is the "new" evidence Ch. brings to support his views. This "evidence", *The Life of Simeon the Younger* (1), is heralded on p. 5 as a "Greek text which has passed almost unnoticed by modern historians"; it is used extensively in the article, as its *pièce de résistance*, first on p. 7 for helping Ch. draw the picture of Mundhir, and then for presenting *his* version of what happened at Callinicum. In addition to these two purposes, the *Life* is the subject of three notes which take up almost a page, in which Stein, Devreesse, and the editors of the *Life* are taken to task (*Prodosia*, p. 7).

This source which he describes as one which "has passed almost unnoticed by modern historians" is on the contrary quite well known and has been noticed and utilized, but judiciously, by some of those who used it (2). He criticises both Stein and Devreesse for "simply quoting" it, but "with no proper use of the details which are contained". But neither

(1) *La Vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune*, in *Subsidia Hagiographica*, n° 32, Vol. I-II (1962-70), published by Paul van den Ven with a translation and a commentary.

(2) Such as E. Stein, in *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II (Paris, 1949), p. 503, n. 1.

Stein nor Devreesse was writing a history of Arab-Byzantine relations (1). Furthermore, the more significant details became available with the new edition of van den Ven, after both Devreesse and Stein had written their works, as van den Ven rightly remarks (2).

Ch.'s "howler" referred to earlier in this section consists in the fact that his argument rests on (1) that the battle of Callinicum was fought in 554 (*Prodosia*, p. 8) and (2) that the *Life of Simeon* treats of this very battle (*Prodosia*, p. 9). Both statements are staggering. Callinicum was fought in A. D. 531, while the battle the *Life* treats of is certainly, not Callinicum, but an engagement which took place between the Ghassanids and Lakhmids, with no Roman or Persian troops participating, and the battle ended, as Callinicum did not, with a signal victory for Arethas over Mundhir.

The date of the battle of Callinicum is common knowledge to all who deal with this period and especially with Arab-Byzantine relations during the reign of Justinian and is to be found in any standard history of the period. What is astounding is that Ch. did not notice that at this point in his article he was still dealing with the events of the first Persian War which ended in 532 and yet quite cheerfully he started to use "evidence" for the year 554. It is equally astounding that he did not notice that the accounts in the *Life* cannot be a description of the battle of Callinicum, since its course, the participants, and the issue of the two battles were quite different. Perhaps it was difficult for him to draw unaided these conclusions from the internal evidence ; if so, a long note by van den Ven, the editor of the *Life*, (Tome II, pp. 190-191), could have advised him that the battle in question was not Callinicum. It does not entirely exculpate him that the two battles were fought in the same century and in the same hemisphere (3) !

(1) Ch. is incomprehensible when he criticizes E. Stein, who understood the history of Arab-Byzantine relations so well in spite of the fact that he was not an "Arabist".

(2) *La Vie ancienne*, vol. I, p. 41*.

(3) Ch. is also unaware of the fact that the battle described in the *Life* was fought near Chalcis while Callinicum was fought at the Euphrates !

C

Finally there are the two notes which occupy almost an entire page (*Prodosia*, p. 7). These two footnotes call for the following comments :

It is not entirely clear why what Ch. calls "the three variants of his Life" are discussed when this task has been done competently and in great detail by Paul van den Ven, for which see *Life*, Vol. I, pp. 34-53. Perhaps this is done to prepare the reader for the textual comments he offers which criticise the editors of this *Life* (*Prodosia*, p. 7, n. 2). If so, it is rather unfortunate, since this note itself contains a number of assertions which must not be allowed to pass unnoticed ; they are open to the following objections :

(1) Since the note deals with accuracy in translation, it is surprising that Ch. should unidiomatically translate Greek *παρὰ* into English as "by" in the opening statement of his note — "as a phylarch by the Persians" ; (2) he speaks of the phrase *φύλαρχος παρὰ Πέρσαις* as "incorrectly translated by the editor" of the *Life* in *P.G.*, the Bollandist Janninck, and repeats the word "translation" two lines further in the same note. Ch. does not seem to be aware that he is quoting from the Latin *commentary* and not from the Latin *translation* of Janninck, col. 3163, n° 51 ; (3) the Greek phrase *φύλαρχος παρὰ Πέρσαις* is correctly translated in the Latin version as *Persis tribunus* and not as *tribunus Persarum* which appears only in the commentary ; (4) he suggests that the editor of the *Life* in *P.G.*, incorrectly translated the Greek phrase *φύλαρχος παρὰ Πέρσαις* "as meaning a Persian phylarch" ; the reason he gives is that "for such a translation the form *φύλαρχος Περσῶν* would have been used normally". This can be wholeheartedly rejected since the phrase *φύλαρχος Περσῶν* does not necessarily mean a "Persian phylarch" in the sense that the phylarch was a Persian, any more than the phrase *φύλαρχος Ῥωμαίων* means that the phylarch was a Roman ; for this usage, see the description of the Saracen Arethas as *φύλαρχος Ῥωμαίων* in the very same "new" evidence that Ch. adduces, namely, the *Life of Simeon*, vol. I, p. 165, sec. 187, ll. 4-5 ; and in Malalas, p. 434, l. 23. The Saracens allied with Rome and Persia are often referred to as the

Saracens of the Romans and the Saracens of the Persians; (5) the editor of *P.G.* is thus justified in suspecting that the tenth century author of the *Life* printed in *P.G.*, Nicepheros Ouranos, thought that Mundhir was a Persian phylarch; (6) Paul van den Ven according to Ch. "repeats this mistake", i.e., that of the editor of *P.G.* on the "Persian phylarch". As has just been explained the editor of *P.G.* cannot be described as having made a mistake; on the contrary his suspicion is justified by the idiom of Nicepherus Ouranos. Paul van den Ven far from repeating a "mistake" perspicaciously suggests a plausible reason for Ouranos's mistake, namely, that the *Life*, as written by Nicephorus Ouranos, contains no mention of the Saracens but only the Romans and the Persians, a very good reason why Nicephorus may have made the mistake the editor of *P.G.* suspected.

One may raise a more fundamental question concerning the point in discussing old editions, translations, and commentaries which have been superseded by the publication of "La Vie ancienne" the editor of which is perfectly well informed who Mundhir was and what his allegiance was, witness all the references to him in both volumes. Ch.'s preoccupation with these antiquated and out-of-date editions of the *Life* has resulted only in unjustified criticism of Janninck and van den Ven, and in some disastrous consequences for his major argument concerning the battle of Callinicum. A close examination of his conception of what took place at "Callinicum" shows that he has depended or has chosen to depend unduly on the *Life* written by the tenth century author, Ouranos. Indeed he cites him before he cites "La Vie ancienne" in *Prodosia*, p. 9, n° 2; this dependence has led him into thinking that the military engagement of 554, a purely Saracen one, was none other than the Roman-Persian battle of Callinicum, a view which his careless reading of the account of the battle in Nicephorus Ouranos might have easily led him to adopt, since this account conceives of the battle as having been fought between the Romans and the Persians (1).

(1) Witness his phrase in *Prodosia*, p. 9, on Arethas "as a leader of the elite of the Byzantine army", which clearly recalls ὁς τῆ

III

Although the foregoing examination of Ch.'s conception of what happened at Callinicum has destroyed the central thesis in his article, based on what he considered the "new" evidence for his views on Procopius and Arethas, the rest of Part One of his article must also be examined closely in view of some glaring mistakes which he makes in connection

Ῥωμαίων στρατιᾷ τὰ πρῶτα τέτακτο of the text in *P.G.*, 86, col. 3164 B, 11. 2-3. In translating this phrase as "leader of the elite of the Byzantine army", Ch. has committed an error similar to if not identical with the one *he* thought Janninck and van den Ven had committed when they tried to understand what Nicephorus Ouranos might have meant by the phrase *φύλαρχος παρὰ Πέρσαις*. As this battle is clearly not Callinicum but the one fought by the two Saracen chiefs in A.D. 554, *Romaioi* here certainly does not mean "Romans", since Arethas at Callinicum did not command Roman, but Saracen troops. The use of *Romaioi* in this text is simply elliptical for the "Saracens of the Romans", a common phrase which describes the Saracen allies of Rome, and which is to be found in the Arabic chronicles, sometimes inverted as "the Romans of the Arabs". Had Ch. done what he ought to have done — basing his argument upon the new and excellent edition of the *Life* — he might have saved himself this major exegetical embarrassment.

There is a further embarrassment, a philological one. When Ch. speaks of Arethas as "a leader of the elite of the Byzantine army", he is clearly translating or paraphrasing the only clause in the *Life* which can be the Greek equivalent of the English one he has composed. But there is no mention of any "elite of the Byzantine army" in the original Greek. There is only mention of Arethas in very high terms. The Bollandist interpreter in *P.G.* understood the point, and his Latin version correctly renders the Greek phrase into "summus Romanorum dux Arethas". Obviously, Ch. construed *τὰ πρῶτα* with *τῇ Ῥωμαίων στρατιᾷ* and not with *Ἀρέθας*. For this use of *τὰ πρῶτα* referring to persons, there are classical models which may be consulted in the Lexicon.

Even if a case may be made for the rendering, "elite", still the main point is Ch.'s assertion concerning Arethas's command of Byzantine troops, whether or not they were *élite*. This betrays ignorance of who commanded what at Callinicum and of the position of the Ghassanid phylarchs as allies, *symmachoi*. The phylarchs were put in command of Saracen, not Roman troops. When an exception was made during the Assyrian campain of 541, that was done only for a raid, a type of warfare the Saracen was an expert at, and what was involved was not more than 1200 soldiers.

with the Assyrian Campaign of 541, the Ghassanid-Lakhmid War of 554, and the method of *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi* of which Procopius has been justifiably accused.

A

Procopius's account of the *prodosia* theme in the Assyrian Campaign faces Ch. with problems which he has "solved" only by shelving them. He avoids going through the evidence set forth in detail in *Procopius and Arethas*, pp. 48-54, 56-58 ; instead he gives his own version of what happenned in Assyria (*Prodosia*, pp. 9-11). A quotation from Procopius will suffice to show how mutilated Ch.'s version of the Assyrian Campaign is : Procopius views on Arethas's performance are expressed as follows in *History*, II, xix, 26-46 :

> "But Arethas, fearing lest he should be despoiled of his booty by the Romans, was now unwilling to return to the camp. So he sent some of his followers ostensibly for the purpose of reconnoitering, but secretly commanding them to return as quickly as possible and announce to the army that a large hostile force was at the crossing of the river ... But Belisarius and the Roman army, hearing nothing concerning this force, were disturbed and they were filled with fear and an intolerable and exaggerated suspicion ... And as soon as they got into the land of the Romans, he learned everything which had been done by Arethas, but did not succeed in inflicting any punishment upon him, for he never came into his sight again. So ended the invasion of the Romans".

This quotation from Procopius leaves the reader in doubt as to what Procopius thought of Arethas, namely, that Arethas betrayed the cause of the Romans and forced Belisarius to retreat. And yet Ch. says that the "question of Arethas' *prodosia* does not occur in Belisarius' Assyrian campaign" and winds up his discussion of this campaign, saying "In any case the question of *prodosia* does not seem to arise here", *Prodosia*, pp. 9-11. Apparently, he thinks that the charge of treachery is real only if the word, *prodosia*, is used in the text!

He complains of the lack of sources for evaluating the statements of Procopius on Arethas although he has just said that the question of *prodosia* does not arise. However, another work, *Anecdota*, is available for such "evaluation" and it happens to be a work of Procopius in which the historian withdraws what he has said in the *History* on Arethas's performance during the Assyrian campaign see *Procopius and Arethas*, pp. 49-51. Ch. strangely enough unites the evidence of the *History* and the *Anecdota* as though they were of the same order of veracity and lumps them together in one note (*Prodosia*, p. 10, n. 2) as evidence for what he calls "certain activities of Arethas" without noticing that the evidence in the two sources is contradictory and cannot document one judgement.

Finally, Ch.'s discussion of the Assyrian Campaign has a curious footnote in connection with "lack of other information" (*Prodosia*, p. 10, n. 4). The footnote refers to two Syriac sources : John of Ephesus and Zachariah of Mytilene : (1) he speaks of al-Numan, the Ghassanid phylarch, in terms which suggest that he does not understand at all what the passage in John of Ephesus is all about. A reading of the two previous sections in the *Ecclesiastical History* would have explained to him that al-Numan is not simply "seized by his passion for plundering" and so "neglects his duties towards the Byzantines", a bizarre interpretation of the reaction of al-Numan to a *prodosia* on the part of the Emperor Maurice towards Mundhir, the Ghassanid phylarch, which resulted in the latter's capture and transference to Constantinople ; his son al-Numan starts retaliating against the Byzantines in order to induce them to set his father free. (2) Ch. prefaces a quotation from Zachariah of Mytilene with the statement that "In the *Chronicon* attributed to Zacharia ... the following vague account appears". There is nothing vague about the account in Zachariah and Ch. so described it only because he thought it was some "vague" account of the Assyrian Campaign of Belisarius against the Persians. The campaign described by Zachariah indeed involved Belisarius, the Romans and the Persians, but it has nothing to do with the Assyrian campaign. A look at the heading of the chapter from which this quotation is taken and the editor's footnotes clearly show that the reference

is to a battle which took place ten years earlier, none other than Callinicum !

B

The Ghassanid-Lakhmid War of 554 according to Ch. is "the climax in the question of Arethas' possible treachery" ; while describing that war, which involved the capture of Arethas's son by Mundhir who sacrificed him to Aphrodite, Procopius thought fit to say "and from this it was known that Arethas was not betraying the Romans to the Persians", *History*, II, xxxviii, 13. Ch. seizes upon this solitary statement to say of Procopius "Thus he restores Arethas' trustworthiness".

Ch. neglects to examine the passage in which this statement occurs ; it has, however, been intensively analyzed in *Procopius and Arethas*, pp. 372-373. In view of its importance, it is necessary to revive this analysis or disinter it for an autopsy :

> "The two Client-Kings make their exit from Procopius' History of the Persian Wars in a passage which deals with the events following the truce of A.D. 545. It is a brief reference to the private war which the two Client-Kings carried independently of the two Empires, and it is the only passage in which Procopius tried to be less unfair to the Ghassanid Chief. Mundhir captures one of Arethas' sons and sacrifices him to Aphrodite, while in another engagement Arethas is overwhelmingly victorious, a success qualified by his failure to capture two sons of Mundhir. From the way Procopius referred to Arethas' victory, it is possible to identify this battle with Yawm Halīma, the engagement in which Mundhir himself was killed. This can be supported by the superlative terms that Procopius uses to describe it and Yawm Halīma was the great *Yawm* between the two kings. Furthermore, from Procopius' previous reference to the fifty years of Mundhir's reign it is certain that he knew of the battle, and thus the conclusion that the reference is to it, is further fortified. If so, then Procopius did Arethas more than injustice, since the battle witnessed the death of Mundhir himself. Procopius' silence is clearly studied, since a dis-

closure of this fact would have been a sad commentary on his oft-repeated statement on the incompetence of Arethas and the shortsightedness of Justinian's Arab policy.
This very same passage contains a curious statement which lifts the charge of treachery from Arethas ; the wrong reason is given for Arethas' fidelity, namely, his war with Mundhir and the bitter enmity between the two. But his war with Mundhir is not real evidence for his fidelity to Rome ; the Lakhmid-Ghassanid war was a tribal feud which developed side by side with the wars of the two empires and in which the two chiefs took part. Moreover the exculpation was not made retroactive and thus the charge of treachery which had been fastened upon Arethas throughout the *History* stayed. But it was impossible for Procopius to carry the exculpation backwards. The charge was too centrally placed in the structure of the *History* and too organically linked up with the Belisarius theme to admit of being simply excised without deranging the whole scheme. Procopius, apparently aware of the untruths he popularized on Arethas, thought that at least he might drop this note to save his reputation for impartiality and demonstrate a show of fairness by suggesting that when he knew better he was prepared to say so. His plan has worked. The passage has not been noticed by the historians who have written on Arethas, because the passage was an *obiter dictum* thrown out of place and consequently judgements on Arethas' worth have continued to be made without reference to it and only in reference to the many uncomplimentary passages with which Procopius has filled the pages of the *History*".

Ch. complains that Procopius's "exoneration" of Arethas is "buried" in two footnotes in *Procopius and Arethas* (*Prodosia*, p. 11, n. 1). But his complaint is unjustified. There is reference in the *text* of *Procopius and Arethas*, (p. 373, ll. 2-3) which gives that "exoneration" its correct value. The "burial" site is not so microscopic that the reader will overlook it : the first note is about nine lines, (p. 367, n. 1) ; the second is 18 lines (p. 373, n. 1) in which it is indicated that it was Procopius who "buried" this "evidence". His further complaint that the "importance" of this evidence is "ignored" has no basis in fact. It is maintained in *Procopius and Arethas*,

that Arethas's loyalty to Rome did not need a personal feud with Mundhir for its demonstration, and Procopius knew this. Resting upon this, the long note in *Procopius and Arethas* gives an accurate assessment of what Ch. chooses to call "extremely important reference". His last statement in the same note that "hate between the two Arab *phylarchoi* would naturally prohibit any attempt of Arethas at treachery and a secret deal (double agency) with the Persians" is of peripheral importance in the context of the intensive analysis of this passage undertaken in *Procopius and Arethas*, but it also reveals no acquaintance on the part of Ch. with the details of Ghassanid-Lakhmid relations within the framework of Persian-Byzantine relations. "Secret deal" and "double agency" to use his phrases are known to have taken place between Mundhir, the Persian client, and the emperor Justinian, for which see Procopius, *History*, II, i, 12-13. They are only hinted at by Procopius but the *possibility* of such transactions as are described by Procopius disposes of Ch.'s views on "secret deals" and "double agencies" (1).

C

A curious note in *Prodosia*, p. 11, n. 2 tries to show that Procopius did not indulge in *suppressio veri*, although it has been shown in *Procopius and Arethas* that Procopius suppressed three out of four engagements in which Arethas took part for the period 528-531, in all of which Arethas distinguished himself, and concentrated only on Callinicum which Procopius handled in a way unfavorable to Arethas.

This note in *Prodosia* is curious, since it should have come earlier in the article when the First Persian War was being discussed. It has no place on p. 11 and it reveals Ch.'s inability to counter an argument frontally and at the right place. However, the main objection to this note is not its obliqueness ; it purports to produce "evidence" that Procopius did not indulge in *suppressio veri* about Arethas "since Procopius

(1) For other relevant and more decisive evidence for "secret deals" and "double agencies" involving Justinian and Mundhir, see MENANDER PROTECTOR, *FHG*, vol. IV, pp. 220-225.

likewise fails to mention certain of Arethas' awkward activities". This is a "howler" of the same order as the one Ch. committed when he was discussing the *Life of Simeon*; moreover the new "evidence" supports the opposite of what Ch. says, since it is far from being an example of what he calls "Arethas' awkward activities"; it actually reflected credit on him.

However, what is important now is to examine this "awkward activity" which Procopius did not mention and which Ch. refers to in his note, namely "how the dispute of Arethas with the Byzantine dux of Mesopotamia, caused the latter's death". He "forgets" to give the reference for this "awkward activity" but those who specialize in Byzantine-Arab relations know that the reference must be to a passage in Malalas, pp. 434-435.

Any one who reads this passage in its entirety and not only the opening statement (it is not a long passage), will immediately find out that Ch. has been the victim of the following misunderstandings and mistakes: (1) there was no dispute between Arethas and the *dux* of Mesopotamia; (2) the dispute was between Arethas and the *dux* of Palestine; (3) this dispute caused the death of neither the *dux* of Mesopotamia nor that of Palestine. The language of the Chronographer is very clear on these points and it is almost amusing to read Ch.'s *résumé* of this episode, which he completely misread and misunderstood. The passage has (or rather had) its difficulties when Dindorf's text of Malalas appeared in 1831 in the Bonn Corpus and this concerned the reference in the text to the two Arethases, which made the commentator exclaim in his note, p. 648, *An a mortuis revixit?* But this difficulty has since then been solved by German Arabists and the rest of the text presents no difficulties; it is perfectly clear and straightforward and for this reason Ch.'s conception of who killed whom is practically illiterate.

Part Two

I

The second part of *Prodosia* tries to show that whatever Procopius said was "a manifestation of the general Saracen

image reflected in most Byzantine writers, a judgement levelled against Arab *ethos* and not peculiar to Arethas alone" ; *Prodosia*, pp. 11-12.

The documentation for this sweeping generalization consists of one lonely reference to Theophylactus Simocatta, (*Prodosia*, p. 12, n. 1) whereas one has the right to expect more than one reference if the generalization is to be valid or even to make sense. Moreover, the reference is completely irrelevant as far as Procopius is concerned, since it pertains to events which took place during the reign of Mundhir, Arethas's son, who succeeded his father ca. 570, and so it could not have influenced Procopius who had written his history before then ; rather, Theophylactus himself may have been influenced by Procopius (1). Furthermore, this reference in Theophylactus is completely neutralized by an authority on the Ghassanid Mundhir, much more important and creditable than Theophylactus, namely, John of Ephesus (2).

Ch. encounters further difficulties with his "image" theory when he is faced with sources which do not give that theory any support and which he tries to argue away (*Prodosia*, p. 12, n. 2).

(a) Theodoret : "It is only in Theodoret's *De natura hominis*, *P.G.*, 83, col. 949 that we find a reserved praise of the Saracens' character". But Theodoret is not the only author who has praise for the "Saracens' character" ; as to what Ch. calls "reserved praise", Theodoret's own words are a better reflection of what he meant than those of his modern dragoman : *ἀγχινοίᾳ καὶ ξυνέσει κοσμοῦνται καὶ διάνοιαν ἔχουσι καὶ ξυνιδεῖν τἀληθὲς δυναμένην καὶ διελέγξαι τὸ ψεῦδος.*

(b) John of Ephesus : Ch. refers to him as a "Syrian Monophysite author" and this description could imply that he

(1) The author whom Ch. might have mentioned is Ammianus Marcellinus, who is sometimes cited uncritically on the Saracens ; although he would not have saved Ch., since a close examination of Marcellinus produces difficulties for Ch.'s "image" in its relation to the *prodosia* theme, at least he would have been more logical to cite as a fourth century writer, if only for chronological reasons.

(2) Of whom Ch. apparently knows, in view of his notes, *Prodosia*, p. 10, n. 4, p. 12, n. 2.

does not consider him a fully naturalized "Byzantine"; otherwise it is difficult to see the point in describing such a well-known author as "the Syrian Monophysite". John of Ephesus, as his name might have suggested to Ch., was a Romaios in every important sense of the word and this affiliation or identity is not impaired by the fact that he wrote in Syriac, the language of Oriens Christianus. Even if Ch. did not imply what has been suspected, he ought to have given prominence to John of Ephesus, the most important contemporary writer on both Arethas and his son, Mundhir, when he was discussing the sources in detail earlier in his *Prodosia*, since according to him (1) "a reversed view of Arethas' activity" is given in John of Ephesus. But giving prominence to John of Ephesus would not have helped Ch.'s argument at all, since it would have indicated that the Byzantine authors were not uniform in their estimation of the Saracens, and would have faced his "image" theory with serious difficulties.

(c) The Arabic sources on Arethas: no one who can read the Arabic sources in the original could have written the last two statements in this note on Arethas (*Prodosia*, p. 12, n. 2). The picture of Arethas in these sources is exactly the opposite of what is expressed and implied in Ch.'s phrases, such as "the inability of Harith to kill al-Moundhir in the battlefield" or his "use of a crafty ruse". These phrases must have been used by Ch. in order that Procopius's *prodosia* might be shown to have been echoed even in the Arabic sources. The "crafty ruse" was actually employed by Mundhir, and it was a violation of the code of honor observed by Arethas (2). If Ch. is thinking of the episode of the hundred

(1) Although John of Ephesus's admiration for Arethas is attested, the chapters relevant for a check on Procopius are not extant. Ch. is apparently unaware of this, and for this reason, "according to him" has been used in the text.

(2) Ibn-al-Athīr collected various accounts of the two battles, Ayn Ubâgh and Yawm Halīma, which sometimes are identified or confused with each other, and in which both Arethas and Mundhir are involved. See IBN-AL-ATHĪR, *al-Kāmil* (Beirut, 1965) pp. 540-547, especially p. 541.

heroes whom the daughter of Arethas is said to have perfumed, this certainly cannot be described to the unsuspecting reader as a "crafty ruse" (1). Anyone who so describes it lays himself open to some serious charges.

II

After operating with the concept of "image" Ch. invokes the concept of *ethos*, which in his mind is related to "image", and sets out to explore larger questions than those which involve a historian from Caeserea and what he thought of a Saracen King in Syria. He indulges in some comparative ethnological observations on Greek and Saracen, and then broaches large and complex historical problems such as the Muslim Conquests which have exercised generations of historians and for which no fully satisfactory answer has as yet been given, hoping that "image" and *ethos* will dispose of these problems. In his own words, "the situation depicted by Procopius is but one rather glaring example of the catastrophic results created by the Byzantine attitude, and which a century later were to fling open the door of the whole East to the invading Moslem army" (*Prodosia*, p. 13).

This large and complex historical problem had better be left alone, mercifully spared Ch.'s talismans, "image" and *ethos*. It will suffice to examine Ch.'s final fling, since

(1) For this romantic episode, see R. NICHOLSON, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (Cambridge University Press), p. 50.

Ch.'s use of modern works on this military engagement is undiscriminating. Not Caussin de Percival, but Nöldeke should have been mentioned in conjunction with Rothstein. These two scholars have made completely out of date de Percival's chapters on the Ghassanids and the Lakhmids which appeared in 1848 ! Reference to p. 133 of de Percival, is especially unfortunate since this particular page contains next to nothing on Yawm Halîma and is vitiated by a gross error which identifies the Lakhmid Mundhir of the first half of the sixth century with the Ghassanid Mundhir, the son of Arethas. Ch.'s dependence on out-of-date secondary sources for his information on the Saracens may have led him into some of his confusions and disorders.

Arethas is involved in it, to determine whether the concept of *ethos* has been toyed with as disastrously as that of "image".

He brings Arethas and none other than Leonidas into a comparison trying to explain the difference between the stand of Leonidas at Thermopylae and what he calls "Arethas' flight at the battle of Callinicum". A previous section has examined Ch.'s conception of the battle of Callinicum which he thought was fought in 554 and was described in the *Life of Simeon the Young*! This alone should discourage further consideration of his endeavors ; however, one comment may be made : Leonidas at Thermopylae was fighting for his country — for Greece, while Arethas at Callinicum was not doing the same ; he was not even a Romaios but, technically speaking, was a mercenary soldier to whom Byzantium extended the *annona*.

More serious than the actual comparison which involves a particular case, Thermopylae-Callinicum, is Ch.'s misconception of the concept of Saracen *ethos* which is expressed through such statements as (1) "fleeing before a superior enemy was a *modus vivendi* for the Saracens" and (2) the Saracen's "readiness to change allegiance" (*Prodosia*, p. 12). These call for the following comments :

(1) The first judgment is exactly the contrary of what recognized authorities on the subject have said. H. Lammens could not be accused of partiality to the Saracens, yet his image of the Saracen, after a life-long companionship with Saracen history, is different from that of Ch. on this point (1). The facts of Saracen history and the accounts of the famed *ayyâm* bear out H. Lammens and contradict the writer of *Prodosia*. Ch. is unaware of the fact that the Ghassanids were especially famed for this very quality of steadfastness in battle ; indeed, they were referred to as al-Subr. Finally,

(1) « La plus incontestable qualité du Bédouin — encore un fruit de son individualisme — c'est son *sabr* ... C'est une qualité positive supposant une tension énergique et continuée ... C'est une ténacité indomptable à lutter contre la nature ennemie, contre les éléments implacables, contre les fauves du désert, et surtout contre les hommes ... » ; H. LAMMENS, *L'Islam, Croyances et Institutions* (Beyrouth, 1943), p. 16.

Ch. does not seem to know of the peculiar Saracen tactic of *karr* and *farr*, and the beating of a hasty retreat in order to mount another quick offensive.

(2) The second statement on the Saracen's readiness to change allegiance is also untrue. It runs contrary to the Saracen ideals of *walâ'* and *wafâ'*, well known to students of pre-Islamic heroic poetry. The statement is also contradicted by the fact of their loyalty to Byzantium. Instances of change of allegiance almost invariably represent a change from Persia to Byzantium, and practically all the instances of such a change are related to an ideal, loyalty to Christianity upon which Zorostrian Persia understandably frowned ; as a result, converted Arab chiefs in the service of a fire-worshipping Persia would leave and opt for service with the Christian Roman Empire (1).

Operating with the "image" as an explanation for the *prodosia* theme in Procopius has exposed Ch. to the justifiable charge of having involved himself in a methodological muddle, namely, the fallacy of arriving at a generalization without marshalling sufficient evidence to warrant it, and then arguing from this generalization to an individual case — thus committing the further fallacy of arguing from the general to the particular (2). The concept of "image" can be a useful concept as long as it is not blurred or distorted, but it can be a dangerous concept if it turns out to be an empty one devoid of content, and it can land students of this period in total absurdities when the "image", which in this case is nothing but a mirage, functions circularly and ubiquitously as *deus ex machina* (3).

(1) Instances of a mutiny against Byzantium or a change of allegiance are easily explicable by well-known specific causes such as the sudden withholding of the subsidy due to the Saracens as mercenaries or allies. This is well illustrated by their relations with Julian, for which see AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *Res Gestae*, XXIII, 3, 8 ; XXV, 6, 10.

(2) In addition to the number of mistakes committed in the interpretation of the three sets of sources, Greek, Arabic, and Syriac. There is no need to gather together these mistakes in a single enumeration here, since they are available for inspection in this article.

(3) The present writer is far from being averse to solving problems through the employment of concepts. Indeed, it was he who had

Before a generalization can be reached, all the relevant authors have to be sifted individually, as has been done for the historian from Caeserea in *Procopius and Arethas.* Procopius was not an armchair historian reflecting "images" ; he was secretary to Belisarius and an eyewitness of most that is written in his *History.* If such an image existed, Procopius was far from being one of its dupes ; rather, he must have been one of its most conscious creators ; he wrote during that period of Byzantine history following the long lull which prevailed in Persian-Byzantine relations in the fifth century, during which the Saracens are rarely mentioned in the sources, and so *prodosia* is hardly a theme. When hostilities between the two empires broke out in the sixth century involving the Saracens, it was Procopius who drew that picture of Arethas which has not ceased to influence serious historians and confuse unsuspecting readers since the sixth century.

The problem in all its aspects and dimensions has been carefully examined in *Procopius and Arethas* ; if Ch. had read its author more intelligently and Procopius less carelessly, he would have been forced to come around to the conclusions of the former on the latter.

* * *

In the last analysis what matters is not the number of blunders which can possibly be made in the course of one single article. More is involved than the blunders of this

suggested to some not only the importance of working on the concept of "image" but also the title of a doctoral dissertation, namely, "The Image of the Pre-Islamic Arabs in the Byzantine Sources". But what he had hoped for was some informed results based upon a thorough examination of the sources and not the projection of an image which has no substance.

Ch. has published a few articles on *Byzantino-arabica,* most of which are chapters or parts taken out of the above-mentioned dissertation, although this fact is nowhere indicated in these printed articles. The present writer has chosen for the time being to examine only one of them, namely, *Prodosia.*

or that individual and the more that is involved is the well-being of *Byzantino-arabica*, a field which is understudied and has not many laborers in the vineyard. For this reason, it is hoped that Ch. will be able to make a contribution in the area wherein his real interest lies, namely, Arab-Byzantine *literary* relations.

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THE STADIUM AT THESSALONIKI

The existence of a building called the Stadium (as opposed to the Hippodrome) at Thessaloniki is well known from Byzantine literary sources and several scholars have attempted to show where it stood (1). The prevailing opinion is that of A. Xyngopoullos who thought that it lay to the west of the Basilica of St Demetrius, immediately opposite the west façade, and he was followed in this by G. and M. Soteriou. I hope, however, to show that it lay to the south of the Basilica, but in order to do this it will be necessary to re-examine the evidence, most of it conveniently presented by Xyngopoullos and the Soterious.

The relevant literary texts can be divided into three groups which represent the various stages of the legend of St Demetrius (2). At each stage new details are added to the legend. The first stage is represented by a passage of the *Bibliotheca* of Photius (3), a Latin translation by Anastasius Bibliothecarius (4) and a brief account by an anonymous writer (5).

(1) HADJI IOANNOU, *Ἀστυγραφία Θεσσαλονίκης* (Thessaloniki, 1881), 58 (I have not been able to consult a copy of this book, and all references are from citations by Tafrali); O. TAFRALI, *Topographie de Thessalonique* (Paris, 1913), pp. 123-125; A. XYNGOPOULLOS, *Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν τοπογραφίαν τῆς βυζαντινῆς Θεσσαλονίκης* (Thessaloniki, 1949), pp. 23-38; G. and M. SOTERIOU, *Ἡ Βασιλικὴ τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης* (Athens, 1953), pp. 34-37. For the Hippodrome, see my article: *The Hippodrome at Thessaloniki*, in *JRS*, LXII (1972) (forthcoming).

(2) This was first done by the Bollandist G. DE BIJE, *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. IV, 50-209 (= *P.G.*, CXVI, 1081-1426), followed by H. DELEHAYE, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires* (Paris, 1909), pp. 103-109.

(3) *P.G.*, CIV, pp. 104-105.

(4) *P.G.*, CXVI, pp. 1168-1172 (= *P.L.*, CXXIX, pp. 715-717).

(5) Edited by DELEHAYE, *op. cit.*, pp. 259-263.

The second stage is represented by another anonymous writer who adds fresh details to satisfy the curiosity of the saint's devotees (1), and the third by Symeon Metaphrastes whose account contains even more information, the origin of which is unknown (2). But even though there are still many unsolved problems connected with the historical interpretation of these hagiographical sources, nevertheless incidental topographical details are nearly always trustworthy (3).

All five texts agree that near the Stadium there were public baths, in the confines of which Demetrius was imprisoned and put to death and in which he is supposed to have been buried. From a topographical point of view they only differ in the degree to which buildings were cleared away for the construction of St Demetrius. In the simplest version, that of Photius, we are merely told that the area where the martyr's body had been buried was cleared, in the account of the Anonymus Parisiensis that the *περίβολοι* — translated as *porticus* by Anastasius Bibliothecarius — of the baths and the Stadium were cleared away, and later still in the other anonymous account that *ἔμβολοι* and cookshops

(1) *P.G.*, CXVI, pp. 1173-1184.

(2) *P.G.*, CXVI, pp. 1185-1201.

(3) It ought to be noted that H. DELEHAYE (*op. cit.*, pp. 103-109 ; *Les recueils antiques des miracles des saints*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*. XLII [1925], pp. 58-64 ; and *Les origines du culte des martyrs*[2] [Brussels, 1933], pp. 228-229) gave strong arguments for the cult of Demetrius having been transferred to Thessaloniki from Sirmium. Even if this was the case, and it is not my intention to discuss the question here, the topographer can draw consolation from P. Lemerle : 'Comme la légende met le supplice du saint en relation, de façon d'ailleurs bizarre, avec des jeux du stade, et localise le supplice dans les sous-sols voûtés où se trouvait la chaufferie d'un bain, on a pensé que cette tradition déjà constituée expliquait la construction de la basilique à cet endroit : c'est possible, sinon vraisemblable, bien qu'*a priori*, notons-le en passant, le rapport inverse puisse être admis, l'existence de thermes et la proximité du stade ayant pu contribuer à donner sa forme au récit du martyre'. (*S.-Démétrius de Thessalonique et les problèmes du martyrion et du transept*, in *BCH*, LXVII [1953], p. 672). Either way, one can safely use the hagiographical sources for topographical details.

were demolished. That the Stadium and part, at least, of the baths were left standing is indicated by the fact that Metaphrastes says that in his own day — *καὶ νῦν* — the Basilica could be seen 'between the public bath and the Stadium', the latter two buildings being presumably visible themselves, otherwise they would hardly have been mentioned as contemporary landmarks (1).

In 1881, Hadji Ioannou, whose approach to the problems of the topography of Thessaloniki was a simplistic one, considered the Turkish baths just to the north of St Demetrius, the Yeni Hamam, to be on the site of the Roman baths and, taking the hagiographical texts at face value, concluded that the Stadium was therefore situated on the south side of St Demetrius. Even though Hadji Ioannou was wide of the mark on other occasions, he was probably right here, for, if the 'Stadium' really was a stadium in the strict sense of the word, it can only have stood on the south side of the church (2).

The important thing to bear in mind is the length of an ancient stadium : 600 feet, or c. 178 m, for the track, and, in addition, the width of the stands. Then, due to the lie of the land around St Demetrius one would expect a stadium

(1) The Soterious' suggestion that the Roman buildings found beneath the floor of St Demetrius belonged to the bath-house perhaps requires re-assessment.

(2) *Ἀστυγραφία Θεσσαλονίκης*, p. 58 (cited by TAFRALI, *op.cit.*, p. 124). Tafrali too thought of the Stadium as being to the south, or rather, to the south-east of the Basilica, but his reasoning was at fault. He does not say so explicitly, but the only explanation for his location of the Stadium would seem to be that he took a reference in the *Vita Sanctae Theodorae* (ed. E. KURTZ, *Mémoires de l'Académie impériale des Sciences de St-Pétersbourg*, VIIIe sér., Cl. hist.-phil. VI, 1 [1902] ch. 9, p. 5) to an agora situated near the Cassandreotic Gate as referring to the principal agora of the city. One of the versions of the legend of St Demetrius refers to a stoa to the west of the (presumably) principal agora which is also said to be near a public bath (*P.G.*, CXVI, 1173). Tafrali supposed that this bath-house was the same as the one near the Stadium and reconstructed an impossibly large agora stretching from the Cassandreotic Gate to St Demetrius with the Stadium in between.

to run approximately east-west. Figure 1 is part of the pre-1917 city plan on which the streets which owe their alignments to the Hellenistic city plan are emphasised. The original street plan, laid out in a rigid grid pattern with *insulae* c. 100 × 50 m can still be read despite subsequent changes (1). A stadium laid east-west would take up the space of at least four *insulae* and all traces of the streets dividing these would have disappeared. Since there is a north-south street not 25 m from the western façade of St Demetrius and the open space further to the west is only two *insulae* wide, the Stadium can hardly have been to the west of the Basilica. So, whatever the short stretches of Roman brickwork to the west of St Demetrius are, they cannot be parts of the Stadium as Soteriou and Xyngopoullos suggest. Immediately to the south of the basilica, however, and to the north of the Roman Agora, there is a space four *insulae* long, and since it is the only such space in the immediate vicinity of St Demetrius, it looks very much as though this was the site of the Stadium, always assuming it once to have been a running track of standard length.

This would tie in very closely with the literary account — the Basilica would indeed be situated between the baths and the Stadium — and also explain the local tradition mentioned by Dimitsas that the Turkish Fethiye Tekessi, which formerly stood immediately to the south-west of the Basilica, was built on the site of a church dedicated to St Nestor who was closely associated with the Stadium in the legends (2). Tafrali says that it was possible to see a stretch of Byzantine wall in the eastern wall of the mosque, the brickwork of which, he says, was similar to that of the fourteenth century church of Aghios Nikolaos Orphanos (3). A grave marked on Xyngopoullos' plan of the area is possibly that

(1) For a more detailed discussion of the Hellenistic plan, see my article: *Hellenistic Thessaloniki*, in *JHS*, XCIII (1972) (forthcoming). The presence of a stadium in this part of the ancient city means that there cannot have been a Capitolium here in Roman times, as I suggested in *Ancient Macedonia*, p. 251 (cf. p. 347, n. 3 below).

(2) M. DIMITSAS, *Ἡ Μακεδονία ἐν λίθοις φθεγγομένοις καὶ μνημείοις σῳζομένοις* (Athens, 1896), p. 509.

(3) *Op. cit.*, p. 190.

of a holy man attached to the Tekke, but a short row of brick arches which he illustrates further to the south-west (1) could well belong to the Stadium. Since the ground slopes considerably from north to south there was doubtless a retaining wall along the southern side of the Stadium to which these arches might have belonged.

That at least one end of the Stadium was curved is suggested by the words of an eighteenth century traveller, Alexander Bisani : 'at some little distance [from St Demetrius] is an amphitheatre half-buried in the earth, and ornamented with bas-reliefs' (2). Xyngopoullos suggests that it was probably not an amphitheatre in the western sense that Bisani saw (though amphitheatres did exist in some of the larger cities of the eastern part of the empire) but the hemicycle at the end of the Stadium — presumably the east end since that would have been the one nearest to St Demetrius.

But before proceeding any further, it is necessary to attempt to resolve various difficulties which arise in connection with gladiatorial shows at Thessaloniki. We know that there were both animal fights and gladiatorial combats in the city from as early as A.D. 141 (3) and according to the author of *Lucius, or the Ass* they were held in the theatre (4). This could well have been the case, for in many places in the east where an amphitheatre did not exist, the theatre was modified for gladiatorial shows (5). Since, however, the word *θέατρον* can mean both theatre and amphitheatre (6) it is difficult

(1) *Op. cit.*, p. 34, fig. 2.

(2) First cited in this connection by K. MERTZIOU, *Μνημεῖα Μακεδονικῆς Ἱστορίας* (Thessaloniki, 1947), p. 194. The only version available to me was *A Picturesque Tour through Part of Europe, Asia and Africa*, written by an Italian Gentleman [A. BISANI] (London, 1793), p. 47.

(3) L. ROBERT, *Les Gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*, Sc. hist. et phil., t. 278 (Paris, 1940), pp. 78-79, n° 11.

(4) PSEUDO-LUCIAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-53. The site of the theatre at Thessaloniki is unknown ; what little evidence there is for one is discussed by me in *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı*, XV-XVI (1969), p. 314.

(5) P. COLLART, *Le théâtre de Philippes*, in *BCH*, LII (1928), pp. 114-123.

(6) ROBERT, *op. cit.*, p. 36, n. 2.

to know which kind of building was really meant by the Pseudo-Lucian.

Another confusing factor is that in many of the versions of the Demetrius legend the place to which Galerius went to watch gladiatorial shows is referred to as *τὸ τῆς πόλεως θέατρον τὸ καλούμενον στάδιον*, but even such explicit references to the Stadium at Thessaloniki in the Byzantine sources are no guarantee that a real stadium is meant, though from the frequency with which the word occurs it is likely that this was the case. On the one hand the term *ἐν σταδίοις* is regularly used in epigrams of gladiators and merely means a place where a gladiator could fight (1), but on the other there is both literary and archaeological evidence for stadia being used as gladiatorial arenas. There is good reason, for instance, to suppose that St Polycarp was martyred in the Stadium at Smyrna (2) and Hadrian is known to have given *venationes* in the Stadium at Athens (3), and there, as at Ephesus, Aphrodisias, Perge and Aspendus the curved ends of the stadia were modified so as to give them the form of an amphitheatre (4).

It is impossible to be certain, but there is a strong likelihood that there was a stadium in the literal sense at Thessaloniki. First, there is an open space of suitable length in the position suggested by the hagiographical sources. Then Ch. Makaronas has shown that the Gymnasium of the Hellenistic city was probably situated near the Basilica of St Demetrius — at

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 35.

(2) EUSEBIUS, IV, 15, 16, though Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, 27, says he was martyred in the amphitheatre.

(3) *HA Hadrian*, 19, 3.

(4) Athens : J. TRAVLOS, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London, 1971) pp. 498, 500, fig. 629, 503, fig. 632. Ephesus : J. KEIL, *Ephesos, ein Führer durch die Ruinenstätte und ihre Geschichte* (Vienna, 1957), pp. 57-58. Aphrodisias : Ch. TEXIER, *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, III (Paris, 1849), p. 164 : ' un petit amphithéâtre, dont la construction est du temps de la décadence ' ; L. CREMA, *I monumenti architettonici afrodisiensi*, in *Mon. Ant.*, XXXVIII (1939), p. 235, fig. 26, 243 ; E. AKURGAL, *Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey* (Istanbul, 1970), pl. 14a. Perge : TEXIER, *loc. cit.* ; AKURGAL *op. cit.*, pls 14b and 96b. Aspendus : TEXIER, *loc. cit.*

least an inscription referring to the administration of the Gymnasium in 96/95 BC and two inscriptions of Roman date referring to ephebes have been found in the immediate vicinity of the church (1). A stadium, and for that matter, baths, would not have been out of place in the environs of a gymnasium.

It would appear that gladiatorial shows were popular at Thessaloniki : there is the account in *Lucius, or the Ass* mentioned above ; we learn from an inscription in Ankara that a *summa rudis*, a certain Aelius of Pergamum, was granted honorary citizenship of Thessaloniki (2) ; in 141, the executors of the will of the person who left money for gladiatorial shows at Thessaloniki were the *boule* and *demos* of the city (3), and several funerary inscriptions referring to gladiators have been found (4). This apparent popularity would make it reasonable to suppose that there was a permanent structure for gladiatorial shows, and yet the Stadium is described in some of the sources as a wooden building, presumably temporary ; e.g. :

> *Illic enim parabatur per quasdam tabulas circulus circumseptus, ubi suspecturus erat eos qui ex adverso invicem theatrice se impugnarent.* (ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS, *P.G.*, cxvi, p. 1168).

and: *ἐκεὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ παρεσκεύαστο διά τινων σανίδων περιφραγμένος κύκλῳ ἐν ὕψει κρεμάμενος, ὁ δέχεσθαι μέλλων τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ εἰσίοντας* (ANONYMUS A, *P.G.*, cxvi, p. 1175).

(1) *Ἀπὸ τὰς ὀργανωσεῖς τῶν νέων τῆς ἀρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης*, in *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, VI (1948), pp. 293-308. To the three inscriptions mentioned by Makaronas, a fourth ought perhaps to be added. In 1968 I saw, lying to the north-west of St Demetrius, a marble slab 0,87 × 0,87 m and 0,28 m thick with the Latin inscription : ...] ạla [... in letters 0,31 m high. Before being informed of the sporting associations of the place Miss Joyce Reynolds very kindly proposed the tentative restoration [p]ạla[estra].

(2) ROBERT, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-139, n° 90.

(3) *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79, n° 11.

(4) In addition to *ibid.*, pp. 79-81, n°s 12-14, see D. KANATSOULIS, *Μακεδονικὴ Προσωπογραφία*, supplement (Thessaloniki, 1967), p. 22, n° 1692, an unpublished inscription referring to a *secunda rudis* on a sarcophagus found at Thessaloniki.

Tafrali took this quite literally and envisaged a building completely of wood, presumably having in mind a structure like the temporary wooden amphitheatre, the *amphitheatrum ligneum*, which was erected by a magistrate at Antioch in Pisidia and which took two months to construct (2). Xyngopoullos' solution was to say that just the seating planks were wooden, not the building as a whole. This is not very satisfactory, but an explanation that would resolve most of the difficulties would be to say that until Galerius gladiatorial shows were given in the theatre, but then one end of the Stadium was modified so as to make it like an amphitheatre, temporarily at first with the addition of wooden stands, and possibly permanently later on.

As Xyngopoullos remarks, the bas-reliefs mentioned by Bisani recall the frescoes discovered on the south side of the Basilica (2). One shows the triumphal procession of an emperor, identified as Justinian II, passing by a building, the façade of which is decorated with what are apparently sculptured panels. On one of these panels is a man in a short chiton (an athlete?), on another a fight between a gladiator and an animal, and on a third an inscription which, however, is meaningless. Xyngopoullos suggests that the original Latin might have been badly transliterated by the artist. The next scene shows a view of a church with an inscription across the top which reads: *ἡ ἁγία ἐκλησία* [*sic*] *ἡ ἐν τῷ Στ*[*αδίῳ*], which proves beyond doubt that the Stadium is represented in the preceding picture, and incidentally provides an example of the Stadium being described as such in a context independent of the Byzantine literary sources.

There is yet another text which refers to both the Basilica

(1) ROBERT, *op. cit.*, p. 140, nº 92.

(2) G. SOTERIOU, in *Arch. Delt.*, IV (1918), suppl., pp. 26-27, pls 13-14 ; A. GRABAR, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), pp. 131, 234, pl. VII, 2 ; A. VASILIEV, *L'entrée triomphale de l'empereur Justinien II à Thessalonique en 688*, in *Orientalia Christiana periodica*, XIII (Rome, 1947), pp. 355-368 ; A. XYNGOPOULLOS, *op. cit.*, p. 27, fig. 1 (detail) ; and G. and M. SOTERIOU, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-209, pl. 78 and the following colour plate, and pl. 79.

and the Stadium, the interpretation of which will now have to be modified. It comes in the first book of the *Miracula* of St Demetrius(1),which was probably written at the beginning of the reign of Heraclius (610-641), and certainly by a native of the city writing for his fellow citizens (2). The author, the Archbishop John, has just related the story of the miraculous recovery of the prefect Marianus; he continues:

> *Εἰ δέ τις ψευδῆ με λέγειν ὑποτοπάζοι, ἱστορείτω τὴν ἐκ μουσείου συντεθειμένην ἐκεῖσε γραφὴν ἔξω τοῦ ναοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἀφορῶντα τοῖχον ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως Στάδιον καὶ πληροφορηθεὶς πιστεύσει τοῖς προειρημένοις.*

This reference to mosaics on the external wall of the Basilica on the side facing the Stadium has usually been taken to refer to the western façade (3) but in view of what has been said above, it now looks as though the south wall was meant, though, of course, this does not preclude the existence of mosaics on the façade as well (4).

Finally, there is a text which suggests that the Stadium was still in use in the ninth century. In the *Vita Sanctae Theodorae* we read of the Archbishop Antony delivering a speech there, which implies that the building was still standing and used for public meetings, if not for anything else (5).

(1) *Miracula S. Demetrii*, I, 1, (= *P.G.*, CXVI, 1220).

(2) P. LEMERLE, *La composition et la chronologie des deux premiers livres des « Miracula S. Demetrii »*, in *B.Z.*, XLVI (1953), p. 354.

(3) E. g., R. S. CORMACK, *The Mosaic Decoration of S. Demetrios, Thessaloniki*, in *BSA*, XLIV (1969), p. 49, and by the present writer, *Towards a reconstruction of the town planning of Roman Thessaloniki*, in *Proceedings of the Ist International Symposium 'Ancient Macedonia', Thessaloniki, 1968* (Thessaloniki, 1970), p. 246.

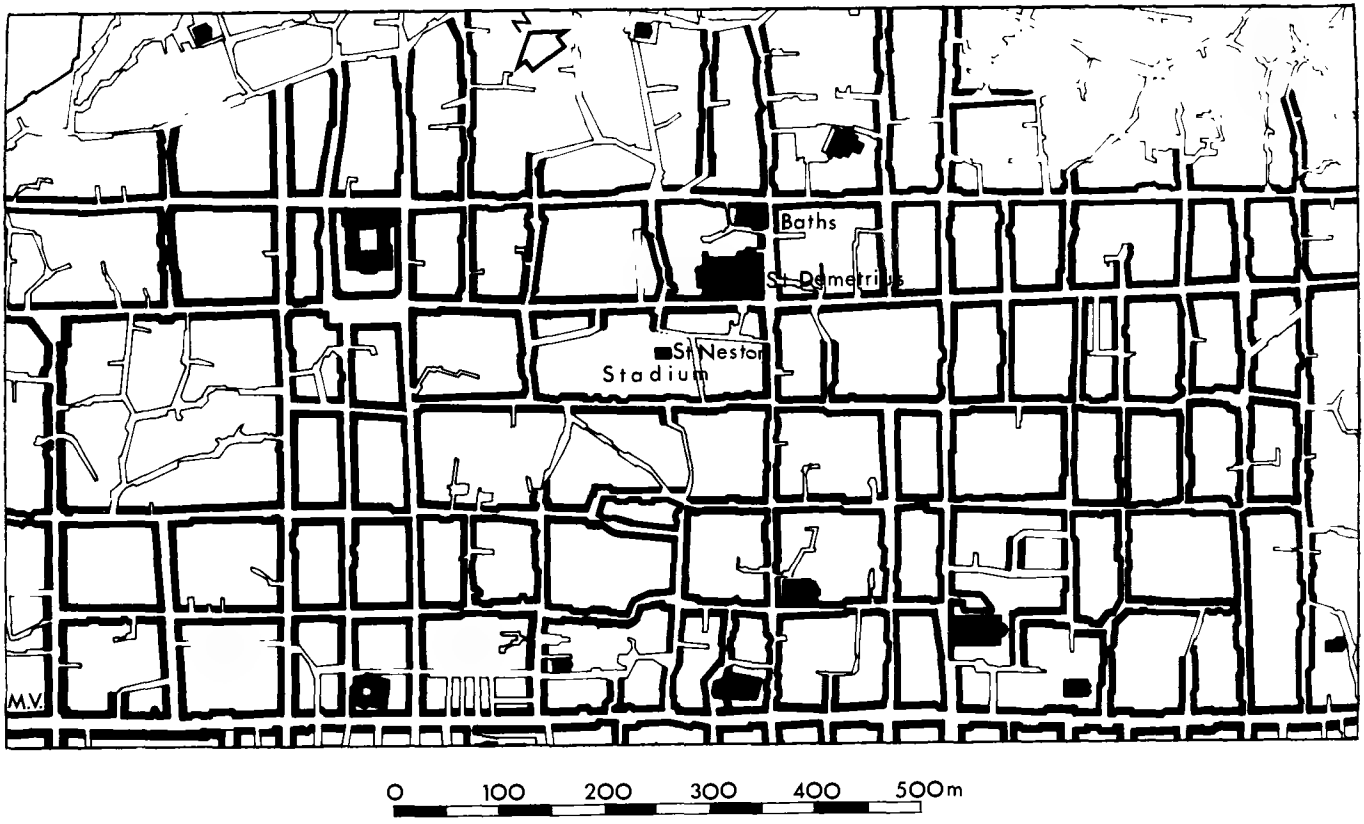
(4) G. and M. SOTERIOU, *op. cit.*, p. 11, cite the *Miracula S. Demetrii*, II, 1, 167 (*P.G.*, CXVI, p. 1333, not 1113 as stated *loc.cit.*) which speaks of mosaics *πρὸ τοῦ παναγίου τεμένους τοῦ πρὸς τῷ μέρει τοῦ καλουμένου Ξύλου*. It would be interesting to know what the Xylon was and where it lay.

(5) Ed. KURTZ, ch. 16, p. 11. (Not ch. 9, p. 6 as Tafrali, *op. cit.*, p. 125, n. 1, nor did Antony *dream* he was in the Stadium, as Tafrali suggests, *loc. cit.*, evidently confusing the dream of the Archbishop Eusebius in the *Miracula S. Demetrii*, I, 14, 120 [*P.G.*, CXVI, p. 1296]).

SUMMARY

The Stadium at Thessaloniki was situated to the south of the Basilica of St Demetrius, and not to the west. It had probably been in existence from Hellenistic times onwards. It is possible that under Galerius it was modified so as to allow gladiatorial shows to be given. It was probably still in use in the ninth century and according to Symeon Metaphrastes it was still a landmark in the tenth century, but it had gone out of use by the fourteenth, when a small church was built in the middle of the site. This church in turn was replaced in the Turkish period by a convent of dervishes. As late as the eighteenth century substantial remains of the curved end were still visible, but no traces are left today.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Michael VICKERS.



Part of the pre-1917 Thessaloniki plan

PLANCHE I

PESSINONTE ET LE GALLOS (1)

L'étude qui suit a pour but de mettre en lumière l'intérêt que peut présenter un texte hagiographique byzantin pour la solution de certains problèmes archéologiques.

En effet, les deux dernières campagnes de fouilles à Pessinonte sous la direction du professeur P. Lambrechts ont abouti à la découverte d'une canalisation antique traversant la ville. Des digues monumentales en consolidaient les rives (2). La découverte de cette canalisation soulève maints problèmes. La richesse de l'ensemble architectural, par exemple, fait supposer que le canal remplissait une fonction qui n'était pas simplement profane. Une autre question importante qui se pose en l'occurrence est celle de l'identification de cette rivière canalisée.

Son lit actuellement n'est plus guère rempli, en été, que par un mince filet d'eau (pl. I) qui, même en hiver, n'acquiert pas un volume important. La rivière devait autrefois se jeter, une vingtaine de kilomètres plus loin, dans la Sakarya (3).

Il conviendrait tout d'abord d'expliquer la grandeur et la monumentalité des constructions consolidant les rives du cours d'eau.

(1) Nous remercions vivement notre Maître, M. P. Lambrechts, qui nous a « cédé » ce sujet et qui a dirigé nos recherches.

(2) Cf. P. LAMBRECHTS, *De derde opgravingskampanje van de Gentse Universiteit te Pessinus (Turkije)* dans *De Brug*, n°. 4 (1969), pp. 268-280 ; P. LAMBRECHTS, *De vierde opgravingskampanje van de Gentse Universiteit te Pessinus (Turkije)*, dans *De Brug*, n° 4 (1970), pp. 259-70. Une publication détaillée et technique de cette canalisation est en préparation.

(3) Cf. W. J. HAMILTON, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia with some Accounts of their Antiquities and Geology*, London, I (1842), p. 439 ; K. HUMANN & O. PUCHSTEIN, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, Berlin, 1890, pp. 30-31.

Un texte hagiographique byzantin éclaire ce problème d'un jour particulier. Il s'agit de la Vie de S. Théodore de Sykéôn († 613), évêque d'Anastasiopolis près d'Ankara et archimandrite de Sykéôn en Galatie, écrite par un disciple du saint, Georgios Eleusios, au début du VIIe siècle ap. J.-C. (1). Il y est traité, entre autres choses, de l'intervention miraculeuse de Théodore à Pessinonte, lors d'une sécheresse catastrophique. Pour y remédier, les gens de Pessinonte amenèrent, nous dit-on, le saint d'un monastère proche de Germia (2) dans leur ville (3).

Le récit continue (4) : « Quand Théodore fut entré dans

(1) O. BARDENHEWER, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, Darmstadt, V, 1962 (= reprint Freiburg im Breisgau, 1932) p. 141 ; H. G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich*, dans *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, XII, II, 1, München, 1959, p. 459 ; A. EHRHARD, *Theologie*, dans K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, München, 1897², p. 191 ; A. EHRHARD, *Ueberlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, Leipzig, 1937, I, 1, 428 et 612 ; *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, 3e éd. par F. HALKIN, Bruxelles, 1957, n° 1748.

(2) Maintenant Yürme, à 22,5 km à l'est de Pessinonte comme il a été démontré récemment d'une façon définitive. Voir E. HONIGMANN, *Pour l'atlas byzantin*, 1, *Germia*, dans *Byzantion*, XI, (1936), pp. 541-53 ; H. VON AULOCK, *Die römische Kolonie Germa in Galatien und ihre Münzprägung*, dans *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, XVIII (1968), p. 225.

(3) Le christianisme est attesté jusqu'à présent à Pessinonte dès la première moitié du IIIe siècle ap. J.-C. Cf. P. LAMBRECHTS & R. BOGAERT, *Nouvelles données sur l'histoire du christianisme à Pessinonte*, dans *Festschrift F. Altheim*, Berlin, I, 1969, pp. 552-64. La ville était devenue dès le début du Ve siècle la capitale religieuse de la *Galatia Secunda*. Cf. W. RUGE dans P.-W., *R.E.*, XIX, 1 (1937), col. 1111 ; H. G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich*, dans *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, XII, II, 1, München, 1959, p. 163. La liste de ses évêques figure chez W. RUGE dans P.-W., *R.E.*, XIX, 1 (1937), col. 1111. Quelques trouvailles repérées lors des fouilles témoignent du succès du christianisme à Pessinonte. Cf. P. LAMBRECHTS, *Les fouilles de Pessinonte : la nécropole*, dans *L'Antiquité Classique*, XXXVIII (1969), p. 133, pl. V, fig. 12. D'autres seront analysées dans la publication de la canalisation.

(4) Nous suivons ici l'édition et la traduction nouvelle du chapitre 101 par le Père A. J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn*, dans

la ville, le très bienheureux métropolite Georges vint à sa rencontre et le reçut avec joie. Le serviteur du Christ Théodore ordonna qu'on proclamât une procession pour le lendemain. Le matin étant venu, toute la ville se rassembla à Sainte-Sophie, l'église cathédrale et principale. Le bienheureux Théodore et le métropolite Georges firent sortir une procession avec tout le peuple, et ils allèrent en procession à la vénérable église des saints Dix-mille Anges hors-les-murs. Ils firent là lecture de l'Évangile du jour, puis s'en retournèrent, toujours en procession, à Sainte-Sophie. Sur l'invitation du métropolite, le très saint Théodore célébra le saint sacrifice, priant en même temps le Dieu qui aime les hommes d'envoyer de la pluie sur leur territoire. Quand tous eurent communié et se furent assis pour un repas de fête, le ciel se couvrit de nuages et, ce même jour, il fit tomber une pluie violente sur toute leur terre, en sorte que des cours d'eau se formèrent pendant deux et trois jours et que le quartier de l'Ouest était devenu impassable parce que le fleuve avait débordé » : *ποταμοῦ κινηθέντος* (1).

Ce récit peut donc expliquer la présence des constructions dégagées lors des fouilles. Il en résulte, en effet, qu'à la suite d'orages ou de pluies violentes, le cours d'eau se transformait

Subsidia Hagiographica, n° 48, 1970, I, p. 81 et II, p. 84. Nous remercions la Société des Bollandistes, qui nous a transmis par l'intermédiaire du P. F. Halkin un tirage à part du chapitre 101.

(1) *Vita Sancti Theodori*, § 101 : « *Εἰσελθόντος οὖν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ ὁ μακαριώτατος Γεώργιος ὁ μητροπολίτης καὶ ὑπεδέξατο αὐτὸν χαίρων. Ὁ δὲ θεράπων τοῦ Χριστοῦ Θεόδωρος προσέταξε λιτὴν προκηρύξαι εἰς τὴν αὔριον. Καὶ πρωΐας γενομένης συνήχθη πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ καὶ πρώτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἁγίᾳ Σοφίᾳ. Καὶ ἐκβαλόντες λιτὴν ὅ τε μακάριος Θεόδωρος καὶ ὁ μητροπολίτης Γεώργιος σὺν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ ἀπῆλθον λιτανεύοντες ἐν τῷ σεβασμίῳ ναῷ τῶν ἁγίων Μυριαγγέλων ἔξω τειχῶν. Καὶ ποιήσαντες ἐκεῖ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ὑπέστρεψαν πάλιν λιτανεύοντες ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ Σοφίᾳ. Προτραπεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ μητροπολίτου ὁ ἁγιώτατος ἀνὴρ ἐποίησε τὴν ἀναφοράν, ἅμα δεηθεὶς τοῦ φιλανθρώπου Θεοῦ καταπέμψαι ὑετὸν εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. Μεταλαβόντων δὲ πάντων καὶ ἐπὶ εὐωχίαν καθεσθέντων, ἐγένετο σύννεφος ὁ οὐρανός, καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔβρεξεν ὑετὸν πολὺν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν, ὥστε πηγὰς ὑδάτων συστῆναι ἐπὶ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τὸ δυτικὸν μέρος ἀπέρατα εἶναι, ποταμοῦ κινηθέντος.*

parfois en un fleuve impétueux constituant un grave danger pour la ville.

Le terme de ποταμός pourrait même impliquer qu'à l'époque de la grandeur de Pessinonte, il y a deux mille ans, la ville était située sur une importante rivière, d'un débit beaucoup plus abondant et régulier qu'aujourd'hui.

On ne manquera évidemment pas d'objecter qu'il ne s'agit que d'un texte hagiographique et que les données qu'il renferme peuvent relever de la plus haute fantaisie. Cependant la confrontation de certains détails du récit avec la réalité nous engage à ne pas rejeter à la légère les informations que nous y trouvons.

On peut alléguer, à titre d'exemple, qu'à l'époque byzantine, dès avant le temps de Théodore peut-être, on avait de nouveau procédé, à Pessinonte, à la consolidation d'une partie des quais du fleuve (1). A cette époque, celui-ci pouvait donc constituer une menace. Or, selon le témoignage des habitants de Ballihisar, des crues semblables, d'une durée très limitée, se produisent encore. Signalons aussi que la partie de Ballihisar la plus menacée en cas d'inondation s'étend aujourd'hui encore au sud-ouest du torrent traversant le site.

Les informations qui nous font connaître les noms du métropolite et des églises de la ville révèlent, elles aussi, que l'auteur de cette Vie connaissait bien la région (2). La Vie de Saint Théodore est d'ailleurs considérée comme un ouvrage d'une très grande importance pour l'histoire de son temps (3).

(1) Le mur qualifié de « mur byzantin ». Cf. P. LAMBRECHTS, *De derde opgravingskampanje van de Gentse Universiteit te Pessinus (Turkije)*, dans *De Brug*, n° 4 (1969), pp. 273-74, pl. 4. Les empereurs byzantins, et surtout Justinien, ont pris plusieurs mesures pour régler le cours des eaux en Asie Mineure. Cf. PROCOPE, *De aedificiis*, II, 10, 5 ; V, 2, 6-13 ; V, 4, 1 ; V, 3, 8-11.

(2) Cf. les remarques à ce sujet de H. DELEHAYE, *Les légendes hagiographiques*, dans *Subsidia hagiographica*, n° 18, Bruxelles, 1927³, p. 212.

(3) H. G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich*, dans *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, XII, II, 1, München, 1959, p. 459 ; E. DAWES & N. H. BAYNES, *Three Byzantine*

Dans les pages qui suivent, nous nous proposons de rassembler les autres données sur ce fleuve, de même que nous essaierons d'en identifier le nom.

Pour ce faire, nous interrogerons diverses espèces de sources : numismatiques, littéraires, mythologiques et figurées.

1. — Les monnaies

La numismatique de Pessinonte révèle, en effet, l'existence en cet endroit d'une rivière d'une certaine importance. Nous possédons quelques monnaies frappées sous Antonin le Pieux dont le revers présente un dieu-fleuve couché, un roseau à la main, et s'accoudant sur une urne renversée d'où jaillit de l'eau (1). (Pl. II, en haut).

Un autre type représente un fleuve personnifié nageant aux pieds d'une Fortune assise, qui est celle de la ville, comme il résulte de la couronne murale dont elle est coiffée (2) (pl. II, en bas).

Bien qu'aucune monnaie ne mentionne le nom de cette rivière, on l'a toujours identifiée à la Sakarya (le Sangarios), ce qui nous semble peu vraisemblable. Les monnaies du deuxième

Saints, Oxford, 1948, p. 87 : « We have chosen this biography for translation since it gives the best picture known to us of life in Asia Minor in the Byzantine period before the Arab invasions of the Empire ».

(1) E. Babelon, *La collection Waddington au Cabinet des Médailles*, dans *Revue numismatique*, 4e série, II (1898), p. 570, n° 6657 ; B. V. Head, *Historia Nummorum*, London, 1963², p. 748 : B. V. Head & I. Svoronos, *Ἱστορία τῶν νομισμάτων*, Athènes, II (1898), p. 331 ; T. E. Mionnet, *Description de médailles antiques grecques et romaines. Supplément*, VII (1835), p. 644, n° 623 ; *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Deutschland, Sammlung von Aulock*, 14. Heft, Berlin, 1967, Tafel 214, n° 6211 ; W. Wroth, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Catalogue of the Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria*, Bologna, 1964, p. 19, n° 9 (pl. IV, 4). Sur ce type, cf. Waser dans P.-W., *R.E.*, VI (1909), col. 2789.

(2) *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, *ibid.*, n° 6210. Sur ce type, cf. Waser dans P.-W., *R.E.*, VI (1909), col. 2789-90. Il figurait aussi dans la sculpture. Cf. G. Down, *Ancient Antioch*, Princeton, 1963, pl. 12, et un relief palmyrien au musée de Damas, que le professeur P. Lambrechts nous a signalé.

type indiquent, en effet, que la rivière représentée est étroitement liée à la Fortune de la ville, qui figure à ses côtés (1).

L'étude de la numismatique d'autres villes que Pessinonte, ayant également frappé des monnaies qui représentent un dieu-fleuve aux côtés de la Fortune municipale, montre qu'il s'agit toujours de rivières qui traversent ces villes ou de fleuves tout proches, ayant une grande importance pour celles-ci (2).

Comme la Sakarya est distante d'une vingtaine de kilomètres de Pessinonte et n'offrait aucun intérêt économique pour la ville, ne devenant navigable qu'à 300 stades (55 km 49) de Nicomédie (3), une représentation éventuelle du Sangarios à Pessinonte ne pourrait guère se justifier.

Nous estimons donc devoir rejeter l'identification traditionnelle. Les monnaies du deuxième type sont décisives pour l'identification avec un cours d'eau traversant Pessinonte même ou passant à proximité. Elles ne peuvent se rapporter

(1) WASER dans P.-W., *R.E.*, VI (1909), col. 2789.

(2) Cf. les exemples chez WASER dans P.-W., *R.E.*, VI (1909), col. 2790. La présence du Kestros, une rivière distante de 7 km, sur les monnaies de Perge peut s'expliquer par l'accès à la mer qu'elle offrait à la ville. Cf. STRABON, XIV, 667. Le nom de la rivière ne figure pas sur les monnaies, de sorte que certains savants préfèrent même identifier le dieu-fleuve à l'affluent du Kestros, qui passe tout près de la ville. Cf. W. RUGE dans P.-W., *R.E.*, XIX (1937), col. 702. Le fleuve représenté sur quelques monnaies impériales de Side est identifié au Mélos, qui se jette dans la mer à quelques kilomètres de l'emplacement de la ville. Cf. HEAD-SVORONOS, *op. cit.*, II, p. 260 ; B. V. HEAD, *op. cit.*, p. 703. Cette rivière était de la plus grande importance pour Side, puisque la ville dépendait, pour son approvisionnement d'eau, d'un aqueduc qui conduisait l'eau des sources du Mélos vers elle. Cf. G. E. BEAN, *Turkey's Southern Shore*, London, 1968, p. 86.

(3) STRABON, XII, 3, 7 (C 543). La frappe de monnaies du premier type à Nicée, en l'honneur du Sangarios, qui passe de même à quelque 20 km de la ville, était motivée par son importance économique. En effet, la rivière était navigable à partir de l'endroit où la route d'Ancyre à Nicée la croisait. Elle était devenue de cette façon une artère très importante pour le commerce entre Nicée et le Pont oriental. Voir Cl. BOSCH, *Die kleinasiatischen Münzen der Römischen Kaiserzeit*, dans *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, XLVI (1931), 3.-4. Heft, pp. 438-40.

qu'au torrent qui traverse le site actuel de Ballihisar et dont les rives étaient consolidées et ornées des constructions monumentales dégagées pendant les dernières campagnes de fouilles. Aucun autre fleuve ne coulait, en effet, aux environs de la ville.

2. — Les textes

Le culte qu'on rendait à Rome à la Grande Mère nous renseigne à son tour sur le fleuve de Pessinonte.

On sait que le transfert de l'image de la déesse à Rome, en 204 av. J.-C., a fait naître deux cultes juxtaposés. A côté du culte officiel de caractère aristocratique, célébré aux fêtes du mois d'avril (les *Megalesia*), existait un culte populaire, auquel présidaient des prêtres qui avaient suivi leur divinité. Ses éléments essentiels provenaient de rites anciens de la Phrygie, et surtout, naturellement, de Pessinonte, d'où la déesse était venue (1).

Un cycle de fêtes célébrées au mois de mars en était le point culminant. Celles-ci, à l'origine d'un caractère uniquement funèbre, se terminaient par la *lavatio*, le bain solennel de la statue de la déesse dans les eaux de l'Almo (2), cérémonie dont les origines phrygiennes sont certaines (3). Il en résulte nécessairement qu'un fleuve sacré arrosait Pessinonte ou les abords immédiats de la ville. Cela éclaire probablement le sens d'une assertion d'Hérodien dont il sera question dans les pages suivantes (4).

(1) H. Hepding, *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult*, Giessen, 1903, p. 134 ; P. Lambrechts, *Attis en het feest der Hilarien*, dans *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde*, Deel 30, n° 9, Amsterdam, 1967, pp. 7-8.

(2) P. Lambrechts, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-19. Ovide, *Fastes*, IV, 337 ; Stace, *Silves*, V, 1, 222-24 ; Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica*, VIII, 239-42 ; Ammien Marcellin, XXIII, 3, 7 ; Prudence, *Peristeph.*, X, 154-60 ; Claudien, XV, 117-20.

(3) P. Lambrechts, *op. cit.*, p. 18 ; Arrien, *Tactica*, XXXIII, 4 ; Stace, *Silves*, V, 1, 222-24 ; Claudien, XV, 117-20.

(4) Cf. O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, dans *Handbuch der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, V, 2, 2, Mün-

Il nous reste maintenant à découvrir le nom de ce fleuve. Il est mentionné par deux auteurs anciens.

Le premier est Hérodien (1). Il rapporte que les Phrygiens vénéraient autrefois la Mère des dieux à Pessinonte, aux bords du fleuve Gallos (2). L'existence d'un fleuve de ce nom à Pessinonte est confirmée, un siècle plus tard, par Julius Firmicus Maternus (3), qui situait la ville *circa Galli fluminis ripas* (4). Puisque aucune autre rivière ne coule aux environs de la ville, leur information, si elle est exacte, ne peut se rapporter qu'au torrent dont nous avons déjà parlé. Pourtant, l'identification du fleuve avec le Gallos ne peut être acceptée sans un complément d'enquête, bien que certains savants l'aient admise sans réserves (5).

chen, 1906, p. 1524, n. 3 ; H. GRAILLOT, *Le culte de Cybèle, Mère des dieux, à Rome et dans l'empire romain*, Paris, 1912, p. 290 ; H. HEPDING, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

(1) Son œuvre date de 240 ap. J.-C. Cf. DOPP dans P.-W., *R.E.*, VIII (1913), col. 955.

(2) HÉRODIEN, *Ab excessu divi Marci* I, 11, 2 : *ἐν δὲ τῷ προειρημένῳ Πεσσινοῦντι πάλαι μὲν Φρύγες ὠργίαζον ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ Γάλλῳ παραρρέοντι, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν φέρουσι οἱ τῇ θεῷ τομίαι ἱερωμένοι.*

(3) Son œuvre se situe entre 345 et 348 ap. J.-C. Cf. BOLL dans P.-W., *R.E.*, VI (1909), col. 2376-77.

(4) Julius FIRMICUS MATERNUS, *De errore profanarum religionum*, III, 1 : *Phryges qui Pessinunta incolunt, circa Galli fluminis ripas* ... . L'emploi de *παραρρέω* chez Hérodien peut signifier « passer le long de » ou « couler à travers » Pessinonte, de même que l'emploi de « circa » chez Maternus, peut convenir à l'une et à l'autre des solutions. Il est impossible de déterminer à laquelle des deux nos auteurs ont pensé.

(5) Aucun de ces savants ne connaissait tous les textes mentionnant un Gallos. Voir RAPP dans *Roscher*, II, 1 (1890-97), col. 1652-53 ; O. GRUPPE, *op. cit.*, p. 1524, 3 ; H. HEPDING, *op. cit.*, p. 125, 133 ; H. GRAILLOT, *op. cit.*, pp. 289, 348 ; A. BOUTKOWSKI, *Dictionnaire numismatique*, I, col. 617-18 ; F. JACOBY, *F.G.H.*, IIIa (1943), pp. 284-85. W. RUGE dans P.-W., *R.E.*, XIX, A (1937), col. 1112 et J. G. FRAZER, *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Fastorum Libri Sex*, III, London, 1929, p. 254, situent la ville aux environs du fleuve. W. M. LEAKE, *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor, with Comparative Remarks on the Ancient and Modern Geography of that Country*, London, 1824, pp. 12 et 84, suggère que Hérodien a employé Gallos comme synonyme de Sangarios. Il situe Pessinonte inexactement au confluent

En effet, les données géographiques d'Hérodien sont très générales et parfois même erronées (1). Firmicus Maternus, de son côté, était né en Sicile, où il passa sa vie (2). Il n'a, de toute évidence, jamais visité Pessinonte. Il pourrait cependant avoir appris à bonne source, lui qui connaissait bien les cultes qu'il attaquait (3), l'existence d'un Gallos pessinontien, qui jouait un rôle important dans le culte local de la Mère des dieux.

La présence d'une autre rivière de ce nom en Asie Mineure, elle aussi affluent du Sangarios, comme nous le verrons plus loin (4), pourrait avoir incité Hérodien et Maternus à situer notre cours d'eau à Pessinonte, le centre du gallat microasiatique, par suite de la ressemblance de son nom et de celui des *galles*, que l'on considérait d'ailleurs comme dérivé d'un nom de fleuve. A cela s'ajoute que Strabon, originaire d'Amasie du Pont (5), connaissait un autre Gallos, situé en Bithynie (6), sans qu'il fît mention, dans sa brève description de Pessinonte, d'un fleuve homonyme, se bornant à signaler la proximité du Sangarios (7).

Il nous paraît donc souhaitable de montrer que les informations d'Hérodien et de Maternus sont confirmées par des données de la mythologie et de l'étymologie.

3. — La mythologie

Le mythe pessinontien d'Attis et de Cybèle confirme l'existence d'un cours d'eau appelé Gallos aux abords de Pessinonte. En effet, le monde classique considérait Attis

du Hieros-Siberis-Kirmer et du Sangarios, tout près de Beybazar. Cf. son ouvrage, pp. 82-86.

(1) Dopp dans P.-W., *R.E.*, VIII (1913), col. 956-57.

(2) Boll dans P.-W., *R.E.*, VI (1909), col. 2365.

(3) *Ibid.* col. 2365.

(4) Ceci pose le problème de la présence de plusieurs cours d'eau appelés Gallos en Asie Mineure. Voir à ce propos notre appendice ci-joint.

(5) W. Aly dans P.-W., *R.E.*, VIIA (1931), col. 76.

(6) Strabon, XII, 3, 7 (C 543).

(7) Strabon, XII, 5, 3, (C 567).

comme un Phrygien, originaire de Pessinonte (1), où se trouvait aussi son tombeau (2), selon les principaux représentants du mythe. Son nom s'y perpétua longtemps dans l'appellation de l'archiprêtre-roi du metrôon (3).

Ses rapports avec Cybèle faisaient l'objet de deux types de mythes : une version lydienne, où Attis succombe à ses blessures, provoquées par un sanglier (4), et une version phrygo-pessinontienne, d'après laquelle, rendu furieux par la déesse qu'il avait trahie, il meurt des suites de la castration qu'il s'était infligée (5).

Cette dernière version serait, selon Rapp, la version origi-

(1) Cf. par exemple DIOSCOURIDÈS, *Anthologie Palatine*, VI, 220 ; TERTULLIEN, *Apologie*, XV ; TERTULLIEN, *Ad Nationes*, I, 10 ; MATERNUS, *De errore*, III. D'autres textes le situent aux bords du Sangarios ou près du mont Dindyme. Cf. STACE, *Silves*, III, 4, 40-42 ; OVIDE, *Fastes*, IV, 229-34. Cf. F. CUMONT dans P.-W., *R.E.*, VII (1912), col. 675. M. J. VERMASEREN, *The Legend of Attis in Greek and Roman Art*, Leiden, 1966, p. 2.

(2) PAUSANIAS, I, 4, 5 : ... *Πεσινοῦντα ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος τὴν Ἀγδιστιν, ἔνθα καὶ τὸν Ἄττην τετάφθαι λέγουσι.*

ARNOBE, V, 7 : *Quibus contentum beneficiis Acdestim consecrasse corpus in Pessinunte* ...

(3) POLYBE, XXI, 37, 5-7 ; SUIDAS s.v. *Γάλλος* ; A. KÖRTE, *Kleinasiatische Studien*, II, dans *Athenische Mitteilungen*, XXII (1897), pp. 16-17, n° 22, p. 38 ; A. KÖRTE, *Kleinasiatische Studien*, III, dans *Athenische Mitteilungen*, XXIII (1898), p. 97 ; H. HEPDING, *op. cit.*, p. 126 ; Th. MOMMSEN, *Römische Geschichte*, II, Berlin, 1912[11], p. 52 ; H. GRAILLOT, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 48, 94, 231, 349-51 et pp. 352-54 (le collège des dix Attis à l'époque romaine) ; F. CUMONT dans P.-W., *R.E.*, VII (1912), col. 675 ; L. R. FARNELL, *The Cults of the Greek States*, III, Oxford, 1907, p. 300 ; W. DITTENBERGER, *O.G.I.S.*, I, n° 315, pp. 482-90 ; II, n° 541, p. 214 ; J. G. FRAZER, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, I, London, 1914[3] (reprint 1919. *The Golden Bough*, IV, 1), p. 285 ; B. M. FELLETTI, dans *Encyclopedia dell'Arte antica*, II (1959), p. 576.

(4) PAUSANIAS, VII, 17, 9 ; SCHOL. NIKAND., *Alexipharmaka*, 8 ; PLUTARQUE, *Sertorius*, I ; H. HEPDING, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-102, 121-122 ; S. KARWIESE, *Attis in der antiken Kunst*, Diss. Wien, 1967, p. 190.

(5) RAPP, dans ROSCHER, I (1884-90), pp. 715-18 ; H. HEPDING, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-22 ; S. KARWIESE, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

nelle (1). En tout cas, elle est devenue le mythe officiel romain (2). Le récit primitif se situe à Pessinonte et accorde un rôle considérable à un roi local, devenu l'éponyme d'un fleuve qui s'appellera désormais Gallos. La véritable forme pessinontienne du mythe (3) n'est rapportée en détail que par Pausanias (4) et par Arnobe (5), chez qui elle a déjà subi

(1) RAPP, dans ROSCHER, I (1884-90), p. 715. Cf. aussi S. KARWIESE, *op. cit.*, p. 190 et J. TOUTAIN, *La légende de la déesse phrygienne Cybèle. Ses transformations*, dans *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, LX (1909), p. 299, 303.

(2) H. HEPDING, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

(3) KNAACK, dans P.-W., *R.E.*, I (1894), col. 767 ; RAPP, dans ROSCHER, I (1884-90), p. 715 ; H. HEPDING, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104 ; J. TOUTAIN, *op. cit.*, 299-302 ; M. J. VERMASEREN, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

(4) PAUSANIAS, VII, 17, 11-12 : *θυγατέρα τοῦ Σαγγαρίου ποταμοῦ λαβεῖν φασὶ τοῦ καρποῦ. ἐσθεμένης δὲ ἐς τὸν κόλπον καρπὸς μὲν ἐκεῖνος ἦν αὐτίκα ἀφανής, αὐτὴ δὲ ἐκύει : τεκούσης δὲ τράγος περιεῖπε τὸν παῖδα ἐκκείμενον. ὡς δὲ αὐξανομένῳ κάλλους οἱ μετῆν πλέον ἢ κατὰ εἶδος ἀνθρώπου, ἐνταῦθα τοῦ παιδὸς ἔρως ἔσχεν Ἄγδιστιν. αὐξηθέντα δὲ Ἄττην ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Πεσσινοῦντα οἱ προσήκοντες συνοικήσοντα τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατρί· ὑμέναιος δὲ ἤδετο καὶ Ἄγδιστις, ἐφίσταται καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀπέκοψε μανεὶς ὁ Ἄττης, ἀπέκοψε δὲ καὶ ὁ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῷ διδούς.*

(5) ARNOBE, *Adv. Nat.*, V, 5-13 : *Cuius Nana speciem contemplata regis Sangari vel fluminis filia carpit mirans atque in sinu reponit : fit ex eo praegnas ... Enititur parvulum. Sed exponi Sangarius praecepit : repertum nescio quis sumit [formas], lacte alit hirquino et quoniam Lydia <forma> scitulos sic vocat, vel quia hirquos Phryges suis attagos elocutionibus nuncupant, inde Attis nomen ut sortiretur effluxit. Hunc unice mater deum ..., diligebat. <Diligebat> et Acdestis, ... 7. Tunc Pessinuntius rex Midas alienare cupiens tam infami puerum coniunctione matrimonio eius suam filiam destinat, ... Acdestis scatens ira convulsi a se pueri et uxoris ad studium derivati convivantibus cunctis furorem et insaniam suggerit : conclamant exterriti adora, adora, Phryges, mammas sibi demetit Galli filia pelicis, — Meis : Gallus <genitalia>, mammas filia — — Wiman : Galli <sese evirantis exemplo> filia —, rapit Attis fistulam , ... proicit se tandem et sub pini arbore genitalia sibi desecat dicens ... Virgo sponsa quae fuerat, quam Valerius pontifex Iam nomine fuisse conscribit, exanimati pectus lanis mollioribus velat, dat lacrimas cum Acdesti interficitque se ipsam ... Quibus contentum beneficiis Acdestim consecrasse corpus in Pessinunte, caerimoniis annuis et sacerdotum antistitibus honorasse ...*

l'influence de sources romaines (1). Sa première rédaction aurait été l'œuvre de Timothée, un Eumolpide de la fin du IVe s. av. J.-C., auquel Arnobe se réfère (2). Ce Timothée était aussi la source d'Alexandre Polyhistor, dont le récit des aventures d'Attis et Gallos ne subsiste que fragmentairement chez Étienne de Byzance (3). Alexandre serait même, selon quelques savants, la source intermédiaire entre Timothée et Pausanias (4).

Le récit trop sommaire de ce dernier, qui, par exemple, fait seulement allusion à la mort d'Attis, sans donner de détails, et la version plus développée, mais déjà influencée, d'Arnobe, amènent celui qui s'impose de reconstruire le mythe pessinontien, tel qu'il a dû figurer chez Timothée, à une

(1) H. HEPDING, *op. cit.*, p. 104, 117-18. Cf. RAPP, dans ROSCHER, II (1890-97), col. 716 ; P. LAMBRECHTS, *Attis van herdersknaap tot god*, dans *Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren*, 1962, n° 46, p. 12 ; J. TOUTAIN, *op. cit.*, p. 303 (influences grecques).

(2) Th. ZIELINSKY, *La Sibylle*, Paris, 1924, p. 81 ; J. TOUTAIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 299-301 ; M. J. VERMASEREN, *op. cit.*, p. 3 ; WEINREICH dans P.-W., *R.E.*, XIX (1937), col. 1342 ; H. STRATHMANN, dans *RAC* I (1950), p. 893 ; SCHWINN dans P.-W., *R.E.*, XI, 2 (1922), col. 2266 ; F. SUSEMIHL, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur in der Alexandrinerzeit*, II (1892), Leipzig, pp. 28-29, n° 5b ; RAPP, dans ROSCHER, II (1890-97), p. 716 ; P. LAMBRECHTS, *op. cit.*, p. 12 ; F. JACOBY, *F.G.H.*, IIIa, p. 284 ; H. HEPDING, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-4.

(3) Étienne DE BYZANCE s.v. *Γάλλος* (*F.G.H.*, 273 F, 74) : *Γάλλος ποταμὸς Φρυγίας· οἱ περίοικοι κατὰ μὲν Τιμόθεον Ποταμογαλλῖται, κατὰ δὲ Προμαθίδαν Ποταμογαλληνοί, οὓς παρατίθεται ὁ Πολυίστωρ ἐν τῷ περὶ Φρυγίας γ'. καὶ ὅτι τὸν Γάλλον καὶ τὸν Ἄττιν ἀποκόψαι τὰ αἰδοῖα, καὶ τὸν μὲν Γάλλον ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Τηρίαν ποταμὸν καὶ οἰκῆσαι, καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Γάλλον καλέσαι· ἀπ' ἐκείνου γὰρ τοὺς τεμνομένους τὰ αἰδοῖα γάλλους καλοῦσιν.* Cf. F. JACOBY, *F.G.H.*, IIIa (1943), pp. 284-85 ; O. GRUPPE, *op. cit.*, p. 1543 ; F. SUSEMIHL, *op. cit.*, p. 29, n° 5b : H. HEPDING, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

(4) A. KALKMANN, *Pausanias der Perieget*, Berlin, 1886, pp. 247-50 ; H. HEPDING, *op. cit.*, p. 104, n° 2, 111 ; KNAACK, dans P.-W., *R.E.*, I (1894), p. 767 ; M. J. VERMASEREN, *op. cit.*, p. 3. Cela est fortement contesté par F. JACOBY, *F.G.H.*, IIIa (1943), p. 284. Nous ne croyons pas non plus que Hermesianax en était la source, comme F. Jacoby le suggère. En effet, Pausanias se référait seulement à cet auteur pour sa version lydienne, qu'il opposait à la version pessinontienne.

confrontation de ces deux auteurs et d'Alexandre. Il en résulte que le mythe dépeignait d'abord les origines d'un démon androgyne du nom d'Agdistis, une appellation locale de la la Mère des dieux (1). Un arbre fruitier poussait du membre coupé du démon, qui avait été châtré par les autres dieux. La fille du roi-fleuve Sangarios cacha un de ses fruits dans son sein, si bien qu'elle en devint enceinte. Son père, furieux, ordonna d'abandonner l'enfant, Attis, dont la beauté éveilla plus tard l'amour d'Agdistis. Le jeune homme, devenu adulte, épousa la fille du roi de Pessinonte, suscitant ainsi les fureurs de la déesse, au point qu'elle rendit fous les invités au mariage. A partir de là, la version d'Arnobe devient problématique. L'auteur en était lui-même conscient (2). Tandis qu'on attend, en effet, que le roi de la ville se châtre à l'exemple d'Attis, comme il arrivait dans le mythe originel, ainsi que Pausanias l'atteste, il est épargné chez Arnobe. Celui-ci fait pourtant, à deux reprises, allusion à la castration d'un certain Gallos, qui jusqu'alors n'avait joué aucun rôle dans le récit (3). La fiancée d'Attis se suicida, selon le même auteur, à son tour, en se coupant les mamelles. C'est Alexandre Polyhistor qui fait pencher la balance en faveur d'un de ces récits.

En effet, on constate que Pausanias mentionne la castration d'Attis et du roi de Pessinonte, dont il dissimule le nom, tandis qu'Alexandre, qui était peut-être sa source, fait le même récit à propos d'Attis et d'un certain Gallos, éponyme du fleuve. Ce Gallos figure aussi dans des circonstances identiques chez Arnobe, quoique dans un contexte troublé par l'apport d'autres sources. Nous pouvons, par conséquent, conclure avec certitude que ce Gallos était le roi même du mythe pessinontien (4), qui, selon Polyhistor, se retira le

(1) STRABON, XII, 5, 3 (C 567). Par suite de la fusion des différentes sources chez Arnobe, celui-ci n'a pas compris que la Mère des dieux des Romains était l'Agdistis des Phrygiens. Cf. H. HEPDING, *op. cit.*, p. 118. Voir aussi J. TOUTAIN, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

(2) ARNOBE, V, 13 : *Si Midas rex offenderat, qui uxore adulescentulum vinciebat, quid admiserat Gallus, quid pelicis filia ut ille se viro, haec mammarum honestate privaret.*

(3) ARNOBE, V, 9 et V, 13.

(4) A. KALKMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-49 ; O. GRUPPE, *op. cit.*, p. 1543 ; H. HEPDING, *op. cit.*, p. 109, n° 2 et n° 3.

long du fleuve Tèrias, qu'il débaptisa et appela de son nom. Cette explication étymologique du nom du fleuve faisait sans doute partie du mythe originel, puisque Alexandre avait ajouté à son récit, en se référant à Timothée, qui en était le premier rédacteur, un excursus sur le nom des habitants de la région du fleuve. Comme H. Hepding le suggère, Arnobe ou sa source ont confondu ce mythe avec une autre version, selon laquelle Cybèle se vengea du mariage d'Attis et d'Ia, la fille du roi Midas (1). Cette confusion du roi Gallos, l'éponyme d'un fleuve et du roi phrygien Midas, plus fameux, était de toute évidence facilitée par le fait que ce dernier était, lui-aussi, le démon d'une source (2), mais surtout parce que la tradition lui attribuait des liens étroits avec Cybèle (3) et la ville de Pessinonte (4).

Le mythe est reproduit, mais sous une forme considérablement évoluée, chez Servius (5). Attis y est l'archiprêtre de la Mère des dieux, et il meurt par la faute du roi de la ville. Celui-ci ne veut plus que le jeune homme épouse sa

(1) H. HEPDING, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-19.

(2) KUHNERT dans ROSCHER II (1896), col. 2961 ; H. HEPDING, *op. cit.*, p. 118, n° 3. Les actes légendaires du roi Midas ne seraient qu'une translation des exploits d'un dieu homonyme d'une tribu phrygienne. Cf. A. KÖRTE, *Kleinasiatische Studien*, III, dans *Athenische Mitteilungen*, XXIII (1898), pp. 96-97.

(3) HYGIN, *Fables*, 191 et 274 l'appelle le fils de Cybèle ; A. KALKMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 249. Cela résulte selon A. KÖRTE, *op. cit.*, p. 97, de la réception de l'ancien dieu phrygien Midas, venu d'Europe, dans le cercle de la déesse anatolienne, après l'établissement des Phrygiens dans la région.

(4) Il aurait selon THÉOPOMPE (chez AMMIEN MARCELLIN, XXII, 9, 7) donné à la ville le nom de Pessinonte, où DIODORE, III, 59, 8, lui faisait construire le temple de Cybèle.

(5) SERVIUS, *Comment. in Aen.*, IX, 115 : *Attis, puer speciosus, cum Matris magnae praeesset sacris, a rege civitatis suae adamatus est ; sed cum vim sibi videret inferri, verenda stupratoris abscidit, qui moriens eandem ipsam partem corporis puero abscidit, quem semianimem sub pinu latentem cum invenissent antistites Matris magnae, perlatum in templum deae frustra conati reficere, defunctum sepelierunt cuius ut perpetua maneret memoria, Mater magna instituit, ut quotannis in sacris suis plangeretur, pinumque arborem sub qua iacuerat, tutelae suae adscripsit, et effecit ut cultores sui viriles sibi partes amputarent, qui archigalli appellantur.* Cf. H. HEPDING, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

fille, mais il aime lui-même le héros. Ils se tuent alors par castration, à la suite d'une tentative de viol de la part du roi.

Faisons remarquer aussi que le fleuve Gallos ne figure plus, dans la suite, que chez l'empereur Julien et chez le philosophe Salluste. Leur récit se rattache surtout, abstraction faite d'Ovide, parmi toutes les formes évoluées du mythe, à la version originelle de Pessinonte (1). Tous les deux ont mis l'accent sur un aspect de cette version : l'abandon de l'enfant Attis (2). Cet acte a été le point de départ de leur interprétation néoplatonicienne d'Attis, comme divinité cosmique et créatrice. Julien insistait ainsi sur le fait que le lieu de l'abandon d'Attis et le milieu où se passa son adolescence se situaient sur les rives du Gallos, qu'il interprétait comme la Galaxie (la voie lactée), selon lui l'endroit où s'opère le mélange du corps passible et du mouvement impassible du cinquième corps, et la limite extrême que le jeune homme avait atteinte lors de sa progression (3). Salluste, se fondant de toute évidence sur Julien (4) et faisant allusion à l'abandon de l'enfant, raconte comment la Mère des dieux tomba amoureuse de lui, le voyant étendu au bord du Gallos (5). Il interprète de même l'endroit comme la voie lactée, où commencent les corps passibles, conformément au rôle d'Attis comme créateur de tout ce qui était périssable (6).

(1) RAPP, dans ROSCHER I (1884), col. 716 ; F. CUMONT, dans P.-W., *R.E.*, II (1896), col. 2249 ; H. HEPDING, *op. cit.*, p. 113, 120.

(2) ARNOBE, *Adv. Nat.*, V, 6 ; PAUSANIAS, VII, 11.

(3) JULIEN, *Or.*, VIII (V), 5 (165 B-C) : B) ... *δν δέ φησιν ὁ μῦθος ἀνθῆσαι μὲν ἐκτεθέντα παρὰ τοῦ Γάλλου ποταμοῦ ταῖς δίναις,...* C) *τὸν Γάλλον ποταμὸν ἄρα μή ποτε χρὴ τὸν γαλαξίαν μαντεύεσθαι κύκλον · ἐνταῦθα γάρ φασι μίγνυσθαι τὸ παθητὸν σῶμα πρὸς τὴν ἀπαθῆ τοῦ πέμπτου κυκλοφορίαν. Ἄχρι τοι τούτων ἐπέτρεψεν ἡ Μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν σκιρτᾶν τε καὶ χορεύειν ... τῷ Ἄττιδι.*

(4) A. D. NOCK, *Sallustius, Concerning the Gods and the Universe*, 1926, p. III ; F. CUMONT, dans P.-W., *R.E.*, II (1896), col. 2249.

(5) SALLUSTE, *De diis et universo*, § IV (NOCK, p. 6) : *εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ ἕτερον μῦθον εἰπεῖν, τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν φασι τὸν Ἄττιν παρὰ τῷ Γάλλῳ κείμενον ἰδοῦσαν ποταμῷ ἐρασθῆναι ...*

(6) SALLUSTE, *ibid.*, p. 8 : *ἡ μὲν οὖν μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν ζωογόνος ἐστὶ θεά, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μήτηρ καλεῖται, ὁ δὲ Ἄττις τῶν γινομένων καὶ φθειρομένων δημιουργός, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρὰ τῷ Γάλλῳ λέγεται εὑρεθῆναι ποταμῷ· ὁ γὰρ Γάλλος τὸν Γαλαξίαν αἰνίττεται κύκλον ἀφ' οὗ τὸ παθητὸν ἄρχεται σῶμα.*

Nous croyons que l'identification des deux auteurs prouve que le Gallos était déjà dans le mythe pessinontien l'endroit de l'abandon et de l'adolescence d'Attis (1), ou bien qu'il l'est devenu plus tard, parce qu'il figurait ailleurs dans le récit.

Nous constatons donc que la figure de Gallos, roi de Pessinonte et éponyme du fleuve, tout comme ce fleuve lui-même, ne se rattache qu'au mythe local de Pessinonte et aux versions qui s'en rapprochent le plus. Il est, par conséquent, évident qu'il faut chercher le fleuve aux alentours immédiats de Pessinonte. Il ne peut donc être que le fleuve que citaient Hérodien et Maternus (2), et, par conséquent, l'ancêtre du torrent actuel.

Un problème étymologique : le Gallos et les galles

Une autre confirmation de la présence d'une rivière de ce nom à Pessinonte nous est fournie par la croyance antique que les galles métroaques tiraient leur nom du fleuve phrygien Gallos (3).

(1) H. Strathmann, dans *R.A.C.*, I (1950), p. 893.

(2) Cf. F. Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, IIIa (1943), p. 285.

(3) Hérodien, I, 11, 2 (cf. p. 356 n. 2) ; Alexandre Polyhistor chez Étienne de Byzance (cf. p. 360, n. 3). Le *ἀπ' ἐκείνου* d'Alexandre renvoie au fleuve et non à l'éponyme du dernier. Cf. F. Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, IIIa (1943), p. 285 ; Ovide, *Fastes*, IV, 361-66 :

> *Cur igitur Gallos, qui se excidere vocamus,*
> *cum tanto Phrygia Gallica distet humus ?*
> *Inter, ait, viridem Cybelen altasque Celaenas*
> *amnis it insana, nomine Gallus, aqua*
> *qui bibit inde, furit : procul hic discedite, quis est*
> *cura bonae mentis : qui bibit inde, furit.*

Pline, *N.H.*, V, XLII, 147 : *flumina sunt in ea praeter iam dicta Sangarium et Gallus, a quo nomen traxere Matris Deum sacerdotes.*

Sextus Pompée Festus, *De verborum significatione*, VII, 71 : *Galli qui vocantur Matris Magnae comites, dicti sunt a flumine, cui nomen est Gallo : qua qui ex eo biberunt, in hoc furere incipiant, ut se privent virilitatis parte.*

Martianus Capella, VI, 687 : *Nam Bithynia initium Ponti est et ab ortu Thraciae adversa a Sangari flumine primos habet habitatores, qui fluvius alio fluvio Gallo miscetur, a quo Galli dicuntur, ministri Matris Deum.*

Makarios Chrysokephalos, *Proverbia*, III, 92 (ed. E. L. Leutsch-F. G. Schneidewinn) : *Γαλλιστὶ τεμεῖν : ἐπὶ τῶν ἀφρονεστάτως ἀπαλλαγὴν πραγμάτων ποιήσασθαι βουλομένων. Γάλλοι γὰρ καλοῦνται οἱ*

Quoi qu'il faille penser de cette opinion (1), l'origine de cette étymologie se comprend aisément, si l'on accepte qu'il y avait à Pessinonte, le centre de l'institution métroaque, une rivière de ce nom où se déroulaient les rites des galles. Une telle explication, par contre, perdrait tout sens, s'il s'agissait d'un fleuve distant du centre du gallat, connu de tous.

Un texte de la plus grande importance pour ce problème se lit dans l'*Etymologicum Magnum* (cf. p. 364, n. 3). Son auteur expliquait l'origine du nom des galles en se référant au « fleuve phrygien, aux bords duquel ils s'initiaient ».

Hérodien, lui aussi, affirmait que les Phrygiens vénéraient Cybèle à Pessinonte, près du fleuve Gallos, d'où ses prêtres tiraient leur nom (2), et Alexandre Polyhistor rattachait ce nom au fleuve homonyme du mythe pessinontien (3).

Or, nous l'avons déjà dit, l'étymologie du nom de ce fleuve était certainement un élément constitutif du mythe, qui, de toute évidence, tire ses origines de l'interprétation de situations locales (4). Tout comme la figure d'Attis était peut-être d'origine étiologique et devait expliquer le culte (5) ou le nom des archiprêtres du metrôon (6), celle de Gallos pourrait se rattacher aux galles (7). Les gens de Pessinonte

ἀποτετμημένοι, ἤτοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Γάλλου ἢ ὅτι ἀποπεπτώκασιν εἰς ἑτέραν φύσιν.

Etymologicum Magnum 220, 22-26 : « *Γάλλος : ὁ τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν ὀργιαζόμενος · ὁ ἄλλός τις γενόμενος καὶ μεταβαλὼν τὴν φύσιν ἐξ ἀνδρῶν, καὶ οὔτε ἀνὴρ ὤν, οὔτε γυνή. ἐξετέμνοντο γὰρ οἱ τελούμενοι τῇ θεῷ. Ἢ ἀπὸ Γάλλου ποταμοῦ τῆς Φρυγίας, παρ' ὃν ἐτελοῦντο.*

(1) Elle est défendue par E. MAASS, *Eunuchos und Verwandtes*, dans *Rheinisches Museum*, 74 (1925), p. 456 ; H. STRATHMANN dans *R.A.C.*, I (1950), col. 894 ; A. ERNOUT & A. MEILLET, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, I, Paris, 1951³, p. 474 ; K. LATTE, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, München, 1960, p. 259.

(2) Cf. p. 356, n. 2.

(3) Cf. p. 360, n. 3.

(4) Cf. F. CUMONT dans P.-W., *R.E.*, VII (1912), col. 675 : « les rites expliquent le mythe, mais non inversement le mythe les rites ».

(5) F. CUMONT dans P.-W., *R.E.*, VII (1912), col. 675.

(6) Cf. SERVIUS, *Comment. in Aen.*, IX, 115³ : Attis était l'archiprêtre de Cybèle ; H. GRAILLOT, *op. cit.*, p. 289 : la distinction d'Attis et de Gallos correspond à la distinction entre l'archiprêtre et ses galles.

(7) H. GRAILLOT, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

croyaient probablement leur nom dérivé de celui du torrent local, qui devait lui-même son appellation à un roi de la ville. Pourtant, puisque Alexandre Polyhistor fait allusion à une dénomination plus ancienne, ce torrent, qui s'appela d'abord Térias — un nom qui se rapportait, lui aussi, au culte métroaque (1) — n'a, selon toute vraisemblance, été qualifié de Gallos que par suite des rites accomplis par des serviteurs châtrés de la déesse, les « galles », sur ses rives (2). Leurs orgiasmes et leurs rites fanatiques avaient même eu comme conséquence qu'on attribuait au fleuve la responsabilité des actes dont il était le témoin (3) et que ses eaux passaient pour provoquer le délire (4).

Il apparaît donc que le mythe pessinontien d'Attis et l'explication étymologique du nom des galles par les anciens corroborent l'identification du fleuve par Hérodien et Maternus. Il semble extrêmement probable, dès lors, que le dieu-fleuve des monnaies de Pessinonte représente symboliquement le

(1) Cf. H. HEPDING, *op. cit.*, p. 111, n. 1. Il y avait un sanctuaire de « Mètèr Tèreia » à 40 stades de Lampsaque. Cf. STRABON, XIII, 1, 17 (589). HOMÈRE cite une montagne de ce nom. Cf. *Iliade*, II, 828-29.

(2) Cf. HERODIEN, I, 11, 1. Cela peut se dégager aussi du fait que Polyhistor rapportait que le fleuve n'avait reçu ce nom qu'après la castration du roi de la ville.

(3) E. GRAILLOT, *op. cit.*, p. 290 ; E. MAASS, *op. cit.*, p. 456.

(4) OVIDE, *Fastes*, IV, 361-66 (cf. p. 364, n. 3) ; PLINE, *N.H.*, XXI, 5, 9 ; *In Aenaria insula calculosis mederi, et quae vocatur Acidula ab Teano Sidicino IIII p. haec frigida, item in Stabiano quae Dimidia vocatur et in Venafrano ex fonte Acidulo. idem contingit in Velino lacu potantibus, item in Syriae fonte iuxta Taurum montem auctor est M. Varro et in Phrygiae flumine Gallo Callimachus. Sed ibi in potando necessarius modus, ne lymphatos agat ...* ; Sextus POMPÉE FESTUS, *De verborum significatione*, VII, 71 (cf. p. 361, n. 3) ; VIBIUS SEQUESTER, *Flumina* 70 : *Gallus, in Phrygia, unde qui bibit insanit more fanatico.*

Remarquons aussi qu'on reconnaissait parfois à ses eaux certaines vertus curatives. Cf. CALLIMACHUS chez PLINE, *N.H.*, XXI, 5, 9. On peut même se demander si cet aspect curatif des eaux du fleuve n'a pas été négligé par les auteurs anciens, ou obscurci par l'autre explication qui frappait beaucoup plus l'imagination. Ce qu'il convient de souligner en tout premier lieu, c'est qu'on attribuait — les textes en font amplement foi — une vertu particulière aux eaux du Gallos.

Gallos, le torrent local, qui tient une place importante dans la religion et le mythe de Cybèle.

Il est à remarquer que toutes les monnaies dont il a été question datent du règne d'Antonin le Pieux, dont le rôle dans l'expansion du culte d'Attis est désormais connu (1).

4. — Les représentations figurées

Nous nous proposons enfin d'attirer l'attention sur quelques représentations du Gallos.

Lors des fouilles de 1867-68 au campus de Cybèle, à Ostie, une statue d'Attis couché a été découverte dans le local des dendrophores (pl. III). Elle provenait sans doute du sanctuaire de ce dieu, appartenant au complexe (2), et devrait être datée, selon certains savants, du règne d'Hadrien (3). Cette datation repose, de toute évidence, sur l'opinion erronée que l'aménagement de l'ensemble remonterait à cet empereur. Or, il s'agit plutôt d'une création d'Antonin le Pieux (4).

(1) P. Lambrechts, *Attis. Van herdersknaap tot god*, *op. cit.*, p. 48, n° 3, pp. 26-28, 48-49.

(2) C. L. Visconti, *Di una statua in bronzo rappresentante Afrodite-Cloto ; di un' altra in marmo rappresentante Atti-Sole ; di una cista mystica pure in marmo, rinvenuti nel campo sacro di Cibele in Ostia*, dans *Annali dell'Istituto de correspondenza archeologica*, XLI (1869), pp. 235-36 ; R. Calza, *Museo Ostiense, Itinerari dei Musei e Monumenti d'Italia*, Roma, 1947, p. 32 ; R. Calza, *Memorie della Pontificale Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, Ser. III, vol. VI, 1946, pp. 183-227 ; F. Cumont, *Die orientalischen Religionen im römischen Heidentum*, Leipzig & Berlin, 1931³, pl. II, n° 5 ; A. B. Cook, *Zeus, A Study in ancient Religion*, II (1925), Cambridge, p. 297 ; P. Decharme in *Dict. Ant.*, I, 2 (1887), p. 1688 ; R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, Oxford, 1970, pp. 358-59 ; Ch. Picard, *Sur quelques documents nouveaux concernant les cultes de Cybèle et d'Attis : des Balkans à la Gaule*, dans *Numen*, IV (1957), p. 20 ; P. Lambrechts, *op. cit.*, p. 50 ; W. Helbig, *Führer durch die offentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, I, Tübingen, 1963³, I, p. 827, n° 1153 ; S. Karwiese, *Attis in der antiken Kunst*, Diss. Wien, 1967, p. 164, n° 361 ; M. J. Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, p. 36, pl. XXI, 3.

(3) A. B. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 297 ; S. Karwiese, *op. cit.*, p. 164 ; M. J. Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, p. 36, la situe simplement au IIe s. ap. J.-C.

(4) P. Lambrechts, *Attis. Van herdersknaap tot god*, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

La statue, elle aussi, date probablement de son règne, ou même du IIIe s. ap. J.-C. (1).

Beaucoup de savants ont considéré la tête sur laquelle Attis s'accoude comme une image du Zeus idéen (2). Une étude de la statue révèle cependant qu'Attis se présente ici comme un dieu cosmique et solaire, créateur de la fertilité (3), conformément aux interprétations néoplatoniciennes de Julien et de Salluste. Ces deux auteurs insistaient beaucoup sur l'abandon et la jeunesse d'Attis, aux bords du Gallos, qu'ils interprétaient allégoriquement. Il est par conséquent justifié, comme P. Lambrechts, Ch. Picard et M. J. Vermaseren l'ont suggéré naguère, de prendre la tête barbue pour le dieu-fleuve Gallos (4).

Une deuxième représentation du Gallos, figurant sur un relief du même sanctuaire et datant du milieu du IIe s. ap. J.-C. (5), nous montre un Attis mort (6). Une tête barbue, ressemblant à la tête mentionnée ci-dessus, se trouve au-dessous de sa main gauche. P. Lambrechts avait déjà suggéré d'y voir une image du Gallos ou du Sangarios (7). M. J. Vermaseren et S. Karwiese l'identifient de même au fleuve pessinontien, dont la présence devait évoquer, selon le dernier,

(1) R. Calza, *Museo Ostiense, Itinerari dei Musei e Monumenti d'Italia*, Roma, 1947, p. 32 ; P. Lambrechts, *Attis. Van herdersknaap tot god*, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

(2) P. Decharme, *op. cit.*, p. 1688 ; A. B. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 297 ; C. L. Visconti, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-36 ; W. Helbig, *op. cit.*, p. 827 ; F. Cumont, *op. cit.*, pl. II, n° 5 ; S. Karwiese, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

(3) P. Decharme, *op. cit.*, p. 1688 ; P. Lambrechts, *Attis. Van herdersknaap tot god*, *op. cit.*, p. 50 ; M. J. Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

(4) Ch. Picard, *op. cit.*, p. 20, n° 72 ; P. Lambrechts, *Attis. Van herdersknaap tot god*, *op. cit.*, p. 50, n° 2. M. J. Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, p. 36, avait pensé au Gallos ou au mont Agdis.

(5) R. Calza, *Museo Ostiense*, *op. cit.*, p. 33, n° 163 ; R. Calza, *Il Santuario della Magna Mater a Ostia*, dans *Memorie della Pontif. Accad. Rom. de Archeologia*, VI (1947), pp. 218b-221b ; P. Lambrechts, *op. cit.*, p. 51, pl. 17, 4 ; M. J. Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, p. 35, pl. XXI, 1 ; S. Karwiese, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.

(6) P. Lambrechts, *op. cit.*, p. 51 ; M. J. Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, p. 35 ; S. Karwiese, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-18.

(7) P. Lambrechts, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

le milieu dans lequel Attis a vécu (1). Cette hypothèse est très admissible. Nous contestons cependant l'opinion de S. Karwiese, qui estime que le fleuve ne s'accorderait pas avec une représentation de la mort du dieu. Le fleuve et son éponyme tenaient, en effet, une grande place dans cet épisode du mythe pessinontien.

Un boisseau en marbre (2), don d'un archigalle d'Ostie nommé M. Modius Maximus à ce même sanctuaire encore, offre probablement une troisième représentation du Gallos.

On considère cet objet soit comme une urne (3) ou un récipient où on déposait les membres coupés des châtrés (4), soit comme une cyste mystique (5). On y distingue, entre autres, une touffe de roseaux dans lesquels se cachent trois figures, à savoir Attis, une autre tête et un lion, qui remplace Cybèle. La tête barbue au centre serait, selon les uns, le Zeus idéen (6), selon d'autres, la tête d'un lion (7). C.L. Visconti remarquait que la jonchère devait évoquer l'image du fleuve Gallos (8). Si tel est le cas, nous croyons que la tête du centre, si elle est humaine, est, elle aussi, le Gallos, représenté parmi les roseaux qui peuplent ses rives, témoins de l'abandon, de la jeunesse et des amours d'Attis.

Deux arguments corroborent notre hypothèse. Le premier, c'est que le dieu-fleuve pessinontien s'associait parfois à Attis, dans la sculpture ostienne des IIe et IIIe s. ap. J.-C. Le second, c'est que la forme et les ornements du boisseau résultent d'un jeu de mots. Le nom du donateur (M. Modius Maximus) explique la forme de l'objet (« boisseau », en effet, se dit en latin *modius*), tandis que sa fonction (archigalle) explique la présence d'un coq (en latin, *gallus*) sur le couvercle.

(1) M. J. Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, p. 35 ; S. Karwiese, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-18.

(2) C. L. Visconti, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-44 ; A. B. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 298, R. Meiggs, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

(3) J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

(4) A. B. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

(5) P. Decharme, *op. cit.*, col. 1688 ; C. L. Visconti, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-44.

(6) A. B. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

(7) C. L. Visconti, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-44.

(8) C. L. Visconti, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-44.

Des jeux de mots semblables ont pu contribuer dans une large mesure à la représentation du fleuve phrygien.

Ajoutons encore qu'une figure barbue se présente trois fois, à côté d'Attis, parmi les attributs d'une statue d'un galle du IIe s. ap. J.-C. (1).

Conclusion

Au terme d'une enquête assez longue et compliquée, nous croyons pouvoir dire que le passage de la Vie de Théodore qui fournit certaines précisions sur l'aspect de Pessinonte à l'époque byzantine mérite crédit. Il s'avère même que ce texte hagiographique présente un très grand intérêt pour la compréhension exacte d'un ensemble de questions qui ont été soulevées par le travail archéologique récemment accompli en cet endroit.

Appendice

COMBIEN Y EUT-IL DE COURS D'EAU APPELÉS GALLOS?

La présence d'une rivière appelée Gallos à Pessinonte étant démontrée, il nous reste encore à attirer l'attention sur l'existence d'autres cours d'eau portant le même nom.

La rivière phrygienne (2) dont les eaux provoquaient le délire et dont le nom se serait appliqué aux galles, selon Ovide (3), Pline,

(1) Elle se trouve maintenant dans le Palais des Conservateurs à Rome. Cf. A. B. Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-301, fig. 193 ; W. Helbig, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 25-26, n° 1176.

(2) Pessinonte passait longtemps encore après son intégration dans la Galatie pour une ville phrygienne. Cf. Hérodien, I, 11, 2 ; F. Maternus, *De errore*, III, 1 ; Pline, *N.H.*, V, XLII, 146 ; Appien, *Romaika*, VII, 9, 56 ; Arnobe, *Adv. Nat.*, VII, 49 ; Ammien Marcellin, XXVI, 9, 1 (autrefois phrygienne, maintenant galate) ; Julien, *Ép.*, 81 (389A). La localisation du Gallos dans la Phrygie ne crée donc aucun obstacle.

(3) Cf. F. Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, IIIa (1943), p. 285. Le fait qu'Ovide situe cette rivière entre Celaenae, au sud de la Phrygie, et le mont Cybèle ne dément pas nctre hypothèse. Le mont Cybèle est situé quelque part dans la Phrygie. Cf. Ruge dans P.-W., *R.E.*, XI, 2 (1922), col. 2298 ; Diodore, III, 58, 1-2 ; Ovide, *Fastes*, IV,

Festus, Vibius Sequester, Martianus Capella, Makarios (1) et l'*Etymologicum Magnum*, est incontestablement le torrent de Pessinonte. Claudien, d'autre part, cite comme les quatre fleuves les plus importants de la Phrygie (2) le Méandre le Marsyas, et un affluent du Sangarios, appelé Gallos. Il s'agit de toute évidence du torrent de Pessinonte, qui trouvait place à côté du Sangarios et du Méandre à cause de son importance religieuse et mythologique. Une raison semblable pourrait expliquer, dans ce contexte, la mention du Marsyas.

La numismatique du IIIe siècle ap. J.-C. nous fait connaître un deuxième Gallos, près de Philomélion (Akşehir), en Phrygie méridionale (3).

Quoique la lecture « Gallos » sur ces monnaies ait parfois été mise en doute (4), elle est acceptée dans les ouvrages récents (5).

248-50 ; SERVIUS, *Verg. Aen.*, III, 111 ; Etienne DE BYZANCE, s.v. *Κυβέλεια* ; *Ὀρφέως Ἀργοναυτικά*, 17 ; SUIDAS, s.v. *Κυβέλη*, *Κυβελείοις*. Celaenae y figure peut-être comme représentant de toute la Phrygie, comme c'était souvent le cas ; cf. RUGE dans P.-W., *R.E.*, XI, 2 (1921), col. 133.

(1) Cf. p. 363, n. 3, p. 366, n° 4.

(2) CLAUDIEN, *In Eutropium*, II, 259-64.

quattuor hinc magnis procedunt fontibus amnes
auriferi, nec miror aquas radiare metallo,
qui totiens lavere Midan. deversus ad Austrum
cursus et Arctoum fluviis mare. Dindyma fundunt
Sangarium, vitrei puro qui gurgite Galli
auctus Amazonii defertur ad ostia Ponti.

(3) B. V. HEAD, *H.N.*², pp. 682-83 ; HEAD-SVORONOS, II, p. 234 ; T. E. MIONNET, *op. cit.*, IV (1809), p. 352, n° 901 ; p. 353, n° 903, 905. *Supplément VII* (1835), p. 608, n° 546-47 ; *C.B.M.*, B. V. HEAD, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in Phrygia*, Bologna, 1964, p. XCI, 365, n° 20 ; p. 358, n° 28-30 ; p. 359, n° 32 et 35-37 ; p. 360, n° 38-42 ; *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland, op. cit.*, Heft 9, Berlin, 1964, table 129, nos 3925, 3927, 3929, 3931-32 ; F. IMHOOF-BLUMER, *Kleinasiat. Münzen*, p. 285, n° 4 ; *Inventaire Waddington, Revue numismatique*, 4e série, II (1898), p. 553, n° 6403 ; F. IMHOOF-BLUMER, *Revue suisse numismatique*, XXIII (1923), p. 329, n° 392-93 ; WASER dans P.-W., *R.E.*, VII (1912), col. 674.

(4) B. V. HEAD, *H.N.*², p. 682 ; HEAD-SVORONOS, II, p. 234 ; RUGE dans P.-W., *R.E.*, VII (1912), col. 674.

(5) RUGE dans P.-W., *R.E.*, XIX, 2 (1938), col. 2523, qui rétracte ses assertions d'autrefois ; B. V. HEAD, *C.B.M.*, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit* ; *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland, op. cit., loc. cit.*

Il s'agit certainement d'un cours d'eau local différent du torrent homonyme de Pessinonte (1).

Un troisième Gallos doit être localisé en Bithynie. Strabon mentionne, en effet, une rivière importante de ce nom, qui se jette dans le Sangarios à 300 stades (55 km 49) de Nicomédie (Izmit). Le grand fleuve serait même devenu navigable grâce à l'apport des eaux de cet affluent (2). Ammien Marcellin rapporte de son côté que l'empereur Valens, faisant le siège de Chalcédoine en 365 ap. J.-C., n'échappa de justesse à un mouvement d'investissement de la part de troupes ennemies, qui s'étaient évadées de la ville de Nicée (Iznik) assiégée, que par une fuite vers Ankara, par le lac Sunonien (le lac Sabandja, près de Nicomédie) et les méandres du Gallos (3).

L'identification de ce cours d'eau bithynien pose des problèmes considérables. La plupart des savants, se référant exclusivement au texte de Strabon, ont vu dans ce Gallos de Bithynie le Gök (Su), qui a ses sources près d'Inegol et qui, venant de gauche, se jette dans la Sangarios, en aval d'Osmaneli (et Lefke) (4).

(1) Cf. WASER dans P.-W., *R.E.*, VII (1912), col. 674. L'opinion de D. BOUTKOWSKI dans le *Dictionnaire numismatique*, I, p. 618, que le Gallos des monnaies de Philomelion serait le fleuve pessinontien, distant de 160 km, nous semble invraisemblable.

(2) STRABON, XII, 3, 7 (C 543) *Μεταξὺ δὲ Χαλκηδόνος καὶ Ἡρακλείας ῥέουσι ποταμοὶ πλείους, ὧν εἰσιν ὅ τε Ψίλλις καὶ ὁ Κάλπας καὶ ὁ Σαγγάριος, οὗ μέμνηται καὶ ὁ ποιητής. ἔχει δὲ τὰς πηγὰς κατὰ Σαγγίαν κώμην ἀφ' ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντά που σταδίων οὗτος Πεσσινοῦντος: διέξεισι δὲ τῆς ἐπικτήτου Φρυγίας τὴν πλείω, μέρος δέ τι καὶ τῆς Βιθυνίας, ὥστε καὶ τῆς Νικομεδείας ἀπέχειν μικρὸν πλείους ἢ τριακοσίους σταδίους, καθ' ὃ συμβάλλει ποταμὸς αὐτῷ Γάλλος, ἐκ Μόδρων τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχων τῆς ἐφ' Ἑλλεσπόντῳ Φρυγίας ... αὐξηθεὶς δὲ καὶ γενόμενος πλωτός ...*

(3) AMMIEN MARCELLIN, XXVI, 8, 3 : *properabant ardenter circumventuri Valentem, nondum a Chalcedonos suburbano digressum, et patrassent conata, ni rumore quodam praeverso, imminens exitium ille perdoctus, instantem vestigiis hostem per Sunonensem lacum et fluminis Galli sinuosos amfractus propere discedendo, frustra sequentem lusisset.*

(4) W. M. LEAKE, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 82-86 ; W. M. RAMSAY, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, London, 1890, pp. 205, 459-60 ; H. KIEPERT, *Formae orbis antiqui*, Berlin, 1894, IX Asia provincia, carte VIII ; WASER dans P.-W., *R.E.*, VII (1912), col. 674 ; RUGE dans P.-W., *R.E.*, XV, 2 (1932), col. 2333 ; F. K. DÖRNER, dans *Der Kleine Pauly*, II (1967), col. 687. Cl. BOSCH, *op. cit.*, pp. 438-40.

D'autres savants ont identifié le Gallos bithynien avec le Mudurnu (Su), qui rejoint la Sakarya plus au nord, sur sa rive droite (1).

Jusqu'à présent, le problème reste pendant. N'y avait-il qu'un seul Gallos en Bithynie? Ou y avait-il plusieurs rivières de ce nom dans cette région, tout comme il y en avait deux en Phrygie? La répétition d'un même nom géographique n'était pas exceptionnelle en Asie Mineure (2). Il y avait, en tout cas, au moins un Gallos bithynien, qui, en largeur, dépassait considérablement ses homonymes de Pessinonte et de Philomelion. Peut-être doit-on y reconnaître l'affluent du Sangarios, portant le même nom, que Martianus Capella cite dans sa description de la Bithynie (3). Dans ce cas, l'auteur l'aurait confondu avec le Gallos pessinontien, puisqu'il le rattache au nom des prêtres châtrés de Cybèle.

Le Gallos, affluent important du Sangarios, qui figure chez Pline à côté du Tembris (Tembrogus), le plus grand affluent de la rivière (4), ne peut être qu'un de ces cours d'eau bithyniens.

Les noms semblables de plusieurs cours d'eau devaient nécessairement être une source d'erreurs pour des écrivains antiques qui ne connaissaient pas nécessairement les lieux dont ils parlaient et qui, trompés par l'homonymie, pouvaient même attribuer aux uns les caractéristiques des autres.

Gand. M. WAELKENS.
Aspirant du F.N.R.S.

(1) G. PERROT, *Description de la Galatie et de la Bithynie*, I, Paris, 1872, p. 59, n. 1 ; A. H. M. JONES, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, Oxford, 1937, p. 167, carte II ; RUGE dans P.-W., *R.E.*, VII (1912) croit qu'il y avait deux Gallos bithyniens, l'un cité par Strabon, l'autre celui dont parle Ammien. W. VON DIEST, *Von Tilsit nach Angora*, dans Dr. A. PETERMANNS, *Mitteilungen*, XXVII, Heft 125 (1898), p. 16 ; W. VON DIEST, *Von Pergamon über den Dindymos zum Pontus*, *ibid.*, Heft 94, p. 58.

(2) Cf. G. PERROT, *op. cit.*, I, p. 59, n° 1 ; D. BOUTKOWSKI, *Dictionnaire numismatique*, I, p. 618.

(3) Cf. p. 364, n. 3.

(4) PLINE, *N.H.*, VI, 1, 4 : *Ergo a faucibus Bospori est amnis Rebas, quem aliqui Rhesum dixerunt; dein Syris, portus Calpas, Sangarius fluvius ex inclutis; oritur in Phrygia accipit vastos amnes inter quos Tembrogium et Gallum, idem Sagarius plerisque dictus.*

ZUR FRAGE NACH DEM AUTHENTISCHEN TITEL VON JOHANNES KINNAMOS' GESCHICHTSWERK

Gleich vielen anderen bewährten Standardwerken der Byzantinistik benennt Gy. Moravcsik (1), um nur ein Beispiel herauszugreifen, als Titel des bekannten Geschichtswerkes aus der Feder des kaiserlichen Sekretärs zur Zeit Manuels I. Komnenos, Johannes Kinnamos, über die Ereignisse der Jahre 1118-1176, die bündige vox Epitome : ein breviarium würde uns demnach in toto über die Geschehnisse der gesamten umrissenen Zeit berichten, wobei wiederum offenbliebe, ob diese Epitome letztlich auf eine Redaktion ihres Autors selbst zurückginge oder von einem späteren Bearbeiter rührte. Diese Formulierung eines historischen 'Abrisses' verbirgt schon nach Ausweis der uns überlieferten Überschrift über dem ersten Buche des uns bekanntlich nicht vollständig erhaltenen Oeuvre eine in Wahrheit weit verwickeltere Problematik : in den tradierten Manuskripten des angesehenen Geschichtsschreibers findet sich klar und deutlich in Wirklichkeit die viel umfassendere Definition des geschichtlichen Traktats in den Worten : *Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν καθορθωμάτων τῷ ... βασιλεῖ ... Ἰωάννῃ τῷ Κομνηνῷ καὶ ἀφήγησις τῶν πραχθέντων τῷ ἀοιδίμῳ ... βασιλεῖ ... κυρῷ Μανουὴλ τῷ Κομνηνῷ ...*

Anders ausgedrückt : nach der beglaubigten Aussage der in ihrem besten Zeugen, Cod. Vatic. gr. 163, bis auf das 13. Jh. zurückreichenden Überlieferung besteht die besprochene erzählende Quelle zumindest in der uns ausschliesslich erhaltenen Fassung sowohl aus einem historischen Abrégé

(1) *Byzantinoturcica*, I², Berlin, 1958, S. 324.

oder Breviarium der Zeit Kaiser Johannes' II. Komnenos (1118-1143) wie zusätzlich aus einer ihrem literarischen Genos nach hiervon stilistisch und umfangmässig verschiedenartigen Aphegesis, d.h. einer ungekürzten erzählenden historischen Darstellung (— welche allerdings nach den Feststellungen des erwähnten grundlegenden Traktats von Moravcsik (1) gleichfalls — ganz abgesehen von dem verlorenen Schlussteile — auch sonst nur lückenhaft auf unsere Tage gekommen zu sein scheint) der darauffolgenden Ära Kaiser Manuels I. Komnenos (seit 1143). Schon in der Frage, ob der langwierige und unumwunden gesagt reichlich plumpe Titel, den wir nur in einem kleinen Auszug wörtlich anführten, der in seiner Gänze in der Bonner Edition jedoch nicht weniger denn 7 Zeilen bemisst, tatsächlich von dem stilistisch ausserordentlich geschliffenen Literaten und Historiker selbst herrührt, darf man sehr wohl ernsthafte Zweifel anmelden. Die Sachlage kompliziert sich indes noch insofern, als sämtliche bisherigen Editoren — C. Tollius in seiner Utrechter Ausgabe vom J. 1652, der berühmte Ch. du Fresne du Cange in seiner Pariser Edition des J. 1670, sowie A. Meineke in seiner Bonner Ausgabe vom J. 1836 die unleugbar von prima manus unseres besten Überlieferungszeugen, des schon benannten cod. Vatic. gr. 163, auf den sämtliche ansonsten tradierten Manuskripte im Stemma zurückzuführen sind, vorgenommenen Rubrikeinträge über Buch 1 und 2 des Geschichtswerkes, fol. 221r, lin. 3 bzw. fol. 225r, lin. 23 — nebenbei die beiden einzigen überlieferungsgeschichtlich beglaubigten und berechtigten Buchbezeichnungen überhaupt — schlankweg ignorierten. An der erstangeführten Stelle steht klar und deutlich von der gleichen Hand, welche auch die weitläufige Überschrift in ihren sonstigen Teilen fertigte wie nicht minder den Wortlaut des Texts selbst niederlegte, nach jenem angedeuteten langatmigen siebenzeiligen Satze die Kurztitulierung: ἱστορίων λόγος α', an der zweitbenannten Partie als alleinige überschriftliche Rubrik vor den nachfolgenden Zusammenhängen: Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἱστορίας βιβλίον δεύτερον.

Damit bieten sich also anstatt eines einzigen kurzen und

(1) *A.a.O.*, S. 325.

bündigen Titels Epitome in Wahrheit vielmehr gleichzeitig nicht weniger denn die drei Titel E p i t o m è ... k a i a p h é g e s i s .., sowie H i s t o r i a i und R h o m a ï k è h i s t o r i a an. Die erstangeführte umständliche Benennung würde man gerne eher einem späteren Epitomator bzw. Redaktor als Kinnamos selber zutrauen. Aber auch die Authentizität der übrigen erwähnten Bezeichnungen bleibe dahingestellt : für keine andere der uns erhaltenen byzantinischen erzählenden Geschichtsquellen lässt sich eine ähnliche Vielzahl titularer Varianten registrieren. Somit erweist sich ein Problem, das längst als klar und erledigt galt, in Wirklichkeit als völlig offen : wir kennen den authentischen Titel des Geschichtswerks des Kinnamos nicht mit Sicherheit. Lediglich ein überaus glücklicher Handschriftenfund könnte allenfalls einen Fortschritt in der angesprochenen Frage bringen. Solange wir lediglich über die heute bekannten Codices verfügen, verbleibt umgekehrt formuliert das angeschnittene Dilemma ungelöst.

Mit dieser Situation hat sich auch eine neue und zugleich erste tatsächliche kritische Edition abzufinden : sie vermag die verschiedenen Titel zu verbuchen ; sie wird sich jedoch davor zu hüten haben, eine angeblich allein verbindliche Bezeichnung den übrigen konkurrierenden Benennungen verdiktisch vorzuziehen.

München. Peter WIRTH.

MÉMOIRES ET DOCUMENTS

SANTI DI METONE: ATANASIO VESCOVO, LEONE TAUMATURGO

1. Metone nel medioevo. — 2. Metone scalo nel viaggio in Terra Santa. — 3. I santi di Metone nelle relazioni dei pellegrini. — 4. I santi di Metone nelle fonti greche : *a.* S. Atanasio vescovo ; *b.* S. Leone taumaturgo. — 5. Nicola vescovo di Metone e la sua opera letteraria. — 6. Due nuovi manoscritti moreoti. — 7. I testi : *a.* Sinassario per s. Leone. *b.* Sticheri. *c.* Canone per s. Leone.

Anche io sono fra i tanti che hanno grandissimi debiti di riconoscenza verso il Rev. Padre Raymond-Joseph Loenertz, O.P., non solo per gli insegnamenti e gli aiuti di cui egli è stato sempre generoso, ma anche e soprattutto per l'altezza della lezione morale che scaturisce da tutta la sua vita e dalla sua intera opera scientifica, ispirate entrambi a una fedeltà assoluta alla sua vocazione spirituale e intellettuale, e a un sincero, talvolta eroico, amore per la verità. Sono perciò assai lieta di aderire, come so e posso, all'iniziativa presa da *Byzantion* per onorare una figura così esemplare di studioso e di maestro.

1. — Metone nel medioevo

Il porto di Metone ha avuto, durante tutta l'epoca della navigazione a vela, una eccezionale importanza dal punto di vista commerciale e strategico. Situato sull'estremo lembo sud-occidentale del Peloponneso, là dove le acque dello Ionio si mescolano con quelle dell'Egeo, esso offriva, su un lungo tratto della costa messenica, il solo riparo ai naviganti che — movendo dall'Occidente all'Oriente e viceversa — affrontavano le bonacce o sfidavano le tempeste di quella distesa di mare.

Significativi sono, per caratterizzare il luogo, i due culti segnalati da Pausania nella Metone precristiana: quello di Artemide, la divinità dei viaggiatori e dei porti (1), e quello di Atena Anemotide, la dea « che calma i venti » (2).

La storia della località fu sempre strettamente collegata con l'importanza del suo scalo naturale, migliorato abbastanza presto dall'opera dell'uomo con un molo, la cui prima costruzione si data al 200 d. C. (3) : ed è una storia drammatica, costellata di improvvisi colpi di mano, di ostinate difese, di stragi sanguinose. È una storia che per alcuni secoli — dal XII al XVIII — si inserisce in quella dell'impero marittimo di Venezia, nel quale Metone (nel medioevo Modon, Modone) costituiva, al pari dell'altra base di Corone, sulla costa sud-orientale della penisola messenica, non solo uno scalo di prim'ordine per i viaggi d'andata e di ritorno verso l'Oriente (4), ma anche un eccellente posto d'osservazione donde era possibile sorvegliare tutti i movimenti di amici e di nemici nelle acque del Levante (5). Ben a ragione dunque Metone e Corone sono pittorescamente definite, in un atto del Senato di Venezia del 30 marzo 1375, *oculi capitales communis* (6).

Non ci fermeremo qui a ripercorrere tutta la storia dei rapporti fra Metone e Venezia (7). Basterà ricordarne alcuni momenti essen-

(1) Cf. voce *Artemis*, in PAULY-WISSOWA, *Real-Encyclopädie*, II, 1, Stuttgart, 1895, coll. 1349-1350.

(2) PAUSANIAE *Graeciae descriptio*, IV, 35, 8 ; cf. voce *Methone*, 4, in PAULY-WISSOWA, *Real-Encyclopädie*, XV, 2, Stuttgart, 1932, coll. 1382-1384.

(3) A. PHILIPPSON-E. KIRSTEN, *Die griechischen Landschaften*, III, 2. *Der Peloponnes*, Frankfurt am Main, 1959, p. 391.

(4) Per l'importanza di Metone come scalo è stato messo giustamente in risalto il fatto che alcuni cronisti occidentali del secolo XIII designano il Peloponneso col termine « isola di Modone » : cf. A. BON, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin jusqu'en 1204*, Paris, 1951 (Bibliothèque byzantine, Études, 1), pp. 84 nota 2, 159.

(5) W. HEYD, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen Âge*, I, Leipzig, 1923, p. 272.

(6) F. THIRIET, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, I, Paris, 1958, p. 138, n° 559 ; HEYD, *op. cit., loc. cit.* ; A. BON, *La Morée franque*, Paris, 1969 (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 213), p. 263, nota 2.

(7) Sulla storia di Metone in generale, e soprattutto sulle più tardive fortificazioni veneziane del secolo XVIII si veda la trattazione monografica di K. ANDREWS, *Castles of the Morea*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1953 (Gennadeion

ziali : la crisobolla di Alessio I Comneno del maggio 1082, con l'elenco dei punti dell'Impero bizantino — tra cui Metone — aperti al traffico veneziano (1) ; l'assalto e la distruzione delle fortificazioni di Metone, divenuta rifugio di pirati, ad opera di una spedizione veneziana comandata dal doge Domenico Michiel nel 1125 (2) ; la crisobolla dell'agosto 1126, con cui Giovanni II Comneno ratifica tutti i privilegi concessi a Venezia da suo padre Alessio (3) (una nuova ratifica ne viene eseguita nell'ottobre del 1147, da Manuele I Comneno) (4) ; la conquista franca del 1204 ad opera di Geoffroy de Villehardouin e di Guillaume de Champlitte (5) ; le rivendicazioni di Venezia e l'occupazione da parte della sua flotta di Metone e Corone nel 1206 o nel 1207 (6) ; l'accordo tra Venezia e Geoffroy de Villehardouin firmato nell'isola di Sapienza nel giugno 1209 (7).

A partire da questa data si apre il primo dominio veneziano su Metone, dominio che durerà quasi tre interi secoli, e si chiuderà tragicamente il 9 agosto 1500, con la conquista della piazzaforte ad opera dell'armata del sultano Bāyăzid II. Gli edifici della città subirono gravissimi danni, sia per il bombardamento cui furono sottoposti durante l'assedio, sia per l'incendio appiccatovi dagli stessi cittadini al momento dell'irruzione dei Turchi entro le mura ; gli abitanti furono passati in massa per le armi (compresi i due

Monographs, 4), pp. 58-83, tavv. XIV-XVII. Molto utili ancora lo studio di A. G. Momferratos, *Μεθώνη καὶ Κορώνη ἐπὶ Ἐνετοκρατίας, ἐν Ἀθήναις*, 1914, e l'articolo di S. B. Luce, *Modon-A Venetian Station in Mediaeval Greece*, in *Classical and Mediaeval Studies in honor of E. K. Rand*, New York, 1938, pp. 195-208.

(1) F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, II, München-Berlin, 1925, pp. 27-28, n° 1081 ; Heyd, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 118-119 ; Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin*, pp. 82-83 ; F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1959 (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 193), p. 39.

(2) Heyd, *op. cit.*, p. 195 ; Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin*, pp. 83, 114, 170 ; idem, *La Morée franque*, p. 60, nota 9.

(3) Dölger, *Regesten*, II, pp. 59-60, n° 1304 ; Heyd, *op. cit.*, p. 196 ; Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin*, p. 83 ; Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne*, p. 41.

(4) Dölger, *Regesten*, II, p. 67, n° 1365.

(5) Bon, *La Morée franque*, pp. 57-65.

(6) Bon, *La Morée franque*, p. 66 e nota 2. La conquista di Metone e Corone è fissata al 1207 da S. Borsari, *Studi sulle colonie veneziane in Romania nel XIII secolo*, Napoli, 1966, p. 28.

(7) Bon, *La Morée franque*, pp. 66-67.

vescovi, il greco, Giovanni-Giuseppe Plusiadeno, e il latino, Andrea Falconi), e il sultano stesso entrò nella chiesa latina, vi rese grazie ad Allah e ne fece una moschea (1).

I nuovi occupanti turchi si affrettarono a riparare le fortificazioni di Metone (2), e non a torto, ché le forze cristiane avrebbero tentato più di una volta di ricuperare la piazzaforte : del 1531 è un attacco infruttuoso dei Cavalieri di Malta (3), del 1572 un altro vano tentativo di don Giovanni d'Austria (4). Metone ritornerà di nuovo sotto Venezia in séguito alla conquista della Morea compiuta da Francesco Morosini tra il 1685 e il 1688 (5) : ma questa impresa non sarebbe stata — come si è giustamente notato — che un brillante fatto d'armi senza domani (6) : Metone, con tutta la Morea, fu

(1) Una fonte di alto interesse sulla presa di Metone da parte dei Turchi è la narrazione di un testimone oculare, Andrea Balastro, camerlengo di Metone e capitano del Borgo, pubblicata in Donado DA LEZZE, *Historia Turchesca (1300-1614)*, ed. di I. URSU, Bucureşti, 1910, pp. 241-262. Si vedano anche i *Diarii* di Marino SANUTO, III, a cura di R. FULIN, Venezia, 1880, coll. 688-695, 716-719, 732, 770-772, 774-775, 797-799, 810-811, 818, 821, 822, 825-828, ecc. Altre testimonianze di contemporanei sono edite da N. IORGA, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades au XVe siècle*, V, Bucarest, 1915, pp. 301-307. Tra le fonti greche va citata la narrazione dello Pseudo-Doroteo, da una redazione della quale deriva il luogo relativo a questo episodio nel *Χρονικὸν περὶ τῶν Τούρκων Σουλτάνων* pubblicato da G. ZORAS, *Ἀθῆναι*, 1958, pp. 132-133 ; cf. E. A. ZACHARIADU, *Τὸ Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων Σουλτάνων καὶ τὸ ἰταλικό του πρότυπο, Θεσσαλονίκη*, 1960 (*Ἑλληνικά, Παράρτημα* 14), pp. 64-71. Su Giovanni-Giuseppe Plusiadeno cf. specialmente M. MANUSSACAS, *Ἀρχιερεῖς Μεθώνης, Κορώνης καὶ Μονεμβασίας γύρω στὰ 1600*, in *Πελοποννησιακά*, 3 (1959), pp. 95-149, specialmente pp. 97-100. Vedere anche sotto, nota 1 a p. 434.

(2) Cf. i *Diarii* di Marino SANUTO, III, col. 833, 834 ; ANDREWS, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

(3) Descritto minutamente da Teodoro SPANDUGINO CANTACUZINO, *De la origine deli Imperatori Ottomani*, ed. C. SATHAS, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Âge*, IX, Paris, 1890, pp. 192-194 ; ANDREWS, *op. cit., loc. cit.*

(4) ANDREWS, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

(5) Si veda, per esempio, la narrazione della riconquista di Metone presso il biografo del Morosini, Giovanni GRAZIANO (Gratianus) di Bergamo, *Francisci Mauroceni Peloponnesiaci, Venetiarum Principis, Gesta*, Patavii, 1698, pp. 291-298 ; cf. ANDREWS, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-13 (in particolare sulla conquista dell'altra base peloponnesiaca di Corone).

(6) THIRIET, *La Romanie vénitienne*, p. 441.

riacquistata dai Turchi nel 1715 (1), e con la pace di Passarowitz (1718) Venezia dovette rinunciare per sempre ai suoi domini nell'Egeo (2).

Nel corso del secolo XVIII le fortificazioni di Metone furono lasciate cadere a poco a poco in rovina (3), e il porto, che tendeva a colmarsi fin dall'epoca veneziana (4), venne disertato dalle navi di maggiore tonnellaggio (5). Durante la guerra per l'indipendenza greca Metone subì ulteriori distruzioni: Ibrahim pascià, sbarcato nel febbraio 1825 a Metone che si era liberata, la prese, distruggendo col fuoco gli oliveti della regione; il 30 aprile 1825 l'ammiraglio Miaulis assalì a sua volta e diede alle fiamme la flotta turca ancorata presso Metone: l'incendio distrusse anche parte della fortezza e della città. Dopo il 1828, le truppe di liberazione francesi sotto il maresciallo Maison ricostruirono la città fuori delle mura, utilizzando a tale scopo i materiali dell'antico abitato (6).

Della città che una volta esisté entro la superstite cerchia delle mura, rimangono oggi solo un bagno turco, un minareto all'angolo di quella che fu un tempo la chiesa latina, numerose cisterne e

(1) ANDREWS, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

(2) B. DUDAN, *Il dominio veneziano di Levante*, Bologna, 1938, pp. 73-74; THIRIET, *La Romanie vénitienne*, p. 441.

(3) ANDREWS, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

(4) Cf. THIRIET, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise*, I, pp. 166-167, n° 687 (deliberazione del 29 dicembre 1384); III, Paris, 1961, p. 55, n° 2426 (deliberazione del 27 settembre 1436).

(5) Esse gettavano l'ancora presso l'isola di Sapienza. Tra le isole di Sapienza e Cabrera si ancorò, per esempio, la nave che trasportò a Metone, il 10 agosto 1806, François auguste de Chateaubriand. La città presentò all'illustre viaggiatore un aspetto desolato: « Pas un bateau dans le port; pas un homme sur la rive: partout le silence, l'abandon et l'oubli» (F.A. DE CHATEAUBRIAND, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem et de Jérusalem à Paris*, I, Paris, 1812², p. 81). Cf. anche W. GELL, *Itinerary of the Morea*, London, 1817 (a me accessibile nella versione francese del conte DE TROMELIN, Paris, 1828, p. 23).

(6) Cf. *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνική Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, XVI, *Ἀθῆναι*, 1931, pp. 840-841; ANDREWS, *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 260; E. KIRSTEN-W. KRAIKER, *Griechenlandkunde*, II, Heidelberg, 1967⁵, p. 429. La demolizione definitiva degli edifici superstiti di Metone si impose ai genieri francesi per ragioni di igiene e di sicurezza; non si poteva altrimenti bonificare il luogo (dove giacevano ancora molti cadaveri insepolti sotto le rovine dopo le ultime vicende belliche), né prevenire i crolli delle abitazioni pericolanti. Su ciò si veda J. B. G. M. BORY DE SAINT-VINCENT, *Relation du voyage de la Commission scientifique de Morée*, I, Paris, 1836, p. 169.

un'antica colonna di granito elevantesi sulla piazza principale, con una iscrizione veneziana della fine del xv secolo, ormai in gran parte cancellata (1). La primitiva pianta della città e il tracciato delle strade sono riconoscibili solo dalla fotografia aerea (2).

2. — Metone scalo nel viaggio in Terra Santa

Sotto la sferza dei venti di sud e di sud-ovest, il mare si scaglia spesso violento contro Metone : prima che la città fosse murata, l'abitato fu più d'una volta devastato dall'impeto delle onde (3). Non meno grave della violenza degli elementi naturali è stata però la violenza degli uomini, che a più riprese ha fatto irruzione sulla città messenica, accanendosi su edifici e abitanti al pari di una rovinosa mareggiata. Ritraendosi, quelle ondate distruggitrici lasciavano dietro di sé desolazione e rovine : ben poco possono dunque dirci sulla storia della città i resti delle sue costruzioni e le tradizioni locali.

Ma possediamo per fortuna altre fonti cui attingere notizie sulla Metone medievale : fra esse hanno un posto di rilievo le relazioni dei viaggiatori, e soprattutto dei pellegrini in Terra Santa.

Posta, come fu detto, *quasi in media via ad omnem terram et mare* (4), Metone fu uno degli scali regolarmente toccati dai pellegrini

(1) L'epigrafe è stata trascritta per la prima volta da W. M. Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, I, London, 1830, pp. 430-431. Più tardi J.-A. Buchon, *La Grèce Continentale et la Morée*, Paris, 1843, p. 457, credette di riconoscervi il nome di Francesco Morosini. La lettura del Buchon è stata successivamente accettata da altri (*Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, vol. cit., p. 841 ; E. Armao, *In giro per il mar Egeo con Vincenzo Coronelli*, Firenze, 1951, p. 322 ; *Grèce*, nella collezione *Les Guides bleus*, Paris, 1953, p. 477) ; ma si vedano le giuste obiezioni del Luce, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-207, e dell'Andrews, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82.

(2) Andrews, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83 e fig. 61 ; Kirsten-Kraiker, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

(3) Cf. Philippson-Kirsten, *op. cit.*, III, 2, p. 391. Metone subì gravi danni per una mareggiata catastrofica nel 365 d. C. : cf. *art. cit.*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopädie*, XV, 2, col. 1384.

(4) Sono parole del domenicano Felix Fabri, originario di Zurigo, che visitò Metone alla fine del secolo xv : cf. Fratris Felicis Fabri, *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*, ed. C. D. Hassler, III, Stuttgartiae, 1849 (Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 4), p. 343 ; cf. anche Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

che si dirigevano verso la Palestina e che ne ritornavano (1). Il più antico ricordo di Metone nel racconto di un pellegrinaggio cristiano è forse quello contenuto nell'*Epitafio* di santa Paola scritto da s. Gerolamo : sul finire del IV secolo Paola giunse a Metone dallo stretto di Messina, vi si soffermò a ristorarsi, e di là continuò il viaggio nell'Egeo verso Rodi, la Licia, Cipro (2).

Le notizie su Metone sono però copiose in scritti di età molto più tarda, del XIV e del XV secolo soprattutto (3). Prima di quest'epoca tra gli scrittori che citano Metone si possono ricordare appena il geografo arabo Edrisi, vissuto alla corte dei re normanni di Sicilia, che redasse una descrizione del mondo per il re Ruggero II (prima del 1154) (4), e Benedetto di Peterborough, il quale, giungendo da Oriente, passò lungo le coste del Peloponneso nel 1191 (5).

L'importanza di Metone come scalo nel viaggio marittimo verso i Luoghi Santi si accrebbe indubbiamente dopo la conquista da parte di Venezia. La Repubblica di S. Marco possedette, tra la fine del secolo XIII e la fine del XV, il monopolio del trasporto dei

(1) Cf. R. RÖHRICHT, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem heiligen Lande*, Neue Ausgabe, Innsbruck, 1900, p. 16. Per Metone nei portolani medievali greci cf. A. DELATTE, *Les portulans grecs*, Liège-Paris, 1947 (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 107), pp. 55-56, 61-62, 213-214, 267-268. Fondamentale strumento di lavoro per l'indagine sulle relazioni dei pellegrini in Terra Santa è l'opera di R. RÖHRICHT, *Bibliotheca geographica Palaestinae*, Berlin, 1890 (Neuausgabe mit einem Vorwort von D. H. K. AMIRAN, Jerusalem, 1963).

(2) S. HIERONYMUS, *Epist.* 108, alias 27, § 7 (MIGNE, *P.L.*, XXII, Parisiis, 1845, coll. 878-909, precisamente col. 882 : T. TOBLER, *Itinera et descriptiones Terrae Sanctae lingua latina saec. IV-XI exarata*, I, Genevae, 1877, p. 30 ; Sancti EUSEBII HIERONYMI *Epistulae*, rec. I. HILBERG, II, Vindobonae-Lipsiae, 1912 (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 55), p. 312.

(3) Sulla scarsità delle notizie sul Peloponneso presso gli scrittori più antichi vedere BON, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin*, pp. 154-155. Sui viaggiatori nel Peloponneso di età più recente cf. in generale BON, *La Morée franque*, pp. 31-32.

(4) BON, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin*, p. 156. Da ricordare tuttavia che Edrisi non ha certamente visitato di persona tutti i luoghi che descrive. Del resto Metone appare nella sua opera solo come un nome (Motonia).

(5) BON, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin*, p. 155. Benedetto di Peterborough scrive : « In exitu autem ejusdem gulfi de Witun est civitas episcopalis antiqua, deserta nunc, quam Rogerus Rex Siciliae destruxit eo quod piratae ibi habitabant, et dicebatur Muszim [= Metone], ante cujus introitum duae sunt insulae magnae [= isole Oinussai], quarum una Sapia [= Sapienza], alia insula dicitur Vulturum [= Cabrera o Schisa], quia inibi est copia vulturum ».

pellegrini in Terra Santa, organizzandone sistematicamente il passaggio con le proprie navi (1). Gli scali erano regolarmente predisposti nelle basi venete, e perciò Metone appare ora quasi immancabilmente citata nelle relazioni dei pellegrini. Le notizie sulla città messenica sono più o meno ampie, naturalmente, a seconda delle circostanze del viaggio e della capacità di osservazione dei singoli viaggiatori: esse si sono rivelate preziose, tra l'altro, per le informazioni che forniscono sugli Ebrei (2) e sugli Zingari (3).

Un breve ricordo di Metone appare nell'*Itinerarium in Terram Sanctam* di Symon Simeonis e Hugo Illuminator, del 1322 o del 1323 (4), nel *Liber peregrinationis* scritto dal monaco agostiniano Giacomo da Verona (anno 1335) (5), nel *Libro d'Oltramare* di fra Niccolò da Poggibonsi (anno 1345) (6), nella relazione del notaio italiano Nicolò da Martoni (anno 1394) (7), nel racconto del viaggio a Gerusalemme di Ogier VIII, signore d'Anglure (1395-1396) (8), in un anonimo racconto francese degli anni 1419-1425 (9), nella relazione di Mariano di Nanni da Siena (anno 1431)(10), nella narra-

(1) Luce, *op. cit.*, p. 198 ; Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

(2) Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin*, pp. 86-87, con bibliografia.

(3) D. A. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, II, Athènes, 1953, pp. 43-45.

(4) Ed. J. Nasmith, *Itineraria Symonis Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcestre*, Cantabrigiae, 1778, p. 15.

(5) Ed. R. Röhricht, *Le pèlerinage du moine augustin Jacques de Vérone (1335)*, in *Revue de l'Orient latin*, 3 (1895), pp. 155-302, precisamente p. 174.

(6) Ed. A. Bacchi della Lega, *Libro d'Oltramare di fra Niccolò da Poggibonsi*, Bologna, 1881, I, pp. 13-14.

(7) Ed. L. Le Grand, *Relation du pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Nicolas de Martoni, notaire italien (1394-1395)*, in *Revue de l'Orient latin*, 3 (1895), pp. 566-669, precisamente p. 579.

(8) Ed. F. Bonnardot et A. Longnon, *Le Saint Voyage de Jherusalem du Seigneur d'Anglure*, Paris, 1878 (Société des anciens textes français), pp. 8 (viaggio di andata) e 96 (viaggio di ritorno).

(9) H. Moranvillé, *Un pèlerinage en Terre Sainte et au Sinaï au XVe siècle*, in Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, 66 (1905), pp. 70-106, specialmente pp. 78-79, 106.

(10) Ed. D. Moreni, *Del viaggio in Terra Santa fatto e descritto da Ser Mariano da Siena*, Firenze, 1822, pp. 8 (andata) e 122 (ritorno). A p. 8 Mariano di Nanni scrive che il 10 di maggio del 1431 la nave su cui era imbarcato si tenne al largo da Metone « per la grandissima moria che v'era ». Su questa epidemia dà testimonianza anche una deliberazione del Senato di Venezia in data 27-30 maggio 1431 : cf. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise*, III, p. 12, n° 2237.

zione del viaggio di Bertrandon de la Broquière (anno 1432) (1). A Metone sbarcò il Patriarca di Costantinopoli Giuseppe II con un folto gruppo di prelati greci durante il viaggio per l'Italia, ove si recava per il concilio di Ferrara-Firenze : ne troviamo la notizia presso il Siropulo (2) e, in forma più particolareggiata, in una breve « memoria » pubblicata dal Lampros (3). E ancora citano brevemente Metone Ghillebert de Lannoy (anno 1446) (4), Louis de Rochechouart, vescovo di Saintes (anno 1461) (5), Sebald Rieter senior (anno 1464) (6), Ulrich Brunner (anno 1470) (7).

Altri viaggiatori si dilungano di più su Metone nelle loro relazioni : essi non si limitano a nominare la città, ma forniscono informazioni più o meno ampie sui suoi edifici, sul porto, sugli abitanti, sui prodotti della regione e sulle sue attività commerciali. Essi sono, per esempio, il fiorentino Simone Sigoli (a. 1384) (8), il suo compagno di viaggio Lionardo Frescobaldi (9), Luchino dal Campo, autore del resoconto del viaggio a Gerusalemme di Nicolò da Este, signore

(1) Ed. Ch. SCHEFER, *Le Voyage d'Outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière*, Paris, 1892, p. 8.

(2) S. SGUROPULUS (Syropulus), *Vera historia unionis non verae*, ed. R. CREYGHTON, Hagae Comitis, 1660, pp. 72-73.

(3) In *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 7 (1910), pp. 156-7, n° 115, e poi in *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, III, *ἐν Ἀθήναις*, 1926, p. 362. La stessa «memoria» (*ἐνθύμησις*) registra anche la sosta a Metone dell'imperatore e dei prelati greci nel viaggio di ritorno, nel novembre del 1439. La prima edizione di questo testo si deve però ad A. PAPADOPULOS KERAMEUS, nel periodico *Παρνασσός*, 8 (1904), p. 204. Cf. anche il commento dell'archim. Ezechiele VELANIDIOTIS, in *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 9 (1912), pp. 199-202.

(4) Ch. POTVIN, *Œuvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy*, Louvain, 1878, pp. 175 e 177.

(5) C. COUDERC, *Journal de voyage à Jérusalem de Louis de Rochechouart*, Paris, 1893, p. 66 ; = *Revue de l'Orient latin*, 1 (1893), p. 233.

(6) R. RÖHRICHT-H. MEISNER, *Das Reisebuch der Familie Rieter*, Tübingen, 1884 (Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 168), p. 35.

(7) R. RÖHRICHT, *Die Jerusalemfahrt des Kanonikus Ulrich Brunner vom Haugstift in Würzburg (1470)*, in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 29 (1906), pp. 1-50, precisamente pp. 22-23, 49.

(8) L. FIACCHI e F. POGGI, *Viaggio al Monte Sinai di Simone Sigoli*, Firenze, 1829, p. 4 ; C. ANGELINI, *L. Frescobaldi-S. Sigoli, Viaggi in Terrasanta*, Firenze, 1944, pp. 173-174.

(9) ANGELINI, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-53.

di Ferrara (a. 1413) (1), Nompar II signore di Caumont (a. 1418) (2), Roberto da Sanseverino conte di Caiazzo (a. 1458) (3), Sebald Rieter il giovane (a. 1479) (4), l'anonimo autore del « Voyage de la Saincte Cyté de Hierusalem » del 1480 (5), fra Paulus Walther di Guglingen, dell'ordine dei Frati minori dell'osservanza (anni 1482 e 1483) (6), il domenicano Felix Fabri, originario di Zurigo (a. 1483) (7), l'autore del « Viazo da Venesia al Sancto Jherusalem », scritto nel 1483 (8), Bernhard von Breydenbach (a. 1483) (9), Philippe de Voisins signore di Montaut in Guascogna (a. 1490)(10), il canonico della Metropolitana di Milano Pietro Casola (anno 1494) (11), il cavaliere Arnold von Harff di Colonia (a. 1497) (12).

Alcune notizie su Metone si leggono anche in relazioni di pellegrini che passano in vista della città messenica dopo l'anno 1500, e

(1) Ed. G. Ghinassi, *Viaggio a Gerusalemme di Nicolò da Este descritto da Luchino dal Campo*, in *Miscellanea di opuscoli inediti o rari dei secoli XIV e XV*, Torino, 1861 (Collezione di opere inedite o rare dei dei primi tre secoli della lingua, 1), p. 112.

(2) Marquis de la Grange, *Voyaige d'oultremer en Jhérusalem par le seigneur de Caumont l'an MCCCCXVIII*, Paris, 1858, pp. 89-91.

(3) G. Maruffi, *Viaggio in Terra Santa fatto e descritto per Roberto da Sanseverino*, Bologna, 1888, pp. 49, 230-254.

(4) Röhricht-Meisner, *Das Reisebuch der Familie Rieter*, pp. 46-49, 134.

(5) Ed. Ch. Schefer, *Le Voyage de la Saincte Cyté de Hierusalem*, Paris, 1882, pp. 46-47.

(6) M. Sollweck, *Fratris Pauli Waltheri Guglingensis Itinerarium in Terram Sanctam et ad Sanctam Catharinam*, Tübingen, 1892, pp. 80-82, 254-255.

(7) Ed. Hasslbr, *Fratris Felicis Fabri Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae* etc. (vedi sopra, nota 4 a p. 383), pp. 330-338, 342-343.

(8) Edito per la prima volta, a quanto si sa, nel 1500 ; a me accessibile in una edizione più tardiva, senza data (Napoli, per Giuseppe-Maria Severino-Boezio), sotto il nome di fra Noè dell'ordine di San Francesco, col titolo *Viaggio da Venezia al S. Sepolcro* ; cf. H. W. Davies, *Bernhard von Breydenbach and his journey to the Holy Land (1483-4). A Bibliography*, London, 1911, pp. v e nota 1, xx.

(9) Davies, *op. cit.*, pp. xiii, xvii.

(10) Ph. Tamizey de Larroque, *Voyage à Jérusalem de Philippe de Voisins seigneur de Montaut*, Paris-Auch, 1883 (Archives historiques de la Gascogne, 3), pp. 22-23, 39.

(11) G. Porro, *Viaggio di Pietro Casola a Gerusalemme tratto dall'autografo esistente nella Biblioteca Trivulzio*, Milano, 1855, pp. 37-39.

(12) E. von Groote, *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff von Cöln durch Italien, Syrien, Aegypten, Arabien, Aethiopien, Nubien, Palästina, die Türkei, Frankreich und Spanien*, Cöln, 1860, pp. 66-68.

cioè dopo la sua conquista da parte dei Turchi: le navi dirette in Terra Santa ormai vi fanno scalo solo di rado, ma i viaggiatori registrano ugualmente l'eco non sopita dei tragici eventi che accompagnarono la caduta della città: tali il francese Greffin Affagart, il quale riferisce su un viaggio compiuto nel 1519 (1), il cavaliere Barthélemy de Salignac, anch'egli francese (a. 1522) (2), Denis Possot (a. 1532) (3). Molto interessante anche, in quanto illumina i problemi e i timori suscitati dalla perdita di Metone per la Cristianità, la relazione del pellegrinaggio di Sir Richard Guylforde, del Kent (anno 1506), redatta dal suo cappellano (4). Presso autori più recenti (del secolo XVI medio e del XVII) le notizie su Metone si fanno sempre più scarse (5), e bisogna giungere ad età più vicine alla nostra per trovarne qualche descrizione più particolareggiata (6).

(1) J. CHAVANON, *Relation de Terre Sainte (1533-1534) par Greffin Affagart*, Paris, 1902, pp. 34-35.

(2) *Itinerarium Hierosol. Bartholomaei de Saligniaco, equitis et iureconsulti Galli, praemissa eiusdem Oratione de laudibus Terrae sanctae*; pubblicato con la *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae ... auctore Borchardo monacho Germano*, Madgeburgi, 1587, pp. Cc 4r-v. L'edizione di Lione del 1525 mi è stata inaccessibile.

(3) Ch. SCHEFER, *Le voyage de la Terre Sainte composé par maître Denis Possot et achevé par Messire Charles Philippe de Champarmoy*, Paris, 1890, pp. 123, 125-126.

(4) H. ELLIS, *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde to the Holy Land, A.D. 1506*, London, 1851, pp. 12, 68-70.

(5) Si possono citare: Jost von Meggen, anno 1542 (Iodoci A MEGGEN *patricii lucerini peregrinatio Hierosolymitana*, Dilingae, 1580, pp. 234-235); l'ambasciatore francese d'Aramon, anno 1553 (J. CHESNEAU, *Le Voyage de Monsieur d'Aramon ambassadeur pour le roy en Levant*, ed. Ch. SCHEFER, Paris, 1887, pp. 157-158); Christoph. Fürer von Haimendorff, anno 1565 (Chr. FÜRER, *Itinerarium Aegypti, Arabiae, Palaestinae, Syriae, aliarumque regionum Orientalium*, Norimbergae, 1621, p. 3); Carlier de Pinon, anno 1579 (E. BLOCHET, *Relation de voyage en Orient de Carlier de Pinon [1579]*, in *Revue de l'Orient latin*, 12 [1909-1911], pp. 112-203, 327-421, precisamente pp. 162-163); André Thevet, fine del XVI secolo (si vedano gli estratti editi da Ch. SCHEFER, in *Le Voyage de la Terre Sainte composé par maître Denis Possot*, cit., pp. 245 sgg., dall'opera *Le Grand Insulaire et Pilotage d'André Thevet Angoumoisin, Cosmographe du Roy* ..., specialmente pp. 280-285); Henry de Beauvau, anno 1604 (*Relation journalière du voyage du Levant faict et descrit par haut et puissant Seigneur Henry de Beauvau*, Nancy, 1619, pp. 20-21); ecc. Di carattere soprattutto storico sono le notizie fornite da V. M. CORONELLI, *Memorie istorico-geografiche della Morea, del Regno di Negroponte e degli altri luoghi circonvicini e di quelli ch'hanno sottomesso nella Dalmazia e nell'Epiro*, I, Venezia, 1685, pp. 51-56.

(6) LEAKE, *Travels in the Morea*, I, pp. 428-434 (aprile del 1805); CHATEAU-

3. — I SANTI DI METONE NELLE RELAZIONI DEI PELLEGRINI

Fra le varie notizie fornite dai pellegrini ve ne sono alcune che riguardano i santi venerati in modo particolare nella città di Metone, che ne possedeva le reliquie. I pellegrini diretti verso la Terra Santa manifestano assai sovente un vivo interesse per le reliquie conservate nei luoghi dove essi sostano durante il viaggio. È naturale dunque che alcuni di essi, durante la tappa a Metone, abbiano chiesto e ottenuto di vedere e venerare le reliquie ivi conservate.

Il primo pellegrino che parli, per quanto io sappia, di reliquie esistenti a Metone è il fiorentino Simone Sigoli (1). Egli, giunto nel 1384 « a uno castello de' Viniziani che si chiama Modone, ed è bellissimo castello e forte, e in sulla marina », vi sostò « uno dì e mezzo ». « A capo a questo Modone — egli scrive — « in su n'una montagna a mezza piaggia ha una chiesa nella quale è il corpo di santo Leo ». Prima che i pellegrini ripartissero, aggiunge il Sigoli, fu seppellito a Metone uno di essi, « Bartolommeo prete da Castello Focognano » (2).

Dalla narrazione del Sigoli risulta dunque che in una chiesa fuori della città di Metone, a mezza costa sull'altura che la domina, l'attuale monte Hagios Nikolaos (3), si venerava il corpo di s. Leone. Dalla relazione di Lionardo Frescobaldi, compagno del Sigoli nel medesimo viaggio, sembra risultare invece che la chiesa con il corpo di s. Leone sorgesse nell'isola di Sapienza (4). Il Frescobaldi racconta come giunse

BRIAND, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* ..., I, pp. 81-89 (del 1806) ; W. GELL, *Itinerary of the Morea*, London, 1817, a me accessibile nella versione francese del conte DE TROMELIN, Paris, 1828, pp. 22-23 ; BORY DE SAINT-VINCENT, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 103-112, 116-130, 160-184 (del 1829) ; A. Philippson (marzo 1888) : cf. PHILIPPSON-KIRSTEN, *Die griechischen Landschaften*, III, 2. *Der Peloponnes*, pp. 390-391. Mi è purtroppo rimasta inaccessibile l'opera di M. E. PUILLON-BOBLAYE, *Recherches géographiques sur les ruines de la Morée*, Paris, 1836, citata dal BON, *La Morée franque*, p. 41.

(1) Ed. FIACCHI-POGGI, p. 4 ; ed. ANGELINI, pp. 173-174.

(2) Un codice Riccardiano aggiunge qui « nella chiesa de' frati di santo Domenico » (cf. ed. FIACCHI-POGGI, p. 4, nota 4).

(3) Sul monte di questo nome si veda la voce *Μεθώνη* nella *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, XVI, p. 840 ; LEAKE, *op. cit.*, I, p. 428.

(4) Ed. ANGELINI, pp. 50-53.

« a Modona, il quale è bel castello e ben murato, ed è nelle parti di Romania ; e quivi si ricoglie il forte della Romania, che si navica per lo mondo ... E quivi trovammo per Podestà un gentile uomo viniziano della casa de' Contarini, il quale ci fece grandissimo onore (1)... Per infino a questo luogo sempre mi tenne la febbre ... E in questo luogo mi lasciò la febbre, e quivi morì il nostro prete di Casentino, il quale come avemmo tratto di mare e posto in terra in sur uno stramazzo, passò di questa vita, che prima era stato parecchi dì quasi in fine di morte. Facemolo seppellire nel detto castello a una chiesa dell'ordine di San Domenico, la quale v'è. Dirimpetto al porto di Modona si è un grandissimo poggio, il quale si chiama il Poggio della Sapienza, nel qual poggio anticamente solevano andare i filosofi e i poeti a fare loro arti ... Ha nel poggio della Sapienza molti eremiti a fare penitenza de' lor peccati. Quasi a mezzo la costa del poggio si è la chiesa dov'è il corpo di santo Leo ; e in quello paese sono molti pedoti (2), cioè conoscitori dove sono gli scogli del mare coperti dalle acque ».

Il Sigoli e il Frescobaldi concordano su vari punti : dànno entrambi notizia della morte del prete casentinese Bartolomeo, seppellito a Metone nella chiesa dei Domenicani, e collocano il corpo di « santo Leo » (su cui nient'altro dicono all'infuori del nome) in una chiesa a mezza costa, fuori della città, sulla terra ferma, però, a quanto pare, secondo il Sigoli, e nell'isola di Sapienza, di fronte a Metone, secondo il Frescobaldi. Chi dei due ha ragione?

Il problema è chiarito dalla narrazione molto più ampia di un pellegrino francese, Nompar II, signore di Caumont. Nel 1418, di ritorno dalla Terra Santa, egli fu spinto da venti contrari a Metone, e vi si fermò per quattro giorni, « attendant le bon vent ». Il signore di Caumont così continua (3) :

« C'est une cipté en terre playne, au pié de lequel vient le mer devers l'une part, lequel est bien enmurrée tout autour, et se tient pour les Genevoys (4). Et là moy fut dit que à une mille et demye, en une église, avoye un corps saint, qui s'appelle

(1) Il nome di questo Contarini castellano a Metone nel 1384 manca nell'elenco dei castellani di Metone e Corone pubblicato da Ch. HOPF, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, Berlin, 1873, p. 380.

(2) = Piloti.

(3) Ed. MARQUIS DE LA GRANGE, pp. 89-91 (vedi sopra, nota 2 a p. 387).

(4) Si allude qui alla vigile sorveglianza esercitata nella piazzaforte contro eventuali attacchi genovesi.

saint Lion, qui fut sabatier (1) au temps qu'il estoit en vie, et venoit du saint Sépulcre ; et au retour, maledie luy pris en le nef de lequelle morut et fut geté en le mer dans une caisse ; et la mer le alla porter à terre près de ledite cipté de Modon, et aucunes gens le trouvèrent, si se merveilloyent que c'estoit, et cogneirent que c'estoit ung home, et vont le enterrer en une fosse que ly firent ; si que chacune nuyt, dessus ycelle foce où il estoit enterré, l'on veoit trois brandons de feu alumés par miracle de Dieu ; et sy avint une nuyt eu à vizion al évesque de leditte cipté, que en ceul lieu avoye ung corps saint et qu'il alasse par della, et le fit desenterrer et tenir en celle honneur, comme il apartenoyt d'un corps saint qu'il estoit. Lors lendemeyn, quand ledit evesque fut levé, il révéla la chouse ; et firent ordenance d'aller part della et menèrent évesques et plusieurs chapellens et autres gens ans grandes processions ; et tantost là, où ils comensèrent à le serchier, le trouvarent, et ilz le desenterrèrent et le mirent sur une charrue tiré aux buefs et ainssi le portérent. Et quant ilz furent prés le cipté, au lieu où à présent est, cuydant le porter dedens, ilz ne puirent onquez passer plus avant, et convint que illéques le leissatent. Et fut là fette une église où ils demeure depuys ens se que l'on dit, a bien .LXXX. ans, et là fet de grans miracles par la vertu de Nostre Seigneur. Et quand il est temps de guerre en cell pays, ou ils ayent en la cipté ausqunes savance que malleur leur doye venir, pour dobtance de le perdre, ilz le vont querre et le porter en la cipté susditte. Mes se il n'est voir, ilz n'on puissance pour riens qu'ilz facent, de le mouvoir de son lieu. Et en ycelle église je fuy pour veoir ledit corps saint, lequell tiennent les Grexs, au derrier le grant autel du cuer de leditte église, en une caisse ferrée où je le vi tout entier, se luy plest ; et retournay par ung autre chemin, où il ha ung lotgis ouvert que s'apelle Saint George de les Tribulleye, out il ha une chapelle de monseigneur Saint George que les Grexs tiennent, de lequelle m'en allay à la cipté de Modon d'où je estoie parti ».

Dal racconto di Nompar de Caumont si ricavano dunque molte notizie su s. Leone : i suoi informatori glie ne additarono non solo la reliquia, conservata in una chiesa « à une mille et demye » da Metone, ma glie ne narrarono anche la leggenda, ricca di particolari, secondo la quale egli, zoccolaio di mestiere quando era in vita, era morto al ritorno dal Santo Sepolcro — dunque un pellegrino

(1) Cioè *sabotier*, « zoccolaio », come chiarisce il glossario nell'edizione citata, p. 191.

anche lui, al pari di quelli che così numerosi approdavano a Metone — ed era stato sepolto sulla spiaggia ; di là il suo corpo, prodigiosamente ritrovato dal vescovo della città, era stato trasportato verso Metone, ed era stato deposto fuori della città per un miracolo che aveva designato il luogo a ciò destinato (1). Sulla sua tomba fu poi eretta una chiesa. Dal racconto di Nompar si ricavano ancora altre notizie. L'erezione della chiesa extraurbana ove era custodita la reliquia di Leone sarebbe avvenuta, egli dice, 80 anni prima del suo viaggio, dunque nel 1338. Questa data può essere discutibile ; ma altre indicazioni sono preziose, come quella relativa al costume degli abitanti del luogo di portare la reliquia al sicuro entro le mura della città in tempo di guerra, e il riferimento ai Greci che la avevano in custodia : questo ci assicura che il culto di s. Leone, in una città nella quale coesistevano una gerarchia ecclesiastica greca e una latina, era proprio della Chiesa d'Oriente e non di quella d'Occidente (2). Non è da trascurare inoltre, nel racconto di Nompar de Caumont, il ricordo che egli fa di un altro edificio di culto tenuto dai Greci, la cappella di S. Giorgio (3), anche essa edificata fuori della città come la chiesa di s. Leone ma, a quanto pare, alquanto distante da essa. Il culto di s. Giorgio, come vedremo più avanti (4), aveva notevole importanza nella Metone medievale.

Nel 1479 Sebald Rieter il giovane trova ormai il corpo di s. Leone nella chiesa principale di Metone, dedicata a s. Giovanni, e vi trova anche un'altra reliquia : il capo di s. Atanasio vescovo : « Item zu Modon in der pfarrkirchen zu Sant Johans ligt ein heyliger, Sant Leo genantt, auch das haubt Sant Anathasius (sic) eins bischoffs » (5). Analoga notizia si legge nell'anonimo « Voyage de la Saincte Cyté

(1) Il prodigio dei buoi che si arrestano nel luogo destinato dal Cielo per la custodia delle reliquie che essi trasportano è un luogo comune della letteratura agiografica : cf. H. DELEHAYE, *Les légendes hagiographiques*, Bruxelles, 1955[4] (Subsidia hagiographica, 18a), p. 30.

(2) Cf. BON, *La Morée franque*, p. 225 ; MANUSSACAS, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96.

(3) Nompar parla di un « lotgis » (= logement) « ouvert que s'apelle Saint George de les Tribulleye » (= « tribulations, afflictions », secondo il glossario posto in fondo all'edizione curata dal Marquis de la Grange), dove era una cappella di San Giorgio officiata dai Greci. Sull'edificio detto S. Giorgio delle Tribolazioni (?) non abbiamo, per quello che so, alcuna altra notizia.

(4) Vedi sotto, p. 432.

(5) RÖHRICHT-MEISNER, *Das Reisebuch der Familie Rieter*, p. 46.

de Hierusalem », del 1480 : « En la grande eglise est le corps sainct Lyon et le chief sainct Anastaise (sic) qui fist la credo : Quicumque vult salvus esse et plusieurs autres reliques dont il n'est point de mention ès parties de Occident » (1). È chiaro che ormai, alla fine del secolo xv, quando « tout le pays autour sont Turcz et infideles » (2), il corpo di s. Leone era stato definitivamente trasferito entro le mura della città, nella chiesa cattedrale dedicata — come sappiamo anche da altre fonti — a s. Giovanni il Teologo (3). Qui i pellegrini potevano venerare anche altre reliquie, la principale delle quali era il capo del vescovo Atanasio. Il redattore del « Voyage» identifica quest'ultimo con il presunto autore del Simbolo « Quicumque vult», cioè con s. Atanasio di Alessandria ; vedremo che egli non è solo in questa convinzione, tanto seducente quanto errata.

Di poco posteriore alla visita dell'autore del « Voyage » è la sosta a Metone, prolungatasi dal 9 al 16 dicembre 1483, del domenicano Felix Fabri (Schmid), originario di Zurigo, di ritorno dalla Terra Santa (4). Nella lunga e vivace relazione su questo soggiorno, ricca

(1) Ed. SCHEFER, Paris, 1882, p. 47. L'autore del « Voyage » nota anche che a Metone « les escoles et eglises sont quasi toutes grecques » (*ed. cit.*, p. 46).

(2) « Voyage », *ed. cit.*, p. 47.

(3) Sui sigilli dei vescovi di Metone del sec. x-xi appare l'immagine di s. Giovanni evangelista o una invocazione al medesimo santo designato con l'espressione evangelica « figlio del tuono » ; cf. V. LAURENT, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'Empire byzantin*, V, I, Paris, 1963, pp. 483-485, n°s 642-644. La chiesa di S. Giovanni di Metone è citata in una deliberazione del Senato di Venezia del 4 ottobre 1356, in cui si mette in evidenza l'opportunità di non lasciar compiere liberamente tutti gli atti ecclesiastici al vescovo scismatico greco : gli si vieterà di entrare nella chiesa di S. Giovanni, salvo quando si fanno le processioni in onore della Repubblica veneta : cf. THIRIET, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise*, I, pp. 84-85, n° 307. Il titolo della chiesa è citato per esteso nella *Ἐνθύμησις* relativa alla sosta a Metone del corteo imperiale di ritorno dal Concilio di Ferrara-Firenze : il 24 novembre 1439 il vescovo greco di Metone Giuseppe *ὁ κατὰ κόσμον Κονταράτος* celebrò la Messa, unitamente a tutto il clero e a tutta la popolazione, sia latina che greca, *εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Ἰωάννην τὸν Θεολόγον* : cf. Sp. P. LAMPROS, in *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 7 (1910), pp. 156-7, n° 115 ; IDEM, *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, III, p. 362. Si noti che da questa *Ἐνθύμησις* apprendiamo il nome del vescovo greco di Metone al tempo del Concilio di Ferrara-Firenze, che figura come anonimo, nell'elenco dei vescovi di Metone sotto la dominazione veneziana compilato da D. A. ZAKYTHINOS, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, II, pp. 278-279, n° 7.

(4) Ed. HASSLER, III, pp. 330-343 ; cf. anche LUCE, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-202.

di notizie di ogni genere, il domenicano zurighese descrive anch'egli le reliquie conservate nella cattedrale. Il giorno 13 dicembre i pellegrini presero parte alle sacre funzioni nella chiesa dei Domenicani; quindi,

> « finito officio et prandio sumpto », narra il Fabri, « ecclesias civitatis Metonensis visitavimus et primo in ecclesiam cathedralem transivimus, quae ad S. Johannem dicitur, in qua reconditum est corpus S. Leonis, cujusdam peregrini teutonici ». E aggiunge: « Puto autem illum fuisse peregrinum, qui inter Turcos mortuus non paucis claruit apud eos miraculis et postea ad Metonam per Christianos fuit translatus, de quo Anton. in Chron. P. III Tract. 19 C. 8 § 12. Vidimus etiam in illa ecclesia caput Anastasii (sic), episcopi Alexandrini, et duos digitos S. Cosmae et Damiani. Transivimus etiam extra urbem, ubi fratres Minores parvum conventum (habent), et inde ad vesperas venimus ad ecclesiam Praedicatorum et auditis vesperis reversi sumus ad locum nostrum. De ecclesiolis Graecorum, quae etiam ibi sunt, non curavimus » (1).

Il Fabri tace le minuziose notizie su s. Leone che sono riportate dal signore di Caumont: egli dice solo che s. Leone fu un *peregrinus*. Per ciò che concerne l'etnico *teutonicus*, non sappiamo se esso derivi da un'informazione esplicita ricevuta sul luogo (il Fabri era ospite, a Metone, « in domo dominorum Teutonicorum ») o da una illazione dell'autore. Quanto al luogo dei *Chronica* di s. Antonino vescovo di Firenze citato con precisione dal dotto domenicano (evidentemente da un manoscritto), gioverà riportarlo, qui, quale si legge nell'edizione lugdunense del 1586:

> « Accidit autem parum ante destructionem Turcorum (2) quod prope Semansar quidam pauper Christianus peregrinus, Theutonicus a latronibus vulneratus, debilis et infirmus mendicans a Turquemannis quaerebat sustentationem, tandem in extremam infirmitatem cadens spiritum domino commendavit in quodam casali expirans. Illi vero Turquemanni in quodam fumario sepelierunt eum. At in subsequenti nocte et pluribus aliis noctibus luminaria visa sunt super eum magna: pluraque ibi miracula a domino sunt ostensa. Multisque admirantibus ac stupentibus, Cadrus quidam homo diabolicus nitebatur admirantes compescere dicens adstantibus. Non credatis, quod ille fuisset Christianus. Erat enim natione Saracenus, sed forte a Saracenis deviaverat et amodo ut Saracenus vivere

(1) Ed. Hassler, III, pp. 333-334.
(2) Avvenuta nel 1243.

proponebat. Ideoque pro illo tanquam pro Saraceno, Deus per eum talia operatur » (1).

In questo episodio troviamo solo due particolari comuni alla leggenda di s. Leone riferita da Nompar de Caumont: la qualifica di pellegrino data al protagonista e il prodigio delle luci apparse sulla sua tomba. Tutto il resto è diverso: l'ambiente e la data del trapasso, le vicende che conducono le reliquie prodigiose a Metone. Del *peregrinus teutonicus* il Fabri dice che « ad Metonam per Christianos fuit translatus »: ma questa è evidentemente solo una sua supposizione, che non risulta affatto dal racconto di s. Antonino.

Il Fabri cita ancora il capo di un santo vescovo, che egli indica come s. Anastasio (per Atanasio) vescovo di Alessandria, così come avevano fatto Sebald Rieter il giovane (nella forma « S. Anathasius eins bischoffs ») e l'anonimo autore del « Voyage » («sainct Anastaise qui fist la credo Quicumque vult »), ed aggiunge inoltre il ricordo di due dita dei santi anargiri Cosma e Damiano: una reliquia tipicamente bizantina, la stessa che assai verisimilmente è adombrata nella frase del « Voyage » « et plusieurs autres reliques dont il n'est point de mention ès parties de Occident ».

Non aggiungono nulla alle notizie già citate quelle fornite da altri due pellegrini, uno dei quali si fermò a Metone nello stesso anno del Fabri, l'altro una quindicina di anni dopo. Il primo è l'autore del « Viazo da Venesia al Sancto Jherusalem » (anno 1483) (2), l'altro è il cavaliere Arnold von Harff di Colonia, che visitò Metone nel 1497. Nella seriore edizione del « Viazo » da me consultata a proposito di Metone si legge:

« Modone è Città posta in Grecia, ed è assai ben munita, sopra il mare, nella Provincia della Morea, ed ha Arcivescovado, ed è nella Chiesa Parrocchiale, la quale è nominata San Giovanni, e vi è il Corpo di San Luca (sic) ed il Capo di Sant'Anastasio Vescovo » (3).

Arnold von Harff scrive:

« Item also hauen sij ouch aldae eyn moder kirche gebouwet

(1) *Divi* ANTONINI *archiepiscopi Florentini et doctoris s. theologiae praestantissimi Chronicorum tertia pars*, Lugduni, 1586, p. 151, D-F.

(2) Vedi sopra, p. 387 e nota 8.

(3) *Viaggio da Venezia al S. Sepolcro* ..., pp. 16-17.

zo sent Leo, dae hee lijbafftich lijcht ind dat heufft sent Anastasij (sic) » (1).

Nonostante le evidenti inesattezze, si possono riconoscere in queste reliquie quelle già citate avanti del corpo di s. Leone e del capo di s. Atanasio. Molto più ricca di particolari è invece la relazione del canonico milanese Pietro Casola, che visitò Metone nel 1494, ed ha lasciato una descrizione assai realistica della città nell'aspetto che essa presentava sotto l'incalzare degli avvenimenti nel Peloponneso : le fortificazioni imponenti, in corso di ampliamento ad opera della Signoria (2), contrastavano con la modestia delle costruzioni civili nella città, che appariva quasi abbandonata dagli abitanti (3).

Delle reliquie, il canonico Casola scrive :

« La sua Giesia Cathedrale che è episcopale, po' star de brigata con le altre triste, molto male in ordine de ogni cosa. Io non vidi già el vesco, ma dicevano era in la cità. El suo palazo tale quale ele, è posto in ante a la Giesia ; e la intrata del dicto palazo è una scala in piaza, de preda viva. Alcuni de li peregrini fecero instantia per vedere le loro reliquie dico de la Giesia predicta. Comenzando al custode che me pariva calzolaro ben che avesse una grande chierica, e poi el resto, me parse vedere una cosa molto trista. Tandem ne furono monstrate le reliquie con una lume ben trista. Ne fu monstrata la testa de sancto Athanasio che fu vesco de Alexandria (dico

(1) Ed. von Groote, p. 67.

(2) Ed. Porro, p. 37 : « Dicta cità è in piano, bate el mare le mure, et ha un porto recipiente de ogni grande naviglio, è forte de mure, e con ponti levatori ad ogni porta, che sono al mio contare quatro. È ben fornita de torri ; et sono a le torri et a le mure de grande bombarde e de ogni grossezza ; verso terra ferma è fortissima e tutavia se fa più forte, adjungendoli la Signoria una grande fossa e dopia murata de grosse mure ; e sarà una cosa stupenda e ben posta quando sarà fornita ». Cf. anche Luce, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-203.

(3) Ed. Porro, pp. 37-38 : « Poi me voltai intra la cità ; io non li seppi vedere caxe ne palazi degni de descriptione. Per quello che ella è spessa de caxe, credo li siano poche persone ; nam in la più bella contrata li fosse e la più larga, me parivano le caxe per la major parte serrate. Stando anchora sopra el mercato non li seppi vedere troppo persone. Quelle che *io* vidi, ultra che le siano Greche, siando anchora loro de la Morea, sono despecte e brutte de vedere. Sono le loro caxe per la major parte saltem dal mezo in suso fabricate de asse, così le grandi quanto le piccole verso le strade pubbliche. Insoma non gli ho saputo vedere altra beleza ».

de la majore) (1) che compose el simbolo *Quicumque vult salvus esse*. E poi el corpo de sancto Leone. Volendo io intendere chi fu, me fu dicto, era uno peregrino che veneva dal sepolcro e morse in Galea, e fu sepelito sopra el lito del mare, e poi fu revelato al vesco che lo fece riportare in la Giesia, e fece de molti miracoli. Questo è quanto ne ho potuto havere. Vero è che dicto corpo fu tenuto in una cassa de legno assai desutile. De altre Giesie non ne facio commemoratione, perché non li vidi cosa digna » (2).

Pietro Casola documenta dunque ancora la presenza delle due principali reliquie nella chiesa cattedrale di Metone : il capo di s. Atanasio e il corpo di s. Leone. Su quest'ultimo egli fornisce notizie che, pur nella loro brevità, corrispondono a quelle riferite da Nompar de Caumont. La cassa in cui era custodito il corpo del taumaturgo è forse la stessa « caisse ferrée » vista nel 1418 dal signore di Caumont : e non ci meraviglia che il canonico Casola, abituato agli splendori artistici delle chiese italiane, la giudicasse « una cassa de legno assai desutile ».

Di lì a sei anni soltanto, Metone sarebbe stata conquistata dai Turchi : che ne fu allora delle reliquie che si conservavano nella cattedrale di S. Giovanni? Esse dovettero perire nella distruzione della città, devastata non solo dall'assalto nemico, ma anche dall'incendio appiccatovi all'ultimo momento dai suoi stessi abitanti (3). Ci si può chiedere, però, se almeno le reliquie di s. Leone siano state salvate a Venezia prima della caduta della città messenica (4) : in effetti, a Venezia si veneravano le reliquie giunte dall'Oriente di due leggendari santi di nome Leone (sconosciuti peraltro, si

(1) Cioè Alessandria d'Egitto. La precisazione appare necessaria al canonico milanese, per evitare la confusione con l'omonima città dell'Italia settentrionale.

(2) Ed. Porro, p. 38.

(3) Si vedano le notizie contemporanee registrate nei *Diarii* di Marino Sanuto, ed. Fulin, III, coll. 770 (in data 21 agosto 1500 : « esser stà apizà il foco in la terra, e tutto brusato, resta solum le mure »), 772 (22 agosto : « E uno galioto di galia di Otranto, che portò il socorsso, dice Modom è tutto brusato, resta salvo le mure ; e non si cognoseria mai fusse stà Modon, ch'è cossa molto miserabile ») ; cf. anche coll. 833, 834, ecc.

(4) Come avvenne, ad esempio, nel 1648 per alcune reliquie di Creta, trasportate a Venezia allo scoppio della guerra di Candia : cf. G. Gerola, *Gli oggetti sacri di Candia salvati a Venezia*, in *Atti della Accademia di scienze lettere ed arti degli Agiati in Rovereto*, S. III, 9 (1903), pp. 231-268.

noti, alle fonti agiografiche e liturgiche greche). Ma un pur superficiale sguardo alla cronologia della loro traslazione a Venezia prova che esse non possono identificarsi con quelle del santo di Metone, segnalate *in loco* fino alla vigilia immediata della conquista della città da parte dei Turchi. Il primo di tali santi è s. Leone eremita, le cui reliquie i Veneziani trasportarono da Cefalonia e deposero a S. Zaccaria forse già prima della fine del x secolo, se è vero che esse furono ivi visitate da Ottone III nel 998 (1). Ne trattano comunque il domenicano Pietro Calò († 1348) e Pietro de Natalibus, che compilò il suo *Catalogus Sanctorum* fra il 1369 e il 1372 (2). Il secondo è s. Leone vescovo di Samo, della cui traslazione a Venezia si legge sia nel leggendario di Pietro Calò (3) che nel catalogo di Pietro de Natalibus (4). Il suo corpo fu deposto dapprima a Malamocco, per l'iniziativa di Leone vescovo di quella città (5); ma poi, devastata Malamocco dall'inondazione, nel 1109 fu portato a Venezia, al monastero di S. Servolo. Nel 1341 la badessa di S. Servolo lo fece trasferire in un sepolcro più ornato, di legno dorato. Nel 1615 fu trasportato a S. Maria dell'Umiltà (6).

(1) F. Corner (Cornelius), *Ecclesiae Venetae antiquis monumentis ... illustratae*, Venetiis, 1749, XI, pp. 321-328.

(2) *Acta Sanctorum*, Aug. IV, Antverpiae, 1739, pp. 768-773; Corner, *op. cit., loc. cit.*; G. Lucchesi, snb voce *Gregorio, Teodoro e Leone, confessori dell'isola di Samo, santi*, in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, VII, Roma, 1966, col. 403.

(3) Da me visto nel cod. *Vat. Barb. Lat.* 713, ff. 486r-v, del sec. xiv; cf. A. Poncelet, *Le légendier de Pierre Calo*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 29 (1910), p. 68.

(4) Socii Bollandiani, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, II, Bruxelles, 1900-1901 (Subsidia hagiographica, 6), p. 720, n° 4844; cf. *Acta Sanctorum* Aprii. III, Antverpiae, 1675, pp. 625-626; Corner, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 85, 90-95.

(5) Il Corner, *op. cit.*, V, p. 90, ne propone l'identificazione con il vescovo di tale nome dell'anno 1005, piuttosto che con quello più antico, dell'anno 877.

(6) Corner, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 91-95. Non molto esatta la voce *Leone, vescovo, venerato a Venezia, santo*, in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. cit., col. 1228. Metone è citata nelle narrazioni del Calò e del de Natalibus, ma solo come nna tappa nel viaggio da Samo a Venezia. Bisogna correggere anche l'affermazione contenuta in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 57 (1939), p. 453, secondo cui nella Vita di s. Leone di Samo si narrerebbe l'invenzione delle sue reliquie a Metone. Il Leone citato nell'antica litania veneziana del secolo xiv (*San Leon di Modom*) cui qui si fa riferimento non è il vescovo di Samo, ma il taumaturgo sepolto a Metone.

Le reliquie dei santi di Metone dovettero dunque essere distrutte nel 1500. Tuttavia il ricordo di s. Leone dovette sopravvivere per qualche decennio nelle memorie locali. Il cavaliere e giureconsulto francese Barthélemy de Salignac fece tappa a Metone, nel suo viaggio verso la Terra Santa, nel giugno del 1522 : « applicuimus Modonam », egli scrive, « ... quam Veneti longis temporibus tenuere, sed a 44 (1) annis subacta est tyrannide Turcarum, et facta tributaria, taliterque munita, ut inexpugnabilis reputetur. His locis audivi non sine admiratione agitari quaestionem de corpore sancti Leonis, aliquibus asserentibus, corpus dicti sancti in illa civitate requiescere, aliis vero contradicentibus, ipsum sanctum adhuc vivere, et in vicinis monticulis latitare » (2).

È l'ultima illusione cui si afferrano i sopravvissuti al disastro : il patrono del luogo vi rimane nascosto, in un rifugio sconosciuto all'invasore, alla cui violenza egli è prodigiosamente sfuggito. Alla radice di questa immaginazione vi è un atteggiamento psicologico non dissimile da quello donde è nata la leggenda del *Μαρμαρωμένος Βασιλιᾶς*, l'imperatore di pietra che giace in una grotta presso la Porta aurea di Costantinopoli, in attesa dell'ora in cui un angelo lo desterà per scacciare i Turchi dal suolo greco (3).

(1) Leggi : 22.

(2) Ed. Magdeburgi, 1587, pp. Cc 4r-Cc 4v. Dalla narrzione del cavaliere di Salignac, edita per la prima volta a Lione nel 1525, dipende, per questa parte, il *Voyage de la Terre Sainte composé par maître Denis Possot et achevé par Messire Charles Philippe de Champarmoy*, compiuto nel 1532 e pubblicato da Ch. SCHEFER a Parigi nel 1890. Qui, a p. 126, il passo corrispondente suona : « Les Veniciens l'ont tenue longtemps, mais depuis LIV ans, elle est subjecte au Turc et tributaire, et est si forte que on dit qu'elle est imprenable. Aulcuns disent que le corps sainct Leon est en icelle cité, les aultres disent qu'il est encores vivant ».

(3) Sulla leggenda fiorita intorno all'ultimo imperatore di Costantinopoli, Costantino XI Paleologo, si veda specialmente lo studio di N. A. VEIS (*Βέης*), *Ὁ θρῦλος τοῦ « Μαρμαρωμένου Βασιλιᾶ »*, in *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 13 (1936-37), pp. 244γ'-244λς'. In merito alle discordanti versioni date dai contemporanei sulla fine di Costantino XI vedere : G. SCHLUMBERGER, *Le siège, la prise et le sac de Constantinople par les Turcs en 1453*, Paris, 1926, pp. 308-316 ; G. ZORAS, *Αἱ τελευταῖ στιγμαὶ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Παλαιολόγου καὶ τοῦ Μωάμεθ τοῦ Κατακτητοῦ*, in G. ZORAS, *Περὶ τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, *Ἀθῆναι*, 1959, pp. 123-133 ; IDEM, *Ἡ τύχη τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Κωνσταντίνου*, *ibid.*, pp. 176-179. Su Costantino Paleologo nella poesia neoellenica si veda : IDEM, *Ἡ Πόλη καὶ ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος Παλαιολόγος ἐν τῇ νεοελληνικῇ ποιήσει*, *ibid.*, pp. 297-305.

4. — I santi di Metone nelle fonti greche

a. — S. Atanasio vescovo

Le relazioni dei pellegrini occidentali attestano in modo concorde, come abbiamo visto, che le principali reliquie venerate nella chiesa greca di Metone erano due : il capo di un santo vescovo, designato ora sant'Anastasio (1), ora sant'Atanasio (2), e identificato per lo più con sant'Atanasio vescovo di Alessandria (3), e il corpo di un pellegrino, Leone, insigne per i miracoli. Bisogna ora vedere se esiste, e quale è, la documentazione su questi santi in lingua greca.

Il vescovo del quale si conservava la reliquia nella cattedrale di Metone mi sembra sia da identificare con certezza nel santo vescovo della stessa Metone, Atanasio, vissuto nel IX secolo, per il quale possediamo un *Epitaphios* composto da s. Pietro d'Argo (4). Questo discorso è, fra le quattro orazioni superstiti del vescovo d'Argo, l'unica dedicata a un personaggio che fu quasi contemporaneo dell'autore (5) e che visse nella stessa regione — il Peloponneso — in cui egli medesimo esercitò il suo ministero. L'orazione funebre per s. Atanasio fu pronunciata certamente sulla sua tomba in

(1) *Viazo da Venesia al Sancto Jherusalem* (1483), Arnold von Harff (1497).

(2) Sebald Rieter il giovane (1479, nella forma *Anathasius*).

(3) *Le Voyage de la Saincte Cyté de Hierusalem* (1480), Felix Fabri (1483), Pietro Casola (1494). Da notare che sia l'anonimo autore del *Voyage*, sia il domenicano Felix Fabri scrivono non Atanasio, ma Anastasio (*Anastaise, Anastasii*) : tuttavia l'identificazione col dottore della Chiesa vissuto nel III-IV secolo è assicurata dal riferimento al così detto « simbolo Atanasiano » e alla sede episcopale di Alessandria.

(4) F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, I, Bruxelles 1957[3] (Subsidia hagiographica, 8a), p. 72, n° 196. Questo scritto fu noto in versioni latine (*Acta Sanctorum* Ianuarii, II, Antverpiae, 1643, pp. 1125-1130 ; O. Caietanus [Gaetani], *Vitae Sanctorum Siculorum*, II, Panormi, 1657, pp. 52-59 ; cf. *Animadversiones*, pp. 18-20) fino all'*editio princeps* del testo greco ad opera di I. Cozza Luzi, in A. Mai-I. Cozza Luzi, *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, IX, 3, Romae, 1888, pp. 31-51. Su di esso si veda : A. Vasiliev, *The 'Life' of St. Peter of Argos and Its Historical Significance*, in *Traditio*, 5 (1947), pp. 163-190, specialmente pp. 187-189 ; G. da Costa-Louillet, *Saints de Grèce aux VIIIe, IXe et Xe siècles*, in *Byzantion*, 31 (1961), pp. 309-369, specialmente pp. 313-315 : 2.-Vie de S. Athanase de Méthone (818-885).

(5) S. Pietro d'Argo morì poco dopo il 920 : cf. da Costa-Louillet, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

Metone (1), ma assai verosimilmente non nell'ora stessa della sepoltura del santo (2). Dall'*Epitaphios* apprendiamo che Atanasio nacque in Sicilia, a Catania, donde, fanciullo di 10 anni, fuggì coi genitori in séguito all'invasione araba, cercando rifugio a Patrasso, nel Peloponneso (3). A Patrasso si fece monaco, fu eremita e poi egumeno ; più tardi divenne vescovo di Metone, e governò la sua diocesi in modo esemplare. Morì in età avanzata, in che giorno (4) e in che anno non sappiamo : certo dopo l'879 (5).

Dopo circa 6 secoli nella chiesa di S. Giovanni in Metone (6) si venerava dunque ancora la reliquia del capo di quel santo vescovo : e ciò nonostante tutte le vicissitudini che la città aveva subìto. Si aveva però notizia sicura della sua identità? Abbiamo buoni motivi per dubitarne : l'identificazione ripetutamente registrata dai pellegrini (7) con il celebre patriarca di Alessandria (8) sta a testimoniare l'avvenuta « promozione » del più oscuro Atanasio a un rango di maggiore prestigio : fenomeno del resto tutt'altro che infrequente (9). Vedremo inoltre più avanti che tale promozione è documentata anche da un testimone insospettabile, un manoscritto liturgico greco proveniente dalla stessa Metone (10).

(1) Si vedano i riferimenti al sepolcro prodigioso di Atanasio alla fine dell'*Epitaphios* (ed. Cozza Luzi, *op. cit.*, p. 50, cap. 13): *Ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ μακρὰν ἀποδημίαν στελλόμενοι παραγίνονται, καλῶς ἀναστρέψαι δεόμενοι οἴκαδε...*

(2) Chr. Papaoikonomos, *Ὁ πολιοῦχος τοῦ Ἄργους ἅγιος Πέτρος, ἐν Ἀθήναις*, 1908, p. 90 ; da Costa-Louillet, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

(3) Ciò avvenne, secondo la da Costa-Louillet, *op. cit.*, p. 314, probabilmente nell'827/8.

(4) Vedi sotto, nota 1 a p. 402.

(5) È documentata infatti la sua partecipazione al Concilio dell'879, che ricollocò Fozio sul trono patriarcale dopo la morte di Ignazio : cf. da Costa-Louillet, *op. cit.*, p. 315 e nota 3.

(6) Le notizie sulla reliquia di s. Atanasio a me note appaiono in relazioni dell'ultimo trentennio del xv secolo.

(7) Vedi sopra, nota 3 a p. 400.

(8) Sulle vicende delle reliquie di s. Atanasio di Alessandria si veda l'articolo di D. Stiernon in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, II, Roma, 1962, coll. 522-547, s.v. *Atanasio vescovo di Alessandria*, precisamente coll. 542-544 (esistono varie tradizioni diverse intorno alla reliquia della testa di s. Atanasio, che sarebbe documentata a Venezia, in Spagna, in Francia).

(9) Si veda ad esempio il caso delle reliquie di s. Paolo vescovo di Costantinopoli attribuite a s. Paolo apostolo (H. Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*, Bruxelles, 1933² [Subsidia hagiographica, 20], p. 90).

(10) Vedi sotto, pp. 432-433.

È d'altra parte evidente che Atanasio di Metone non godette di larga notorietà : il solo scritto agiografico che lo riguardi è l'*Epitaphios* di s. Pietro d'Argo ; non conosciamo oggi su di lui né un sinassario né un'acolutia, e neppure il giorno esatto della sua commemorazione (1). E proprio l'oblio da cui appare avvolta la sua figura deve aver permesso o facilitato l'attribuzione della sua reliquia al santo omonimo più noto.

b. — S. Leone taumaturgo

Ciò nonostante, Atanasio vescovo di Metone ha una sua precisa fisionomia storica e se ne può stabilire con buona approssimazione la cronologia. Non si può dire lo stesso dell'altro santo di cui a Metone si additavano le reliquie prodigiose, s. Leone.

I testi greci superstiti che lo riguardano hanno carattere liturgico : un sinassario finora inedito (2) e una acolutia, inedita anche essa (3) : sono quelli che pubblichiamo qui, il primo per intero, la seconda in parte (4).

(1) L'*Epitaphios* scritto da s. Pietro d'Argo è tramandato oggi da un solo codice antico, il *Messan. gr.* 15, del sec. XI-XII, il quale è una collezione non menologica di omelie varie, a carattere più retorico che agiografico, e non contiene nessun riferimento alla data della commemorazione di Atanasio (cf. H. DELEHAYE, *Catalogus codicum hagiograph. Graecor. Monasterii S. Salvatoris*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 23 [1904], pp. 24-25 ; A. MANCINI, *Codices Graeci monasterii Messanensis S. Salvatoris*, Messanae, 1907, pp. 23-26). Dal codice messinese dipendono gli altri manoscritti recenziori contenenti il medesimo testo (*Panorm.* II, E, 15, del sec. XVI, e *Panorm.* Qq, H, 46 ; cf. F. HALKIN, *Manuscrits grecs à Messine et à Palerme*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 69 [1951], pp. 272 e 276). Il Gaetani pone la morte di s. Atanasio al 29 luglio dell'855 (*op.cit.*, II, p. 52), ma non dice donde abbia desunto tale data. In *Acta SS.* Ian., II (1643), p. 1125, si legge che la festa di s. Atanasio si celebrava allora in Catania il 31 gennaio : questa notizia, comunicata ai Bollandisti dal gesuita siciliano Francesco Blandizio, ha determinato l'assegnazione di Atanasio al 31 gennaio negli *Acta Sanctorum*. La stessa data gli è stata poi attribuita anche nella *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, ma si può dubitare legittimamente della sua validità.

(2) HALKIN, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, III, Bruxelles, 1957³ (*Supplementum*), p. 44, n° 2233 ; IDEM, *Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae* Bruxelles, 1969 (Subsidia hagiographica, 47), p. 218, n° 2233.

(3) Non stupisce perciò che s. Leone sia quasi completamente ignoto agli studiosi moderni : qualche accenno su di lui si trova presso D. Chr. DUKAKIS, in *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος*, 6 (1910), p. 32 (con molte inesattezze), presso il RÖHRICHT, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, p. 57, nota 189, e presso il LUCE, *art. cit.*, p. 200 (dalla relazione di Felix Fabri).

(4) Sotto, pp. 441-451.

I manoscritti che tramandano i testi greci su s. Leone sono, per ciò che sappiamo finora, tre soltanto, tutti cartacei e piuttosto recenti. Due sono quasi contemporanei fra di loro : il *Vat. Chis.* R VII 53, un codice liturgico in una sezione del quale si legge un colofone con la data del 22 marzo 1438 (senza nome di copista né luogo di trascrizione)(1) (tavv. I e II), e il *Vat. Ottob. gr.* 411, in cui Silvio Giuseppe Mercati riconobbe la mano di Giovanni Simeonachis protopapa di Candia, « contenente una raccolta di omelie, vite di santi, sermoni ascetici, ed estratti, per lo più, da s. Giovanni Crisostomo ... », che reca a f. 292r l'indicazione dell'anno 1445 (2). Più recente è il terzo codice, il *Crypt.* 385, un *Anthologion* appartenuto a lungo alla colonia albanese stabilitasi nel sec. XVI ad Acquaformosa in Calabria, ed entrato nella Biblioteca del monastero di Grottaferrata nel 1941 (3) : esso non reca data, ma la filigrana che vi appare si colloca

(1) Il codice è descritto da P. FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, *Codices graeci Chisiani et Borgiani*, Romae, 1927, pp. 90-91, n° 44. Esso consta di quattro sezioni : *a*) ff. 1-8, con un frammento (solo l'inizio) della Paracletica ; *b*) ff. 9-13, con la parte finale del Triodio (ufficiatura per il Sabato Santo) ; *c*) ff. 14-263, con il Pentecostario (i ff. 262-263 sono bianchi, e la sottoscrizione è alla fine del testo, a f. 261v : cf. tav. I) ; *d*) ff. 264-303, con le ufficiature per quattro santi (s. Giorgio, 23 aprile ; traslazione delle reliquie di s. Atanasio di Alessandria, 2 maggio ; s. Giovanni apostolo, 8 maggio ; s. Leone di Metone, 12 maggio) e il Tipico per s. Giorgio e s. Giovanni apostolo (cf. tav. II). Le sezioni *b* e *d* appaiono della stessa mano ; le altre sono di mani diverse ma contemporanee, e il codice presenta nell'insieme un aspetto omogeneo, sia per il tipo di carta (nella sezione *a* vi è solo la filigrana n° 4076 del Briquet, mentre nelle altre sezioni appaiono contemporaneamente le filigrane n^ce 2413, 6877, 7691, 15842, datate al primo quarantennio del XV secolo : cf. C. M. BRIQUET, *Les Filigranes*, Amsterdam, 1968², I, pp. 253, 182, 385, 421 ; II, p. 797 ; III, n^ce 4076, 2413, 6877, 7691 ; IV, n° 15842) sia per la presentazione del testo.

(2) S. G. MERCATI, *Di Giovanni Simeonachis protopapa di Candia*, in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, III, Città del Vaticano, 1946 (Studi e testi, 123), pp. 312-341, particolarmente pp. 318-320. Del codice esistono le seguenti descrizioni, più o meno complete : E. FERON-F. BATTAGLINI, *Codices manuscripti Graeci Ottoboniani Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, Romae, 1893, pp. 220-224 ; HAGIOGRAPHI BOLLANDIANI et P. FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Graecorum bibliothecae Vaticanae*, Bruxellis, 1899 (Subsidia hagiographica, 8), pp. 282-285 ; A. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, III, 2, Berlin, 1952, pp. 828-829.

(3) Descritto dallo ieromonaco criptense Marco PETTA, *Codici Criptensi greci provenienti da San Demetrio Corone*, in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, III, Città del Vaticano, 1964 (Studi e testi, 233), pp. 175-207, precisamente pp. 191-195.

alla fine del XV secolo (1).

Nel codice *Vat. Ottob. gr.* 411 si legge il Sinassario relativo a s. Leone, che il protopapa Giovanni vi trascrisse nei ff. 353v-354r, rimasti bianchi tra una omelia per la Presentazione della Madonna di s. Germano e un'omelia per l'Annunciazione di s. Giovanni Crisostomo (2); il codice Chigiano e quello Criptense contengono l'intera acolutia per il santo (rispettivamente ai ff. 290v-298v e 50v-56v), in cui nella sede consueta, cioè all'*Orthros*, dopo l'ode VI del canone, figura il sinassario in prosa.

È quest'ultimo l'unico testo narrativo in lingua greca su s. Leone di Metone: vediamone dunque sùbito il contenuto, premettendo che i due codici Chigiano e Criptense si accordano talvolta contro l'Ottoboniano in alcuni ampliamenti.

L'ignoto sinassarista narra che Leone era originario della Calabria. Fin dalla prima età egli si mostrò tutto orientato verso le cose soprannaturali, tralasciando i giuochi cari ai fanciulli. Crescendo negli anni, crebbe anche nella pratica della virtù: frequenza quotidiana alle sacre funzioni, continua preghiera verbale, carità verso i poveri, attaccamento alla povertà, digiuni e veglie prodigiose erano le sue cure precipue. Acquistò così grande fama fra i suoi conterranei: sì che egli, non sopportando gli onori che gli venivano tributati, intraprese il viaggio verso Gerusalemme. Non poté però raggiungere la sua mèta: giunto in vista del porto peloponnesiaco di Metone, si ammalò — a causa anche della sua troppo rigida ascesi, nota il sinassarista — e morì. I marinai della nave su cui egli viaggiava sbarcarono e ne seppellirono con onore il corpo in una località detta Ῥῶσον Χῶμα. Passati parecchi anni, un vescovo di Metone di nome Nicola fu dal santo stesso (dallo Spirito Santo, dicono i codici Chigiano e Criptense) esortato a provvedere al trasporto della sua reliquia in sede più degna. Nicola si affrettò ad accorrere con tutto il suo clero, e trovata la salma (intatta, notano il Chigiano e il Criptense), la depose con grande onore in una cassa (e la trasportò nel suo tempio, ancor oggi esistente, aggiungono

(1) Briquet 692, del 1483, di provenienza piemontese (cf. BRIQUET, *op. cit.*, 2a ed., I, p. 49; III, n° 692).

(2) Rispettivamente ai ff. 349r-353r (= HALKIN, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, III [*Supplementum*], p. 152, n° 1104) e ai ff. 355r-361v (= HALKIN, *op. cit.*, *t. cit.*, pp. 167-168, n° 1144 h). Il f. 354v è di altra e più rozza mano.

i codici Chigiano e Criptense). Di qui la sacra reliquia cominciò a dispensare grazie a coloro che accorrevano ad essa, guarendo malattie e scacciando demoni (anche qui i codici Chigiano e Criptense presentano un *additamentum* che mal si inserisce nel contesto), sì che Leone meritò l'epiteto di taumaturgo. La sua festa si celebra nel luogo ove è deposta la sua salma e negli altri suoi luoghi di culto (il 12 maggio, aggiungono i due soliti manoscritti).

Da questa narrazione appare evidente che il culto di s. Leone si è instaurato a Metone in séguito al ritrovamento di resti mortali avvenuto in una località designata nel sinassario col toponimo *Ῥῶσον Χῶμα*. L'invenzione di quelle che vengono sùbito considerate reliquie (1) è attribuita dal sinassarista ad un vescovo di Metone di nome Nicola, che onora la spoglia ritrovata e le dà decorosa sepoltura. Su questi dati si ricostruisce la storia del santo. Non è chiaro come sia stato possibile precisarne il nome : certo tutto ciò che ne riguarda l'infanzia e la vita prima del viaggio verso Gerusalemme appare, nella sua genericità, inventato di sana pianta secondo un cliché convenzionale. Se confrontiamo con questo testo la storia di Leone riferita da Nompar de Caumont, noteremo che le due narrazioni, pur coincidendo nelle linee generali — il pellegrino morto durante il viaggio in Terra Santa, la sua sepoltura sulla spiaggia, la prodigiosa rivelazione al vescovo di Metone, la processione che si reca alla ricognizione del sepolcro — presentano varie divergenze nei particolari. Per esempio, il signore di Caumont riferisce molte notizie che nel sinassario greco mancano : il mestiere del pellegrino (fabbricante di zoccoli), il miracolo delle faci apparse nottetempo sulla sua tomba provvisoria, il prodigio dei buoi che si arrestano in un dato luogo fuori della città per indicare il punto dove il santo doveva essere seppellito, l'altro miracolo analogo che si manifesta ogni volta che gli abitanti vogliono trasportare entro la città senza fondato motivo il corpo prodigioso. Su altri punti i due testi divergono : secondo il signore di Caumont Leone morì nel viaggio di ritorno dal Santo Sepolcro, secondo il testo greco nel viaggio di andata ; là, Leone morì sulla nave e fu gettato in mare in una cassa, ricevendo poi modesta sepoltura ad opera degli abitanti dei dintorni di Metone, qua Leone è seppellito onorevolmente dai marinai stessi. Il testo greco presenta infine, rispetto

(1) Sulle invenzioni di reliquie nell'antichità cristiana cf. DELEHAYE, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*, pp. 73-91.

al racconto di Nompar de Caumont, alcune notizie sue peculiari: la patria del pellegrino (la Calabria), il riferimento alla località in cui egli fu originariamente sepolto (*ἐν Ῥώσῳ Χώματι*), il ricordo del nome del vescovo il quale, procedendo all'invenzione, riconobbe la santità del defunto e diede origine al suo culto: Nicola di Metone. È questo l'unico riferimento cronologico contenuto nel sinassario greco, mentre il signor di Caumont colloca l'erezione della chiesa suburbana in cui si custodivano le reliquie di Leone 80 anni prima della sua narrazione, cioè nel 1338.

I riferimenti a luoghi e a personaggi contenuti nel testo greco meritano qualche parola di commento. L'origine c a l a b r e s e attribuita allo sconosciuto pellegrino è un dato molto interessante, non tanto per la probabilità che esso sia autentico (1), quanto per l'atteggiamento spirituale che denota: da un Greco, da un Ortodosso solo un Calabrese, fra tutti gli Occidentali, poteva essere considerato, nel medioevo, un fratello nella fede in maniera piena e legittima: è la stessa mentalità che al tempo di Michele Cerulario ispirò all'anonimo autore dell'*Opusculum contra Francos* le ben note parole: « Il papa di Roma e tutti i Cristiani dell'Occidente al di là dello Ionio, Italiani, Longobardi, Franchi (detti anche Germani), Amalfitani, Veneti e tutti gli altri già da lungo tempo sono fuori della Chiesa cattolica ed estranei alle tradizioni del Vangelo, degli Apostoli e dei Padri a causa delle costumanze anticanoniche e barbariche che seguono: tutti, ad eccezione della gente delle Calabrie e del popolo alemanno, perché quest'ultimo quanto ad empietà ed impudicizia non differisce per nulla dagli antichi pagani, mentre i Calabri sono fin dal principio cristiani ortodossi e sono stati educati nelle costumanze della nostra Chiesa apostolica » (2).

(1) Sono ben noti i viaggi compiuti da Calabresi e Siciliani in Grecia e a Bisanzio durante il medioevo: le biografie dei monaci italo-greci dei secoli IX-XII li attestano ampiamente (cf. per esempio J. GAY, *L'Italie méridionale et l'Empire byzantin*, Paris, 1904 [Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 82], pp. 257-258). Un epitafio di Nasso, datato al secolo IX, conserva il nome di *Σάβα μοναχοῦ τοῦ Καλαβροῦ* (cf. G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, *Un monaco calabrese a Nasso nel secolo IX*, in *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*, 22 [1953], pp. 80-81). Tra i pellegrini in Terra Santa ve ne furono certo alcuni provenienti dall'Italia meridionale, come il notaio campano Nicolò da Martoni (1394): vedi sopra, p. 385.

(2) *Ὁ Πάπας Ῥώμης καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ μέρους τῆς δύσεως χριστιανοὶ ἔξωθεν τοῦ Ἰωνίου κόλπου, Ἰταλοί, Λογγίβαρδοι, Φράγγοι, οἳ καὶ Γερμανοί, Μολ-*

Quanto alla località designata con l'espressione *Ῥῶσον Χῶμα* (indubbiamente un toponimo locale), sarebbe interessante poterla identificare : ma finora, per quante ricerche io abbia fatte sulla Metone medievale e moderna, non vi sono riuscita. La forma stessa di questo toponimo è singolare : *Ῥῶσον* — mi si perdoni l'arditezza dell'ipotesi — si potrebbe avvicinare all'italiano « rosso », così come è stata proposta la derivazione di un toponimo della stessa regione, Grizi (oggi Akritochori), fra Metone e Corone, dall'italiano « grigio » (1). Ora, sappiamo dalle descrizioni dei viaggiatori moderni che nei dintorni dell'odierna Metone la terra appare in più luoghi « di un cupo colore rosso » o « rossastra » (2). Il toponimo avrebbe dunque un'origine veneto-greca (= « Terra rossa »), e sarebbe stato coniato in età posteriore all'occupazione veneziana. È solo un'ipotesi che presento, ripeto, per quello che vale.

A più concrete indagini stimola il nome del vescovo di Metone, Nicola.

φινοί, Βενετικοὶ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἄνεν τοῦ τῶν Καλαβρῶν γένους καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Ἀλαμάνων (τούτων γὰρ οἱ μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν παλαιῶν ἑλλήνων διαφέρουσιν, οὔτε κατὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν οὔτε κατὰ τὴν ἀσέλγειαν, οἱ δὲ Καλαβροὶ χριστιανοὶ ὀρθόδοξοί εἰσιν ἀνέκαθεν καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ἡμῶν ἐκκλησίας ἔθεσι τρόφιμοι) · ἅπαντες σὺν τῷ Πάπᾳ πρὸ πολλῶν χρόνων τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκτὸς εἰσὶ καὶ τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν καὶ ἀποστολικῶν καὶ πατρικῶν παραδόσεων ἀλλότριοι, δι' ἃ ἔχουσι παράνομα καὶ βαρβαρικὰ ἔθη ... Ed. J. HERGENRÖTHER, *Monumenta graeca ad Photium ejusque historiam pertinentia*, Ratisbonae, 1869, pp. 62-71, precisamente pp. 62-63 ; cf. C. GIANNELLI, *L'ultimo ellenismo nell'Italia meridionale*, in *Atti del III Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo*, Spoleto, 1959, p. 293 (ristampato in C. GIANNELLI, *Scripta minora*, Roma, 1963 [= *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, 10], pp. 322-323). Lo stesso testo, con alcune varianti, è stato pubblicato da J. DARROUZÈS nello studio *Le mémoire de Constantin Stilbès contre les Latins*, in *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 21 (1963), pp. 50-100, precisamente pp. 90-91, cap. 104.

(1) BON, *La Morée franque*, p. 433 e nota 8. Nessuna traccia di *Ῥῶσον Χῶμα* nell'opera di H. und R. KAHANE, *Italienische Ortsnamen in Griechenland*, Athen, 1940 (Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie, 36). Un toponimo di analoga composizione ibrida (italo-greca) è, per esempio, *Μπέλα Σπηλιά* (Zante) : cf. KAHANE, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

(2) Cf. LEAKE, *Travels in the Morea*, I, p. 429, e specialmente BORY DE SAINT-VINCENT, *Relation du voyage de la Commission scientifique de Morée*, I, p. 178.

5. — Nicola vescovo di Metone e la sua opera letteraria.

Venezia concesse, come è noto, la coesistenza in Metone del vescovo greco accanto a quello latino (1) : la gerarchia ecclesiastica greca di quella città non ebbe perciò soluzione di continuità durante il dominio veneziano. Purtroppo gli elenchi dei vescovi greci di Metone finora abbozzati presentano molte lacune e molte incertezze (2). Nelle varie liste stabilite dal Dukakis (3) il nome di Nicola appare due volte : a metà del secolo XII e all'inizio del XIV : il primo dei due vescovi è il ben noto teologo e polemista antilatino fiorito sotto Manuele I Comneno e morto al più tardi nel 1165 (4), l'altro reca il cognome *Μαλοτέρας* o *Μαλοτέρης*, e il Dukakis lo definisce *βιβλιογράφος ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος καταγόμενος* (5), rimandando a A. Papadopulos Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, t. II, p. 16. Si tratta però di un'indicazione del tutto inesatta : è ben vero infatti che un *Νικόλαος ὁ Μαλωταρᾶς, ἱερεὺς καὶ πρωτέκδικος μητροπόλεως Λακεδαιμονίας*, ha esemplato, all'inizio del sec. XIV, alcuni codici (6) : ma non risulta affatto che egli sia stato nominato vescovo

(1) Cf. Zakythinos, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 275-276 ; Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Âge*, pp. 288-291 ; Bon, *La Morée franque*, p. 225 e nota 1 ; Manussacas, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96.

(2) D. Chr. Dukakis, *Ἐπισκοπὴ Μεθώνης*, in *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος*, 6 (1910), pp. 24-32 ; Metropolita Atenagora, *Ἡ Μητρόπολις Μονεμβασίας*, in *Θεολογία*, 8 (1930), pp. 238-241 ; Zakythinos, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 278-279. Si aggiungano i vescovi documentati dai sigilli : Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux*, V, I, pp. 482-486. Sulle incertezze delle attuali liste si veda quanto nota M. Manussacas, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

(3) In *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος*, 6 (1910), *loc. cit.* ; presso Atenagora, *art. cit.*, pp. 238-240.

(4) Su Nicola di Metone vedere specialmente A. Ehrhard, in K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, München, 1897², pp. 85-87 ; V. Grumel, in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, XI, 1, Paris, 1931, coll. 620-621, s.v. *Nicolas de Méthone* ; H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, München, 1959, pp. 624-626.

(5) In *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος*, 6 (1910), p. 26.

(6) Nel 1311 lo *Scor. Ω.* II.5, nel 1317 e nel 1319 un codice del monastero di S. Giovanni Prodromo a Serre ; senza data è un codice conservato nella Chiesa greca di S. Giorgio a Venezia : cf. M. Vogel-V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 351 ; S. Lampros, *Νικόλαος Μαλωταρᾶς*, in *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 4 (1907), pp. 164-165, 357.

di Metone ; si sa invece che un *Μαλωταρᾶς* fu nel 1316 vescovo di Kernitsa (1), e si conosce un vescovo di Metone di nome *Δημήτριος Πανάρετος ὁ Μαλωταρᾶς*, che offrì un codice contenente omelie di s. Giovanni Crisostomo (oggi Sabaitico 5) al monastero di S. Teodosio a Gerusalemme (2), come risulta da una nota del sec. XIV aggiunta nel codice stesso. Demetrio Panareto Malotara, dunque, e non Nicola, si deve inserire nella lista dei vescovi di Metone (3). In tal modo, i vescovi di Metone a noi noti di nome Nicola si ridurrebbero a uno solo, il celebre teologo del XII secolo. Non bisogna però trascurare la possibilità che sia esistito un altro vescovo di Metone, anche egli chiamato Nicola e anche egli autore di scritti teologici (4), al quale sarebbe dedicata una poesia di Niceforo « filosofo », cioè Niceforo Blemmida (1197-1272) (5) : questo secondo Nicola, Nicola « il giovane », sarebbe da ascrivere all'inizio del secolo XIII (6). Ma l'ipotesi relativa all'esistenza di quest'altro Nicola, per tanti tratti identico al primo, sembra sia da respingere : è vero che il Blemmida parla di *Νικόλαος ... νέος* (7), ma — come si è giustamente notato — ciò non significa di per sè che vi siano

(1) F. MIKLOSICH-I. MÜLLER, *Acta et diplomata graeca Medii Aevi*, I, Vindobonae, 1860, pp. 52-53.

(2) A. PAPADOPULOS-KERAMEUS, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, II, *ἐν Πετρουπόλει*, 1894, p. 16 ; LAMPROS, *art. cit.*, in *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 4 (1907), p. 166.

(3) Così ha fatto lo ZAKYTHINOS, *op. cit.*, II, p. 279, il quale colloca Demetrio Panareto Malotara al principio del XIV secolo.

(4) Si tratta in particolare di tre scritti contro i Latini pubblicati anonimi, come li presenta la tradizione manoscritta, dall'archimandrita ARSENIJ (*Tri stati neizvěstnago grečeskago pisatelija načala XIII věka*, Moskva, 1892), attribuiti a Nicola di Metone da A. DEMETRACOPULOS, *Nicolai Methonae episcopi orationes duae*, Lipsiae, 1865, p. *θ'*, nos 15 e 16, e riferiti invece a Nicola di Metone « il giovane » da J. DRÄSEKE, *Zu Nikolaos von Methone*, in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 41 (1898), pp. 402-411 ; IDEM, *Ein unbekannter Gegner der Lateiner*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 18 (1898), pp. 546-571.

(5) Edita, dopo l'Allacci, dal DEMETRACOPULOS, *op. cit.*, p. *β'*; e inoltre da S. P. LAMBROS, *Die Handschriften des Nikolaos von Methone im Dionysioskloster*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 4 (1895), pp. 363-365, e da A. HEISENBERG, *Nicephori Blemmydae curriculum vitae et carmina*, Lipsiae, 1896, p. 133 (con emendamenti).

(6) Sul problema si veda BECK, *op. cit.*, pp. 625 e 664.

(7) Epigramma cit., vv. 5-6 : *δεῦτε πρόσιτε τῷ σοφῷ διδασκάλῳ, / Νικολάῳ λάμψαντι νέῳ Μεθώνης*.

stati due vescovi di Metone di nome Nicola : il termine *νέος* può essere stato benissimo usato con riferimento al celebre s. Nicola di Mira (1).

Quanto agli scritti teologici che si sono voluti attribuire al secondo Nicola, l'abate J.-M. Hoeck ne ha identificato con somma verosimiglianza l'autore nel patriarca di Costantinopoli Giovanni X Camatero (1198-1206) (2).

Il vescovo Nicola di cui parla il sinassario di s. Leone sarebbe dunque il celebre teologo del secolo XII? Si dovrebbe a lui l'invenzione della reliquia e l'istituzione del culto del nuovo santo? È chiaro che non possiamo ancora rispondere affermativamente a tale quesito, perché la stessa lacunosità delle liste episcopali di Metone non ci permette di escludere l'esistenza in quella sede di altri vescovi di nome Nicola. Converrà dunque per ora lasciare aperto il problema, e procedere all'esame degli inni per s. Leone tramandatici dai codici Chigiano e Criptense.

In entrambi i codici l'acolutia per s. Leone figura al 12 maggio. I Menei greci manoscritti recano in questa data generalmente l'acolutia per s. Epifanio vescovo di Cipro († 403) (3) ; alcuni vi aggiungono quella per s. Germano patriarca di Costantinopoli († 730) (4) ; in codici italogreci si può trovare la commemorazione di

(1) DEMETRACOPULOS, *op. cit.*, pp. *β'-γ'*. Dello stesso parere sono il R. P. V. GRUMEL, che in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, XI, 1, col. 621, riferisce la poesia di Niceforo Blemmida al Nicola vissuto nel secolo XII, e il R. P.V. Laurent, che ha avuto la bontà di comunicarmi per lettera la sua opinione in proposito.

(2) Cf. BECK, *op. cit.*, pp. 625, 664 e nota 2 ; J. M. HOECK-R. J. LOENERTZ, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto Abt von Casole*, Ettal, 1965 (Studia patristica et byzantina, 11), p. 31.

(3) Tali, per esempio, il *Vat. gr.* 787 (sec. XIV), il *Reg. gr.* 62 (sec. XIII), il *Vat. Barb. gr.* 450 (sec. XI-XII), il *Messan. gr.* 121 (sec. XII), i *Par. gr.* 340 (sec. XIV-XV), 367 (sec. XVI), 394 (sec. XVII), 1566 (sec. XIV), 1574 (a. 1404), 1575 (sec. XII), 1577 (a. 1520), *Suppl. gr.* 564 (sec. XII) e 1016 (sec. XV). Sul contenuto dei codici di Parigi mi ha informata, con la sua consueta cortesia, Mlle M.-Louise Concasty, conservateur des manuscrits alla Bibliothèque Nationale, che ringrazio sentitamente.

(4) Ad esempio il *Vat. gr.* 1510 (a. 1431), il *Reg. gr.* 65 (sec. XII). Di questo tipo è l'ufficiatura adottata nei Menei a stampa editi a Venezia (per esempio *Μηναῖα ... διορθωθέντα ὑπὸ Βαρθολομαίου Κουτλουμουσιανοῦ*, IX, *Βενετία, Φοίνιξ*, 1895[6], pp. 43-49) e a Roma (*Μηναῖα τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ*, ed. Propaganda Fide, V, *ἐν Ῥώμῃ*, 1899, pp. 83-93).

un santo siciliano, il leggendario s. Filippo di Agira (1). Nei due codici che abbiamo in esame, invece, il posto principale tocca a s. Leone, e s. Epifanio è ricordato quasi solo nel titolo (2) : il cod. Criptense contiene per il vescovo di Cipro tre sticheri al Vespro e il sinassario in prosa all'*Orthros*, il cod. Vaticano Chigiano ha solo il sinassario.

Lo schema liturgico dell'ufficiatura (3) differisce leggermente nei due manoscritti. Possiamo delinearlo come segue (4) :

(1) Si veda il *Vat. Barb. gr.* 373, del sec. XIII-XIV. Sulla leggenda di s. Filippo d'Agira cf. F. LANZONI, *Le diocesi d'Italia dalle origini al principio del secolo VII*, Faenza, 1927 (Studi e testi, 35), p. 645.

(2) *Μηνὶ μαΐῳ ιβ'. τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ θαυματουργοῦ Λέοντος νέου τοῦ ἐν Μεθώνῃ λάμψαντος, καὶ τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἐπιφανίου ἐπισκόπου Κύπρου* nel cod. *Vat. Chis.*, con qualche lieve variante nel Criptense. Il termine *νέος* attribuito a s. Leone di Metone lo contrappone a un più antico santo omonimo, molto probabilmente s. Leone di Catania, ben noto alle raccolte liturgiche bizantine, in quanto accolto nel calendario della Chiesa di Costantinopoli al 20 o al 21 febbraio : cf. H. DELEHAYE, *Un synaxaire italo-grec*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 21 (1902), pp. 23-28, specialmente p. 26. Su Leone di Catania vedere anche G. DA COSTA-LOUILLET, *Saints de Sicile et d'Italie méridionale aux VIIIe, IXe et Xe siècles*, in *Byzantion*, 29-30 (1959-60), pp. 89-95. Nel canone dedicato a s. Leone di Catania da Giuseppe innografo (edito nei Menei a stampa: per esempio nell'edizione di Propaganda Fide, III, *ἐν Ῥώμῃ*, 1896, pp. 623-628), l'accento cade soprattutto sulla sua caratteristica di taumaturgo (se ne veda l'acrostico, che suona *Λέοντα πηγὴν ὄντα θαυμάτων σέβω, Ὁ Ἰωσήφ*). La Chiesa greca celebra anche un altro s. Leone, il papa romano del V secolo, commemorato il 18 febbraio.

(3) Sullo schema dell'ufficiatura bizantina molto utili sono i quadri delineati da M. ARRANZ nell'opera *Le Typicon du monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine*, Roma, 1969 (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 185), pp. XXXIV-XLV ; si veda anche il ricco indice liturgico, ivi, pp. 376-449.

(4) Nella colonna di sinistra (V) sono elencati gli elementi dell'ufficiatura che appaiono solo nel codice Vaticano Chigiano, in quella di destra (C) quelli propri del solo codice Criptense, in quella centrale (VC) quelli comuni ai due manoscritti. Sono in *corsivo* le parti che nei codici vengono soltanto enunciate.

Vespri

V	VC	C
	Tre sticheri per s. Leone	
		Tre sticheri per s. Epifanio
	Doxastikon per s.Leone *καὶ νῦν τῆς ἑορτῆς*	
Entrata		
προκείμενον		
Letture : I. Sap. 3, 1-9		
II. Sap. 4, 7-15		
III. Sap. 5, 15-6, 3		
alla *Αἰτή : idiomeli τῆς ἑορτῆς*		
Tre idiomeli per s. Leone (1)		
Doxastikon per s. Leone		
καὶ νῦν τῆς ἑορτῆς		
	Allo stichos :	
	Tre sticheri per s. Leone	
	Doxastikon per s. Leone	
	Apolytikion : Tropario per s. Leone	
		Ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν καὶ νῦν τῆς ἑορτῆς
		Restante acolutia
		Ἀπόλυσις

Mattutino

V	VC	C
	Sticologia	
Cathismata del giorno		Cathisma per s. Leone
Lettura		*δόξα τὸ αὐτό*
Πολυέλεος (Ps. 135)		*καὶ νῦν τῆς ἑορτῆς*
Cathisma per s. Leone		Cathisma per s. Leone (2)

(1) Il secondo di questi idiomeli riappare nel codice Vaticano in altra sede, alle Lodi ; ivi è documentato anche nel codice Criptense.

(2) I due *cathismata* per s. Leone del codice Criptense differiscono dall'unico del cod. Vat. Chigiano : quest'ultimo è ripetuto nel Chigiano dopo l'ode III del canone, e in questa sede appare anche nel Criptense.

V	VC	C
δόξα καὶ νῦν theotokion (1)		*δόξα τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ νῦν τῆς ἑορτῆς*
	Ἀναβαθμοί: I antifona del IV tono	
	Προκείμενον, modo grave: Ps. 115, 6; Ps. 115, 3	
Τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν *Ps. 150, 6*		
	Vangelo	
«ζήτει εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν»		*Matth. 11, 27 ss.*
	Ps. 50	
		pentekostarion per s. Leone
		καὶ νῦν τὸ αὐτό
	tropario per s. Leone	
		Σῶσον ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαόν σου
ἡ συνήθης εὐχὴ παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως		
	Canone τῆς ἑορτῆς	
	Canone per s. Leone	
	Dopo l'ode III:	
1 cathisma per s. Leone (2)		2 cathismata per s. Leone
		1 theotokion (3)
	Dopo l'ode VI:	
	Kontakion per s. Leone	
	Oikos per s. Leone	
	Distico ed esametro per s. Leone	
	Sinassario in prosa per s. Leone	
	Distico ed esametro per s. Epifanio	
	Sinassario in prosa per s. Epifanio	

(1) *Theotokion* edito in più luoghi dei Menei: inc. *Χαῖρε, θρόνε πυρίμορφε τοῦ θεοῦ, χαῖρε, κόρη* ...: cf. H. Follieri, *Initia hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, V, 1, Città del Vaticano, 1966 (Studi e testi, 215), p. 55.

(2) È lo stesso *cathisma* che si legge all'inizio dell'*Orthros* nel Chigiano. Esso appare dopo l'ode III, in seconda sede, nel Criptense. Vedi sopra, nota 2 a p. 412.

(3) *Theotokion* edito in più luoghi dei libri liturgici greci: inc. *Τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ Λόγου ἐν σῇ γαστρὶ* ... (variante *Τὴν σοφίαν καὶ Λόγον* ...). Cf. Follieri, *op. cit.*, IV, Città del Vaticano, 1963 (Studi e testi, 214), pp. 90-92.

V	VC	C
	2 exapostellaria per s. Leone	
	Lodi: 4 sticheri per s. Leone	
	Doxastikon per s. Leone	
	καὶ νῦν τῆς ἑορτῆς	
		theotokion (*εἰ οὐ τυγχάνει εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν*) (1)
	δοξολογία μεγάλη	
	καὶ ἀπόλυσις	

Liturgia

V	VC	C
	Τυπικόν (= Beatitudini)	
	Odi III e VI del canone per il santo	
	Προκείμενον: modo IV: Ps. 115, 6	
	Stichos: Ps. 115, 3	
	Apostolos: Gal. 5, 22-6, 2 (2)	
Alleluia: Ps. 111, 1		*Alleluia: Ps. 40, 2*
	Vangelo: Matth. 11, 27-30 (3)	
κοινονικόν (non indicato)		*κοινονικόν: Ps. 111, 6b*

L'acolutia per s. Leone è, come si vede, notevolmente complessa in entrambi i manoscritti. Il codice Vaticano Chigiano (V) documenta però, per la commemorazione di Leone, una celebrazione più solenne, con la *παραμονή* (vigilia con letture) (4) che manca nel codice Criptense. La festa liturgica risulta così appartenere alla terza delle sette classi in cui si possono raggruppare le feste del

(1) Edito in più luoghi: inc. *Τὴν πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα μου...*: cf. FOLLIERI, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 83.

(2) Per esteso in V, solo l'incipit in C.

(3) Per esteso in V, solo l'incipit in C.

(4) Sulla *παραμονή* si veda la definizione data da J. MATEOS, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église*, II, Roma, 1963 (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 166), p. 311: vedi ivi anche la voce *ἑορτή*, III (p. 294). Al R. P. J. Mateos, S. I., desidero esprimere la mia gratitudine per i chiarimenti che egli mi ha dato sullo schema liturgico qui riportato.

rito bizantino, e cioè alla classe delle *ἐπίσημοι ἑορταί* (1). Nel codice Vaticano alcuni inni appaiono ripetuti due volte : il secondo dei tre idiomeli cantati alla *Λιτή* del Vespro vi si legge anche alla fine delle Lodi (nel Criptense esso è documentato solo in questa sede) ; il cathisma per s. Leone che si canta, secondo il codice Vaticano, all'inizio dell'ufficiatura del Mattutino, dopo il *Πολυέλεος*, riappare nello stesso manoscritto dopo l'ode III del canone (è questo il solo luogo in cui esso è registrato nel codice Criptense). Ciò fa supporre che l'acolutia documentata nel codice Vaticano Chigiano sia il risultato di un rimaneggiamento e ampliamento dell'acolutia originaria.

Dei vari inni inediti presenti nell'acolutia per s. Leone (10 stichéri prosomii, 5 doxastika, 2 idiomeli, 1 apolytikion, 4 cathismata, 1 « tropario del giorno », 1 contacio, 1 oikos, due exaposteilaria, 1 canone), uno solo reca l'indicazione dell'autore, il canone, il quale in entrambi i codici che lo tramandano è preceduto dalle parole *Ποίημα Νικολάου φιλοσόφου Μεθώνης*. L'attribuzione a Nicola è confermata dall'acrostico, che si presenta nella consueta forma di un dodecasillabo bizantino seguìto dal nome dell'autore : *Αἰνῶ Λέοντα θαυματουργὸν τὸν νέον, Νικόλαος* (2).

La tecnica adottata dagli innografi che si chiamavano Nicola a noi finora noti — non molto numerosi invero né molto attivi — per iscrivere il loro nome nei canoni da essi composti è diversa, perché essi in genere usarono formarlo, in genitivo, con le iniziali

(1) E. MERCENIER, *La prière des églises de rite byzantin*, II, 1, *Fêtes fixes*, Chevetogne, 1953, p. 70.

(2) Nella didascalia premessa al canone nei due codici l'acrostico è citato solo nella sua parte metrica, con l'omissione del nome *Νικόλαος* : ma questo risulta dalle iniziali dei tropari delle due ultime odi, l'VIII e la IX. L'appartenenza delle lettere dell'acrostico alle singole odi si può esprimere così: [1]*Αἰνῶ*/ [2]<*Λέον*> / [3]*τα θα* / [4]*υμα*<*τ*>*ο* / [5]*υργὸ* / [6]*ν τὸν* / [7]*νέον.* / [8]*Νικό* / [9]*λαος*. Da notare che il canone conteneva anche l'ode seconda, che non è documentata nei codici Vaticano Chigiano e Criptense ; sono caduti inoltre in entrambi i manoscritti un tropario dell'ode IV, che cominciava con T-, e il theotokion della IX, sostituito con un theotokion estraneo al canone originario : vedi sotto, p. 440. È possibile perciò che l'iniziale dell'ultima strofa non fosse in origine *Σ* : sarebbe potnto essere Y, e si sarebbe avuto così *Νικολάου* : ma ciò è poco probabile, perché in genere tra il nome dell'autore e l'acrostico che lo precede intercorre una relazione sintattica : vedi sotto, p. 422 e nota 2.

dei theotokia (1). È perciò assai improbabile che fra essi vada ricercato il *Νικόλαος* autore del nostro canone.

L'appellativo di « filosofo » che si accompagna al nome di Nicola di Metone nella didascalia premessa al canone ha avuto, nell'età bizantina, vari significati: oltre a quello classico di « amante della sapienza », « filosofo », esso equivale a *σοφός*, « saggio », « dotto » in generale (come *φιλοσοφία* corrisponde talvolta a *παιδεία κοινῶς* — cf. la locuzione *φιλόσοφοι καὶ ῥήτορες* —), e può designare addirittura il monaco (2). L'epiteto di *φιλόσοφος* fu associato a molti nomi dell'élite culturale e spirituale bizantina. Gli esempi sono numerosi: basterà citare Niceta di Bisanzio, contemporaneo più giovane di Fozio, noto coi soprannomi di *φιλόσοφος* e di *διδάσκαλος* (3); Teoriano, vissuto nel sec. XII, detto *μαΐστωρ καὶ φιλόσοφος* (4). Lo stesso Niceforo Blemmida è definito, nella didascalia premessa all'epigramma sopra citato, Niceforo « filosofo ».

Nicola di Metone il « filosofo » potrebbe essere benissimo il vescovo di Metone vissuto al tempo di Manuele I Comneno, che fu veramente un conoscitore della *filosofia* nel suo significato classico e laico, attraverso le opere di alcuni insigni rappresentanti del pensiero antico, come Platone, Aristotele, Proclo (5). Ma l'ampio significato assunto in età bizantina dal termine *φιλόσοφος* ci rende più guardinghi in questa identificazione.

(1) Si vedano gli innografi di nome *Νικόλαος* elencati in FOLLIERI, *op. cit.*, V, 1, pp. 295-296, e gli innografi registrati sotto il nome *Nicolaus* da C. ÉMEREAU, *Hymnographi byzantini*, in *Échos d'Orient*, 23 (1924), p. 414; 24 (1925), p. 164. Il nome di un *Νικόλαος* non meglio precisato appare nell'acrostico di un *syntomon* per s. Silvestro edito da G. SCHIRÒ, in *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s., 3 (1949), pp. 219-220 (ivi, pp. 212-214, alcune osservazioni sull'autore e sull'inno).

(2) F. DÖLGER, *Zur Bedeutung von φιλόσοφος und φιλοσοφία in byzantinische Zeit*, in *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt*, Ettal, 1953, pp. 197-208. Sul significato di *φιλοσοφία*, *φιλόσοφος* nel linguaggio degli autori patristici si veda lo studio di A.-M. MALINGREY, *« Philosophia ». Étude d'un groupe de mots dans la littérature grecque, des Présocratiques au IVe siècle après J.-C.*, Paris, 1961 (Études et commentaires, 40).

(3) EHRHARD, in KRUMBACHER, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

(4) EHRHARD, in KRUMBACHER, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

(5) Sono noti la sua opera contro Proclo e gli spunti polemici contro altri filosofi dell'antichità: cf. EHRHARD, in KRUMBACHER, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-87; BECK, *op. cit.*, p. 624. Più in particolare vedere J. DRÄSEKE, *Nikolaos von Methone*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1 (1892), pp. 438-478, specialmente pp. 446-448, 477.

D'altra parte, il Nicola che fu vescovo di Metone nel secolo XII è noto finora come autore di scritti in prosa, generalmente di contenuto teologico, e non gli si attribuisce alcun componimento di carattere innografico-liturgico : è possibile che egli abbia composto l'acolutia per s. Leone?

Bisogna notare a questo punto che fra gli scritti in prosa di Nicola di Metone ve ne è uno che ha una sua particolare fisionomia e rivela nel dotto vescovo di Metone un interesse per le più recenti tradizioni agiografiche di Grecia : la vita di s. Melezio « il giovane » (1), un santo monaco fiorito nella seconda metà del secolo XI nella Grecia centrale, ai confini tra l'Attica e la Beozia, e morto nel 1105 (2). La vita di Melezio fu composta da Nicola, a quanto egli stesso dice, 36 anni dopo la morte del santo, e si data perciò al 1141. Essa è un documento storico di notevole interesse (3).

A s. Melezio, commemorato il 1° settembre, sono stati dedicati anche inni liturgici : la sua acolutia completa è stata pubblicata in tre diverse edizioni, di contenuto alquanto differente : la più antica, apparsa a Costantinopoli nel 1819, per i tipi della Tipografia patriarcale, a cura dello ieromonaco Ioasaf, del monastero di *Μέγα Σπήλαιον*, direttore didattico in Corinto, è anche quella che contiene l'ufficiatura più completa (4) ; ve ne sono poi altre due, apparse entrambi ad Atene, rispettivamente nel 1894 e nel 1915 (5).

Nella acolutia pubblicata a Costantinopoli, che il titolo dice *συντεθεῖσα μὲν ποτὲ ὑπ' ἀγνώστου τινὸς τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς, νῦν δὲ ἐπιδιορθωθεῖσα, προσαυξηνθεῖσά τε καὶ ἐπιμελῶς κατὰ μέλος φιλοπονηθεῖσα* dal benemerito Ioasaf, sono editi, all'Orthros, tre ca-

(1) HALKIN, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, II, Bruxelles, 1957³, p. 110, n° 1247 ; IDEM, *Auctarium*, p. 132, n° 1247.

(2) Melezio esercitò la sua ascesi soprattutto sul monte Citerone, il « monte di Miopoli » : *ὁ ὅσιος πατὴρ ἡμῶν Μελέτιος ὁ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῆς Μυουπόλεως ἀσκήσας* lo designa il titolo premesso alla Vita composta da Nicola di Metone.

(3) Cf. Arcivescovo CHRYSOSTOMOS (PAPADOPULOS), *Ὁ ὅσιος Μελέτιος « ὁ Νέος » (περ. 1035-1105)*, *ἐν Ἀθήναις*, 1968², pp. 5-6. Questa seconda edizione dell'opera dell'arcivescovo di Atene, introvabile nelle biblioteche romane, mi è stata procurata dal prof. Giorgio Zoras, al quale desidero ripetere qui la mia riconoscenza.

(4) *Ἀκολουθία ἱερὰ τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μελετίου τοῦ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῆς Μυιουπόλεως ἀσκήσαντος..., ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει*, 1819 : cf. L. PETIT, *Bibliographie des acolouthies grecques*, Bruxelles, 1926 (Subsidia hagiographica, 16), p. 189, n° 1.

(5) PETIT, *op. cit.*, pp. 189, n° 2 ; 190, n° 6.

noni : il primo per l'inizio dell'anno (*ἰνδικτος*) (1), il secondo e il terzo per s. Melezio. Dei due canoni per s. Melezio, il primo reca l'acrostico *Μελετίῳ τὸν ὕμνον ἐκ πόθου πλέκω, Κοσμᾶς*, ed è stato ristampato in parte nelle altre due edizioni dell'acolutia apparse negli anni 1894 e 1915 (2) ; il secondo invece ha avuto meno fortuna, e non è stato, che io sappia, più ristampato. Questo canone ha l'acrostico *Δὸς χάριν ὑμνῆσαί σε, Πάτερ, ἀξίως, Νικολάῳ* (3), ed è detto nella didascalia *ποίημα Νικολάου Μητροπολίτου Κορίνθου*. Nessuno degli innografi conosciuti di nome Nicola fu metropolita di Corinto (4). Per di più, nella lista dei vescovi di Corinto il nome di Nicola è assai raro : esso fu portato, a quanto sappiamo, solo dal prelato che rimase vittima, circa il 1204, di Leone Sguro (5) ; di lui si ignora una qualsiasi attività letteraria.

È perciò legittimo chiedersi se il Nicola autore del canone per s. Melezio non sia da identificare con Nicola di Metone, che di Melezio ha composto sicuramente la Vita. La forma letteraria del canone — anche se lo si conosce per ora solo nella redazione rappresentata dall'edizione costantinopolitana del 1819 — non si opporrebbe a tale identificazione. Lo stile adottato da Nicola di Metone negli scritti in prosa è elegante e concettoso, senza indulgere peraltro eccessivamente alla ricerca dell'artificio retorico. La lingua del canone è corretta, senza sciatterie né esagerate ricercatezze : basterà riprodurne qui, come saggio, la prima ode (6) :

(1) È il canone edito nei Menei al 1° settembre : per esempio cf. *Μηναῖα τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ*, ed. Propaganda Fide, I, *ἐν Ῥώμῃ*, 1888, pp. 10-21.

(2) Chi sia il Cosma autore di questa acolutia, non saprei dire : certo non il celebre Cosma di Maiuma (sec. VIII), per ovvie ragioni cronologiche. Su altri innografi di questo nome cf. ÉMEREAU, *op. cit.*, in *Échos d'Orient*, 22 (1923), pp. 19-22.

(3) Precisamente : [1]*Δὸς χ* / [3]*άριν* / [4]*ὑμνῆ* / [5]*σαί σ*/[6]*ε Πά*<*τ*> / [7]*ερ ἀξ* / [8]*ίως, Νι* / [9]*κολάῳ*.

(4) Cf. ÉMEREAU, *op. cit.*, in *Échos d'Orient*, 23 (1924), p. 414 ; 24 (1925), p. 164.

(5) M. LEQUIEN, *Oriens Christianus*, II, Parisiis, 1740, col. 165 ; articolo di R. JANIN, s.v. *Corinthe*, in *Dict. Hist. Géogr. Eccl.*, XIII, Paris, 1956, coll. 876-880, specialmente coll. 878-879 ; A. KOMINIS, *Gregorio Pardos metropolita di Corinto e la sua opera*, Roma-Atene, 1960 (Testi e studi bizantino-neoellenici, 2), pp. 57-58 ; articolo di I. Ch. KONSTANTINIDIS s.v. *Κόρινθος*, in *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ ἠθικὴ ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, VII, *Ἀθῆναι*, 1965, coll. 847-863, specialmente coll. 853-859.

(6) Dalla citata edizione costantinopolitana del 1819, p. 10.

ἦχος πλ. δ'

Ὠδὴ α'. Ἄσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ.

Δεῦτε, τῶν μονοτρόπων
ἱερὰ συστήματα, τιμήσωμεν
ἱεραῖς μελῳδίαις
τὸ ἡμέτερον κλέος, Μελέτιον.

Ὅλος καθωσιώθης,
πάτερ, ἐκ νεότητος τῷ Κτίστῃ σου
σεαυτὸν προσενέγκας
καλλιέρημα τέλειον καὶ ἄμωμον.

Σάββα τοῦ θεοφόρου
γένει καὶ πατρίδι σεμνυνόμενος
πολιτείας τῆς τούτου
καὶ τῆς δόξης ἐγένου συμμέτοχος.

θεοτοκίον *Χαῖρε, χαρὰ δικαίων,*
χαῖρε, τῶν ὁσίων ἐγκαλλώπισμα,
χαῖρε, πάντων ἀνθρώπων
ἱλαστήριον, ἄχραντε Δέσποινα.

Dal punto di vista del contenuto, il canone per s. Melezio si richiama spesso a particolari della vita del santo, dei quali dà notizia la biografia composta da Nicola di Metone. Nell'ode prima (vv. 9-10) l'innografo ricorda che Melezio fu conterraneo di s. Saba *ὁ θεοφόρος*, il fondatore del celebre cenobio palestinese, nato come Melezio in Cappadocia (cf. *Vita*, cap. 2) (1). Nell'ode III si ricorda come il santo si fece compagno di Cristo, ponendosene sulle spalle la croce (cf. *Vita*, cap. 3) (2) e respingendo ogni amore terreno (cf. *Vita*, cap. 2) (3). Vi si accenna anche a un prodigio operatosi sul santo fanciullo, che ottenne di esser liberato dall'innata difficoltà nell'apprendere (*ἔμφυτος δυσμάθεια*) toccando con fede la sacra tovaglia (*ἐνδυτή* è il termine usato nella *Vita*) dell'altare (cf. *Vita*, cap. 2) (4). Nell'ode IV il santo è lodato per il dono della

(1) Arciv. Chrysostomos, *op. cit.*, 2a ediz., p. 37.
(2) *Ed. cit.*, p. 39 in basso.
(3) *Ed. cit.*, p. 39 a metà.
(4) *Ed. cit.*, p. 38 a metà circa.

profezia, attestato da molti prodigi (cf. *Vita*, capp. 8, 10, 13, 14, 17) (1), e per l'infaticabile ascesi (cf. *Vita*, cap. 6) (2). Nell'ode VI si allude alla vita eremitica di Melezio sui monti (cf. *Vita*, cap. 11) (3) e alla sua vittoria sul demonio, il quale invano cercò di domare il santo colpendolo con mali fisici, e soprattutto con una malattia ai piedi (cf. *Vita*, cap. 7) (4). Nell'ode VII si allude a un altro prodigio compiuto da Melezio, quando miracolosamente arrestò il fuoco che minacciava i suoi monasteri (cf. *Vita*, cap. 13) (5). Nell'ode VIII Melezio è implorato perché nei cieli si ricordi degli uomini, mentre si associa agli angeli che imitò sulla terra (cf. *Vita*, cap. 13, inizio) (6).

Il contenuto della Vita di Melezio scritta da Nicola di Metone fu dunque tenuto presente dall'autore del canone, che ne desunse alcuni degli episodi salienti, citandoli naturalmente con brevi accenni, come è proprio dello stile innografico, che rifugge da riferimenti troppo concreti. Su Melezio veramente possediamo anche un'altra biografia, composta da Teodoro Prodromo (7) : ma siamo certi che il testo cui si ispirò l'innografo è quello di Nicola, e non quello di Teodoro, perché in quest'ultimo mancano alcuni degli episodi cui si fa riferimento nel canone, come quello del miracolo compiutosi in Melezio fanciullo al tocco degli arredi sacri e l'altro dell'incendio arrestato.

Se dunque si può ammettere che Nicola di Metone compose, oltre alla Vita di s. Melezio, anche il canone in suo onore, si può ragionevolmente supporre che lo stesso Nicola abbia composto — almeno in parte — l'ufficiatura per s. Leone. Sarebbe suo il canone recante nell'acrostico il nome di *Νικόλαος* e preceduto dalla didascalia *ποίημα Νικολάου φιλοσόφου Μεθώνης*. Questo inno, confrontato con quello per s. Melezio, mostra rispetto ad esso differenze e somiglianze su cui vale la pena di soffermarsi.

Vediamo anzitutto le differenze.

(1) *Ed. cit.*, pp. 47, 51-52, 54, 56, 58, 62.
(2) *Ed. cit.*, p. 44.
(3) *Ed. cit.*, pp. 52-53.
(4) *Ed. cit.*, p. 45.
(5) *Ed. cit.*, p. 54.
(6) *Ed. cit.*, p. 54.
(7) HALKIN, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, II, p. 110, n° 1248 ; IDEM, *Auctarium*, p. 132, n° 1248.

I due canoni seguono, in quasi tutte le odi corrispondenti, schemi metrico-melurgici diversi. Entrambi appartengono al IV modo plagale, il modo preferito dagli innografi bizantini, e in particolare da quelli più recenti (1) : ma gli irmi prescelti per le singole odi coincidono solo nelle odi VII e IX (2). Un'altra diversità è data dal numero delle odi componenti in origine i due canoni : mentre nel canone per s. Melezio esse sono sempre state otto (l'ode II manca, secondo un uso affermatosi assai per tempo, ma l'acrostico, controllato su ciascun tropario, è completo) (3), nel canone per s. Leone — anch'esso oggi di otto odi — le odi dovevano essere originariamente nove : lo prova l'acrostico, in cui le quattro lettere *ΛΕΟΝ* corrispondono ad altrettanti tropari appartenenti appunto all'ode II, oggi perduta.

Queste differenze non escludono però l'appartenenza dei due inni a un medesimo autore. Se, per esempio, prendiamo in esame i canoni del IV modo plagale composti da quel fecondissimo autore che fu Giuseppe, l'innografo per antonomasia della poesia liturgica bizantina, troveremo che gli irmi adottati come modello per alcuni sono spesso completamente diversi da quelli scelti per altri (4).

(1) Degli oltre 150 canoni composti da Giovanni Mauropode metropolita di Eucaita (sec. XI), quasi un terzo appartengono al IV modo plagale : si veda il mio articolo *The living hirmologion in the hymnographic production of John Mauropus metropolitan of Euchaita*, di prossima pubblicazione in *Studies in Eastern Chant*.

(2) Nel canone per s. Melezio gli irmi sono i seguenti : ode I *Ἄσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ τῷ διαγαγόντι...* (S. EUSTRATIADIS, *Εἱρμολόγιον*, Chennevières-sur-Marne, 1932 [*Ἁγιορειτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, 9], p. 224, n° 321) ; ode III *Σὺ εἶ τὸ στερέωμα ...* (EUSTRATIADIS, *op. cit., ibid.*) ; ode IV *Εἰσακήκοα, Κύριε, τῆς οἰκονομίας σου...* (EUSTRATIADIS, *op. cit.*, p. 225, n° 322) ; ode V *Ὀρθρίζοντες βοῶμέν σοι, Κύριε ...* (EUSTRATADIS, *op. cit.*, p. 226, n° 324) ; ode VI *Τὴν δέησιν ἐκχεῶ πρὸς Κύριον ...* (EUSTRATIADIS, *op. cit.*, p. 219, n° 314) ; ode VII *Παῖδες Ἑβραίων ἐν καμίνῳ ...* (EUSTRATIADIS, *op. cit.*, p. 220, n° 315) ; ode VIII *Τὸν βασιλέα τῶν οὐρανῶν ...* (EUSTRATIADIS, *op. cit.*, p. 224, n° 321) ; ode IX *Κυρίως Θεοτόκον σὲ ὁμολογοῦμεν ...* (EUSTRATIADIS, *op. cit.*, p. 224, n° 321). Per gli irmi del canone dedicato a s. Leone si veda più avanti, p. 440.

(3) Cf. N. TOMADAKIS, *Ἡ βυζαντινὴ ὑμνογραφία καὶ ποίησις*, *Ἀθῆναι*, 1965, pp. 60-61.

(4) Ad esempio, il canone per s. Aquilina, al 13 giugno (*Μηναῖα τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ*, ed. Propaganda Fide, V, pp. 281-285) ha irmi quasi del tutto diversi da quello per s. Andronico, al 17 maggio (*Μηναῖα*, t. cit., pp. 114-117) ; sono diverse del tutto le strofe modello adottate nel canone per s. Eutiche (al 24

Lo stesso Giuseppe compose generalmente canoni privi fin dall'inizio dell'ode II, ma ne scrisse anche parecchi in cui l'ode II era presente, come dimostra sicuramente l'acrostico (1).

Se passiamo a considerare i rapporti di somiglianza fra i due canoni, noteremo che essi sono abbastanza numerosi ed evidenti. L'acrostico, anzitutto, è dello stesso tipo in entrambi gli inni: un dodecasillabo bizantino seguito dal nome dell'autore. Quest'ultimo è in dativo nell'acrostico del canone per Melezio, al nominativo in quello per Leone: appare cioè in connessione sintattica con il dodecasillabo che lo precede:

Δὸς χάριν ὑμνῆσαί σε, Πάτερ, ἀξίως, Νικολάῳ.
Αἰνῶ Λέοντα θαυματουργὸν τὸν νέον, Νικόλαος (2).

I due versi seguono correttamente le norme prosodiche e metriche

agosto: *Μηναῖα τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ*, ed. Propaganda Fide, VI, *ἐν Ῥώμῃ*, 1901, pp. 487-492), e in gran parte diverse quelle del canone per s. Martino al 13 aprile (*Μηναῖα τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιατοῦ*, ed. Propaganda Fide, IV, *ἐν Ῥώμῃ*, 1898, pp. 301-306). Un'immagine della varietà delle sequenze irmiche scelte dagli innografi fornisce la tabella — limitata ai canoni del I modo per i mesi di settembre-dicembre — pubblicata da G. Schirò, *Problemi heirmologici*, in *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, London, 1967, pp. 255-266, precisamente p. 258. Delle sequenze irmiche adottate da Giovanni Mauropode mi sono occupata io medesima nell'articolo in corso di stampa citato sopra a p. 421, nota 1.

(1) Avevano certamente l'ode II, per esempio, i seguenti canoni di Giuseppe che si leggono nei Menei greci a stampa: per s. Antimo martire (3 settembre; *Μηναῖα, ed. cit.*, I, pp. 38-45), per s. Eumenio di Cortina (18 settembre, *t. cit.*, pp. 198-202), per S. Codrato (22 settembre, *t. cit.*, pp. 221-228), per s. Artemio (20 ottobre, *t. cit.*, pp. 471-476), per s. Anastasia (29 ottobre, *t. cit.*, pp. 554-561), e non pochi altri. Si veda in proposito: A. Papadopulos-Kerameus, *Σχεδίασμα περὶ τῶν λειτουργικῶν Μηναίων*, in *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 1 (1894), pp. 341-388, specialmente pp. 372-375; W. Weyh, *Die Akrostichis in der byzantinischen Kanonesdichtung*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 17 (1908), pp. 1-68, specialmente pp. 65-66.

(2) Non diversamente si comporta un fecondo autore di canoni del secolo XI, Giovanni Mauropode metropolita di Eucaita: si confrontino gli acrostici: a) *Ἐν ἑβδόμῳ μέλει σε μέλπω, παντάναξ, μοναχὸς Ἰωάννης*, b) *Δούλου δέησιν ὀγδόην, Σῶτερ, δέχου, μοναχοῦ Ἰωάννου*, c) *Πυρὸς γεέννης ἐξελοῦ με, Παρθένε, Ἰωάννην μοναχόν* (editi rispettivamente da E. Follieri, *Giovanni Mauropode, Otto canoni paracletici a N. S. Gesù Cristo*, in *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà*, 5 (1968), pp. 152-164, 168-184, e da S. Eustratiadis, *Θεοτοκάριον*, Chennevières-sur-Marne, 1931 (*Ἁγιορειτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, 7-8), pp. 253-257.

di età bizantina : quantità delle sillabe, dodecasillabismo, parossitonesi, posizione delle cesure e accentazione del primo emistichio (col rispetto della legge di Hilberg) (1).

Analoga è la disposizione del contenuto nei due canoni : entrambi si aprono con l'esortazione a celebrare il santo commemorato, che è subito citato, in posizione di rilievo, alla fine del 1° tropario (... *Μελέτιον.* — ... *Λέοντα τὸν νέον*). È naturale che nel canone per s. Melezio l'invito dell'innografo sia indirizzato ai monaci (*τῶν μονοτρόπων ἱερὰ συστήματα*), giacché il corpo di s. Melezio era custodito nella chiesa del monastero da lui fondato (2), mentre nel canone per s. Leone l'innografo si rivolge al popolo, ai fedeli (*λαοί*), che presso Metone avevano scoperto e custodivano il corpo di Leone.

Gli inni proseguono entrambi con copiose allusioni alle virtù dei santi celebrati e agli episodi della loro vita. Questi riferimenti sono ovviamente più precisi e abbondanti per Melezio, di cui l'innografo conosceva nei più minuti particolari la biografia, mentre sono piuttosto generici e scarsi per Leone, per il quale evidentemente l'unico dato sicuro era il ritrovamento della spoglia miracolosa.

Nei due inni si notano, inoltre, considerevoli somiglianze formali : prendiamo in esame, ad esempio, il primo tropario dell'ode IV del canone per s. Melezio, e il primo dell'ode V di quello per s. Leone :

per s. Melezio, vv. 33-36

Ὑπερήφανον ἔπαρσιν,
πάτερ, τοῦ ἀλάστορος καταβέβληκας
ταπεινώσει συμφραξάμενος
καὶ μελέταις θείαις δυναμούμενος.

(1) È rispettata la quantità delle sillabe la cui lunghezza o brevità è riconoscibile dall'occhio (quelle con le vocali *η*, *ω*, con dittonghi o lunghe per posizione ; quelle con le vocali *ε*, *ο*) ; sono considerate ancipiti le sillabe recanti le vocali *α*, *ι*, *υ* (nell'acrostico del canone per Melezio la sillaba *χα-* in *χάριν* è considerata lunga, mentre in età classica è breve : così la sillaba *πα-* in *πάτερ*). Su questa materia cf. soprattutto P. Maas, *Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 12 (1903), pp. 278-323.

(2) Si veda la *Vita* di s. Melezio scritta da Nicola di Metone, cap. 23 (*ed. cit.*, p. 70). Cf. anche la prefazione dell'arcivescovo Chrysostomos (Papadopulos), *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

per s. Leone, vv. 73-79

Ὑπερήφανον ὄφιν,
μάκαρ, ἐταπείνωσας, τὴν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν
ἐξαλείφειν πᾶσαν
ἐγκαυχώμενον καὶ κατεπάτησας,
ταπεινώσει θείᾳ
περιφραχθεὶς καὶ ἐξουσίαν
ἐκ θεοῦ κατ' αὐτοῦ κομισάμενος.

Le corrispondenze concettuali e formali sono evidenti. Del pari lo sono in altri luoghi, per esempio nel 3° tropario dell'ode IV del canone per s. Melezio, e nel 1° dell'ode VIII dell'inno per s. Leone :

per s. Melezio, vv. 41-44

Νυσταγμὸν τοῖς βλεφάροις σου
καὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου ὕπνον οὐκ ἔδωκας
ἕως οἶκον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν
σεαυτόν, παμμάκαρ, ἀπετέλεσας.

per s. Leone, vv. 141-146

Νυσταγμὸν οὐκ ἔδωκας βλεφάροις
οὐδὲ τοῖς κροτάφοις ἀνεπαύσω
ἕως ἐτέλεσας σαυτὸν
ἀξιόθεον τόπον
σκήνωμά τε <τῆς> δόξης
τῆς σεπτῆς Τριάδος, παμμάκαρ, εἰς αἰῶνας (1).

Melezio e Leone si uniscono nei cieli ai cori degli angeli, cui furono simili in vita per la santità (2) ; le fatiche terrene dell'uno e dell'altro sono premiate nell'eternità (3) ; Melezio prestò orecchio alla parola

(1) L'immagine del santo che si fa « casa di Dio » ricorre anche altrove nel canone per s. Leone : vv. 103-105 : *εὑρών σε ... θεϊκῆς δόξης οἶκον ἄξιον.*

(2) Per Melezio vv. 119-120 : *Συναγελάζων, Ὅσιε, τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἐν οὐρανοῖς | ὧν τὸν βίον ἐπὶ γῆς ἐμιμήσω ...* — Per Leone vv. 154-157 : *... πρὸς τὴν ὑπερκόσμιον ἀνῆλθες | καὶ ζῶν ἔτι μετὰ σαρκὸς | ἀγγέλων πολιτείαν, | μεθ' ὧν καὶ νῦν συμμέλπεις...*

(3) Per Melezio vv. 133-137 : *Οἱ πρόσκαιροί σου πόνοι | δόξαν αἰωνίαν | καὶ ἀκηράτους στεφάνους οἱ κάματοι | σοὶ προεξένησαν, Πάτερ | μακαριώτατε.* — Per Leone vv. 126-130 : *Εὗρες καμάτων σου τὰ γέρα, | ἐκοπίασας εἰς*

di Dio, Leone se ne cinse come di una spada spirituale (1).

Queste somiglianze ed altre minori (2) da sole non avrebbero forse molta importanza, data la quantità dei luoghi comuni e delle formule stereotipe presenti in tutta l'innografia bizantina: ma unite alle altre affinità che collegano i due inni — tipo dell'acrostico e sue caratteristiche formali, nome dell'autore e sua posizione nell'acrostico, disposizione della materia — concorrono a dimostrare, mi sembra, la validità dell'ipotesi secondo cui i due canoni sarebbero dovuti alla penna di un unico autore, identificabile in Nicola vescovo di Metone, il medesimo al quale si deve la Vita in prosa di s. Melezio.

Si documenterebbe così per la prima volta un aspetto finora sconosciuto della produzione letteraria del dotto teologo dell'età dei Comneni: la sua opera di innografo, ispirata, al pari dell'opera agiografica, da esigenze pratiche di edificazione e di culto, e strettamente collegata con l'ambiente in cui Nicola visse ed operò.

Proposta l'identificazione dell'autore del canone per s. Leone in Nicola di Metone, dobbiamo passare ora ad esaminare gli altri inni che compongono l'acolutia per il santo taumaturgo nei due codici che la tramandano. Si tratta, come abbiamo già detto, di numerosi inni minori: quali di essi sono opera — al pari del canone — di Nicola?

Bisogna dire che gli inni minori sono caratterizzati in genere da uno stile letterario molto inferiore a quello elegante del canone. Solo i tre sticheri con cui si apre l'ufficiatura del Vespro si possono riavvicinare, dal punto di vista formale, al canone firmato da

τὸν αἰῶνα, Λέον, | τὸν παρόντα, καὶ ζῇς εἰς τέλος καὶ συμψάλλεις | τοῖς αἰωνίως μέλπουσιν · | ὁ θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἶ.

(1) Per Melezio vv. 21-22: *Ῥῆμα τὸ σωτήριον | ἐνωτισθεὶς* ... — Per Leone vv. 80-81: *Ῥῆμα θεῖον ῥομφαίαν, | μάκαρ, τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος περιζωσάμενος* ...

(2) Per esempio l'uso del termine *ὅλος* (per Melezio v. 5: *ὅλος καθωσιώθης, πάτερ*; per Leone vv. 41-42: *ἅγιος γέγονας ὅλος καὶ ἁγιάζεις*, v. 63 *ὅλος μυρίπνους ἐγένου*); l'uso di *οὗτος* al genitivo (per Melezio vv. 11-12 *πολιτείας τῆς τούτου καὶ τῆς δόξης ἐγένου συμμέτοχος*; per Leone v. 62 *πλησθεὶς τῆς τούτου εὐωδίας*); le espressioni *νόμος τῆς ἁμαρτίας* (per Melezio v. 29, per Leone v. 30) e *νόμος* (*νόμοι*) *τῆς φύσεως* (per Melezio v. 31, per Leone vv. 37, 121); l'uso dei vocativi *μάκαρ* (per Melezio v. 117, per Leone vv. 35, 65, 74, 81, 104) e *παμμάκαρ* (per Melezio vv. 44, 90, per Leone v. 146), sempre preferiti a *μακάριε* (una sola volta nel canone per Melezio si trova il superlativo *μακαριώτατε* [v. 137]).

Nicola (1). Mi sembra plausibile perciò la supposizione che Nicola di Metone abbia composto in origine, per la commemorazione del nuovo santo, solo i tre sticheri per il Vespro e il canone per il Mattutino. La memoria di Leone sarebbe stata dunque da principio del tipo più modesto (della settima classe), e Leone sarebbe rientrato nella categoria degli *ἅγιοι μὴ ἑορταζόμενοι*, santi che non hanno una festa propriamente detta (2). In un secondo tempo la commemorazione di Leone avrebbe acquistato maggiore importanza, forse in concomitanza con la traslazione — prima provvisoria, poi definitiva — della reliquia alla chiesa cattedrale di Metone (3), e la sua ufficiatura, in relazione con la promozione della festa alla categoria delle *ἐπίσημοι ἑορταί*, sarebbe stata arricchita di nuovi inni. Non apparterrebbero dunque a Nicola di Metone né questi nuovi inni, né il sinassario : in particolare quest'ultimo, nella sua estrema modestia di lingua e di stile, non si può assolutamente attribuire al dotto vescovo di Metone.

I testi entrati più tardi a far parte dell'ufficiatura per s. Leone sembrano documentare anche un ulteriore arricchimento della tradizione agiografica relativa al santo di cui a Metone si venerava la spoglia. Nel canone e negli sticheri attribuibili a Nicola non si parla che della prodigiosa reliquia : il corpo di Leone (ode I), conservatosi miracolosamente incorrotto (odi III e VII), produce unguento (ode IV), opera guarigioni di corpi e di anime (odi III, IV, V, VIII, IX), debella i demoni (odi V, IX) : felice Metone, che possiede un tal protettore, largente grazie dalla sua lignea urna ! (odi IV, IX).

(1) Può essere indicativa la constatazione che, mentre nel canone per s. Leone (come in quello per s. Melezio) è usata sempre la forma *μάκαρ* (vedi sopra nota 2 a p. 425), negli inni minori è sempre e solo usata la forma *μακάριε*.

(2) Cf. MERCENIER, *op. cit.*, II, 1, p. 69.

(3) Sul trasporto provvisorio della reliquia di s. Leone dalla chiesa extraurbana alla città in tempo di guerra abbiamo la testimonianza di Nompar de Caumont, nel 1418 (vedi sopra, p. 391). Dalla fine del secolo XIV si vennero facendo più frequenti e più dannose le incursioni di Greci, di Albanesi e di Turchi nel territorio di Metone e di Corone : cf. D. A. ZAKYTHINOS, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, I, Paris, 1932, p. 212 (per l'anno 1428) ; BON, *La Morée franque*, pp. 285, 291 (per gli anni 1417, 1428) ; cf. anche THIRIET, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, I, p. 189, n° 784 (a. 1391) ; IDEM, *Régestes*, II, Paris, 1959, pp. 15, n° 1006 (a. 1401), 169, n° 1714 (a. 1418), 180, n° 1766 (a. 1420), 188, n° 1808 (a. 1421), 252, n° 2103 (a. 1428) ; IDEM, *Régestes*, III, pp. 77, n° 2508 (a. 1439), 138, n° 2746 (a. 1447), 161, n° 2840 (a. 1450), 170, n° 2867 (a. 1451), ecc.

Gli accenni alla vita del santo sono scarsi e molto vaghi (si vedano le odi III, IV, VIII) (1): nessun riferimento alla sua qualità di pellegrino, nessuna indicazione sulla sua patria di origine.

Questi riferimenti si trovano invece nel sinassario, dal quale si apprende, come abbiamo visto, che Leone era nativo della Calabria e che era morto durante un viaggio verso la Terra Santa; ed appaiono anche in qualcuno degli inni minori: in un exaposteilarion e in uno degli sticheri delle Lodi, contenuti sia nel codice Vaticano Chigiano (V) che nel Criptense (C). Li trascriviamo qui di séguito.

Exaposteilarion

Ἡ θήκη ἔνθα κεῖται σου
τὸ πανάγιον σῶμα
ἰᾶται τὰ νοσήματα τῶν πιστῶς προσιόντων
ταύτην, Λέον μακάριε,
καὶ βοώντων, ὅσιε, χρεωστικῶς μετὰ πόθου·
Καλαβρίας τὸ θρέμμα
καὶ Μεθώνης ὁ φωστήρ,
ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐκδυσώπει.

Sticheron

ἦχος β'. Ὅτε ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου...

Δεῦτε Μεθωναίων ἡ πληθὺς
τὸν θαυματουργὸν τοῦ Κυρίου
Λέον (2) ὑμνήσωμεν·
οὗτος γὰρ ἐξέλαμψεν
ἀπὸ δυσμῶν (3) εἰς ἡμᾶς
ὡς φαιδρότατος ἥλιος
ἐκλάμπων τοῖς πᾶσιν
αὐτοῦ τὰ τεράστια
καὶ τὰ θαυμάσια·
πίστει νῦν προσέλθωμεν πάντες

(1) Le virtù del santo in vita sono lodate specialmente nell'ode VI: l'osservanza dei comandamenti divini (vv. 101-105), la carità verso i poveri (vv. 106-110), la castità (vv. 111-115). Si tratta di elogi molto generici.

(2) Sic in V, *Λέων* in C. La forma bisillaba è imposta dallo schema metrico del verso (⏑ – – ⏑ – – [⏑]).

(3) *δυσμῶν* correxi, *δυσμὰς* (-ᾶς) VC.

πόθῳ τοῦ λειψάνου τὴν θήκην
[— —] (1) *οἱ χριστώνυμοι προσπτύξασθαι* (2).

La storia della tradizione agiografica su s. Leone si può dunque, forse, ricostruire come segue. Il corpo esanime di un uomo fu ritrovato sulla spiaggia di Metone probabilmente nella prima metà del secolo XII. È possibile che l'invenzione fosse provocata dall'apparizione di fuochi fatui, interpretata come un prodigio : di questo « miracolo » vi è il ricordo nella narrazione di Nompar de Caumont (3) e può darsi che ne abbia sentito parlare anche Felix Fabri (4). La salma ebbe onorata sepoltura — sotto il nome di Leone — sulle alture dei dintorni di Metone, non sappiamo se in un oratorio preesistente o in un edificio appositamente eretto (5) : certo è che il vescovo Nicola di Metone († prima del 1165) compose per il nuovo santo alcuni inni, istituendone la commemorazione sotto la data del suo ritrovamento (6). Metone sarebbe stata contesa,

(1) *φόβῳ* C, omisit V.

(2) *προσπτύξασθε* V, *πρὸς ηὔξασθαι* C.

(3) Vedi sopra, p. 391.

(4) Vedi sopra, pp. 394-395.

(5) La data dell'erezione della chiesa extraurbana ove si custodiva la reliquia di s. Leone è fissata da Nompar de Caumont, come abbiamo visto, a 80 anni prima del suo racconto, cioè — se l'indicazione della cifra nel codice è esatta — al 1338 : è una data di due secoli più recente rispetto alla cronologia dell'invenzione del corpo di Leone che si stabilisce in relazione al vescovo Nicola, e probabilmente non ha fondamento reale. D'altra parte è possibile che tra l'invenzione della reliquia e l'erezione dell'edificio visto da Nompar sia passato del tempo. Nel canone composto da Nicola non vi è nessun accenno esplicito a edifici sacri dedicati a Leone : vi si parla solo della cassa lignea che ne custodiva il corpo (ode IX).

(6) Non mi pare che sia in contrasto con questa ipotesi la descrizione che di Metone fa lo stesso vescovo Nicola nel *Λόγος* che egli indirizzò all'imperatore Manuele I dopo il secondo sinodo contro Soterico (del 12/13 maggio 1157 : su questa data cf. DÖLGER, *Regesten*, II, p. 72, n° 1412 ; H. PACHALI, *Noch einmal die Jahreszahl der II. Synode gegen Soterichos Panteugenos*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 19 [1910], pp. 46-58). Nicola vi parla della sua sede episcopale come di una *ἐρημόπολις, ἐρήμη πολιτῶν, ἐρήμη τειχῶν καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τειχῶν ἀσφαλείας* (cf. DRÄSEKE, *op. cit.*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1 [1892], pp. 444-445 ; BON, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin*, p. 162 e nota 1). Descrizione certo un po' enfatica, ove si allude allo stato delle fortificazioni della città dopo lo smantellamento che ne avevano compiuto i Veneziani nel 1125, e forse anche dopo i danni apportativi successivamente dai Normanni al tempo dei loro attacchi contro il Peloponneso circa la metà del secolo XII (DRÄSEKE, *op. cit.*,

di lì a qualche decennio, da Franchi, Genovesi, Veneziani : ma la reliquia taumaturgica sarebbe stata sempre scrupolosamente custodita, e a mano a mano la leggenda di s. Leone si sarebbe arricchita dei particolari relativi alla sua origine etnica e alle circostanze che ne provocarono l'arrivo a Metone. Chi poteva essere egli, se non un pellegrino diretto in Terra Santa, di quelli che a centinaia sostavano ogni anno a Metone (1)? Donde poteva giungere, se non dalla Calabria, la sola regione dell'Occidente che un Bizantino considerava fedele all'Ortodossia (2)? Ecco dunque la leggenda documentata nel sinassario e — con più abbondanti particolari favolistici — nella relazione del signor di Caumont.

È ormai giunto il momento di sciogliere la riserva sull'identificazione del vescovo di Metone citato nel sinassario (3) : esso è assai verosimilmente Nicola di Metone, il teologo del secolo XII. Si deve però chiarire meglio un punto : il sinassarista ha citato

p. 445 ; Bon, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82) : cf. anche la testimonianza di Benedetto da Peterborough (a. 1191) (presso Bon, *op. cit.*, p. 155 : vedi sopra, nota 5 a p. 384). Metone tuttavia, anche se priva di mura e povera di abitanti, non era stata distrutta completamente : e ne è la prova il fatto che il cranio di s. Atanasio, morto nel IX secolo, si sarebbe conservato nella chiesa cattedrale ancora fino a tutto il secolo XV (vedi sopra, p. 401).

(1) E che spesso a Metone terminavano il viaggio e la vita, vittime dei gravi disagi affrontati fin là : pensiamo a Bartolomeo prete da Castello Focognano nel Casentino (oggi Castel Focognano in provincia di Arezzo), morto appena sbarcato a Metone, come raccontano i suoi compagni di viaggio Simone Sigoli e Lionardo Frescobaldi (a. 1384), e seppellito nella chiesa dei Domenicani in quella città (vedi sopra, pp. 389 s.). Nella stessa chiesa, dedicata alla Madonna, sappiamo che era stato sepolto, qualche decennio prima, un nobile savoiardo, Hugonin de Viry, come dimostra un atto del 1367 tra suo fratello, Galois de Viry, e fra Guido da Pisa, priore del convento dei Frati Predicatori di Metone (edito dal d'Albon, in *Revue de l'Orient latin*, 12 [1909-1911], pp. 275-278). La prima notizia sicura sull'esistenza del convento dei Domenicani a Metone è del 1303 (cf. B. Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Habelschwerdt, 1924 [Breslauer Studien zur historischen Tbeologie, 3], p. 10) ; ma si ignora in quale anno il convento sia stato fondato : le fonti sulla storia della provincia domenicana di Grecia sono molto povere, come nota il R. P. R.-J. Loenertz, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la province Dominicaine de Grèce (1474-1669)*, in *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 14 (1944), pp. 72-115, precisamente p. 75. Sono debitrice di queste notizie sui Domenicani di Metone al R. P. Ambrosius K. Eszer, dell'Istituto Storico Domenicano in Roma, al quale rinnovo di qui l'espressione della mia riconoscenza.

(2) Vedi sopra, p. 406.

(3) Vedi sopra, p. 410.

Nicola molto probabilmente solo perché il suo nome appariva come quello dell'autore del canone per s. Leone: ai suoi occhi ciò voleva dire che Nicola stesso aveva presieduto al ritrovamento delle reliquie del santo: il che è molto probabile, ma non dimostrato.

6. — Due nuovi manoscritti moreoti

Qualche ulteriore osservazione meritano i manoscritti che hanno conservato i testi greci relativi a s. Leone.

Fra essi occupa un posto a parte l'*Ottob. gr.* 411 (1), trascritto in più riprese da Giovanni Simeonachis protopapa di Candia, nella prima metà del secolo xv, « sia per uso privato sia per la sua mansione di protopapas » (2). Il codice venne compilato « con un certo disordine in fascicoli da prima separati »; poi il Simeonachis « è venuto man mano riempiendo parecchi dei vuoti lasciati tra la fine e il principio dei *λόγοι* » (3). Una di queste addizioni tardive è appunto il sinassario di s. Leone; e non stupisce che un ecclesiastico cretese abbia voluto prender nota di una tradizione agiografica relativa a quella sede episcopale di Metone, che tanta importanza aveva nella vita ecclesiastica dei sudditi ortodossi di Venezia (4).

Gli altri due manoscritti, che contengono l'intera ufficiatura del santo per il 12 maggio, sono due codici liturgici. Di essi non conosciamo — a differenza di ciò che avviene per il codice Ottoboniano — né il copista né la storia più antica: tutto ciò che sappiamo è che una parte del codice Vaticano Chigiano R VII 53 (5) fu terminata nel marzo del 1438 (6), e che il medesimo codice appartenne,

(1) Vedi sopra, p. 403 e nota 2.

(2) S. G. Mercati, *op. cit.*, in Studi e testi, 123, p. 319.

(3) S. G. Mercati, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

(4) I vescovi greci di Metone e di Corone erano, fino al 1500, i soli autorizzati a impartire l'ordinazione sacerdotale ai Greci ortodossi sottomessi al dominio veneziano: si veda Zakythinos, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 275-276, e soprattutto il già citato studio di M. Manussacas, *'Αρχιερεῖς Μεθώνης, Κορώνης καὶ Μονεμβασίας ...*, pp. 95-96.

(5) Vedi sopra, p. 403 e nota 1.

(6) La sottoscrizione, a f. 261v, è la seguente (cf. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices graeci Chisiani et Borgiani*, p. 91): *δόξα χ(ριστ)ῶ τῶ θ(ε)ῶ τῶ δεί | ξαντι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ τέλ(ος) : | ὁ χ(ριστὸ)ς αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρχ(ῆ) καὶ τὸ | τέλος : τὸν ἔχον τὸν γρά|ψαντα χ(ριστ)έ μου σῶσον : | 'Ετελειώθ(η) ἐπὶ ἔτους ,ς⟩ | μ̅ς̅' (ἰνδικτιώνος) α' μην(ὶ) μαρτ(ίω) κ̅β̅ : | ἡμέρα* (ex *ἡμέλλα* ead. m. corr.). *σαββάτω* : (cf. tav. I).

nel secolo XVI, al gentiluomo senese Lattanzio Tolomei (ambasciatore a Roma presso il papa già nel 1522, morto nel 1543) (1), dopo esser stato donato da « un certo Lazaro ... a un di Casa Accolti lodato per huomo erudito et dotto » (2) ; mentre il codice Criptense 385 (3) reca a f. 245v una sottoscrizione mutila, che del copista del manoscritto rivela solo la poca o nulla cultura (4), e a f. 1v una nota dalla quale risulta che il manoscritto fu trovato nel 1793 nella chiesa parrocchiale di Acquaformosa, in provincia di Cosenza, da parte di monsignor Francesco Bugliari, e che per opera sua esso fu trasferito, con l'assenso dell'arciprete e del clero di Acquaformosa, al Collegio italo-greco Corsini (5). Questo Collegio, di cui monsignor Bugliari era stato eletto presidente nel 1792, era allora sito in San Benedetto Ullano, dove era stato fondato nel 1732 (6) : ma nel 1794 il Bugliari ne ottenne il trasferimento nel monastero basiliano di S. Adriano in San Demetrio Corone (Cosenza). Il manoscritto rimase nella biblioteca di quel Collegio — divenuto

(1) L'appartenenza a Lattanzio Tolomei è attestata dalla sigla che appare alla fine del manoscritto, a f. 303v : cf. FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.* ; G. MERCATI, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota*, Città del Vaticano, 1931 (Studi e testi, 56), p. 525. Su detta sigla vedere G. MERCATI, *Scritti d'Isidoro il cardinale Ruteno e codici a lui appartenuti che si conservano nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Roma, 1926 (Studi e testi, 46), pp. 138-150 e tav. VI.

(2) Il dono del codice fatto dallo sconosciuto Lazzaro a un membro della famiglia aretina degli Accolti era documentato da un epigramma aggiunto al manoscritto, ma oggi scomparso, del quale rimane il ricordo in una nota premessa al manoscritto da Nicola Alemanni, custode della Biblioteca Vaticana dal 1614 al 1626 : cf. FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, *op. cit.*, p. 91. Poterono ricevere il manoscritto, e poi donarlo a Lattanzio Tolomei, Benedetto Accolti il giovane (1497-1549), Bernardo Accolti (1458-1535) o Francesco Accolti (1416/17-1488) : vedere le voci relative ad essi nel *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, I, Roma, 1960, rispettivamente alle pp. 101-102, 103-104, 104-105.

(3) Vedi sopra, p. 403 e nota 3.

(4) La si veda trascritta a opera dello ieromonaco Marco PETTA, *op. cit.*, in *Mélanges E. Tisserant*, III (Studi e testi, 233), p. 195.

(5) Su mons. Francesco Bugliari (1742-1806) si veda ora la biografia scritta dal suo pronipote dott. Francesco BUGLIARI nel 1914 e pubblicata postuma nel *Bollettino dalla Badia greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s., 24 (1970), pp. 73-105 ; 25 (1971), pp. 25-57 (I e II puntata).

(6) Sulla storia del Collegio cf. P. MIRACCO, *Collegio italo-greco Corsini di Sant'Adriano in S. Demetrio Corone (provincia di Cosenza)*, *Memoria*, Monteleone, 1903.

successivamente collegio statale — fino al giugno 1941, quando, insieme con gli altri 7 manoscritti ivi esistenti, fu trasferito, per decisione del Ministero italiano della Pubblica Istruzione, alla Biblioteca del monastero di Grottaferrata, e qui, dopo essere stato restaurato, è tuttora conservato.

È possibile tuttavia, pur nella mancanza di più precise indicazioni nei codici, ricostruirne la provenienza con quasi assoluta certezza.

Il codice Chigiano consta, come già si è visto, di quattro sezioni (1), la prima delle quali contiene un frammento della Paracletica, la seconda la fine del Triodio (con gran parte dell'ufficiatura per il Sabato santo), la terza il Pentecostario (tav. I), la quarta le ufficiature per quattro diverse feste fisse (per il periodo dal 23 aprile al 12 maggio) e il Tipico per due di esse (tav. II).

È quest'ultima parte quella che ha l'importanza più grande per localizzare il manoscritto : le quattro festività per cui essa raccoglie le ufficiature sono infatti le seguenti :

1) S. Giorgio, 23 aprile.
2) Traslazione delle reliquie di s. Atanasio di Alessandria, 2 maggio.
3) S. Giovanni apostolo, 8 maggio.
4) S. Leone di Metone, 12 maggio.

Il Tipico che segue riguarda le feste di s. Giorgio e di s. Giovanni apostolo.

Ora, queste commemorazioni ci riconducono fuor d'ogni dubbio a Metone. A s. Giorgio era dedicata una cappella sita fuori della città, della quale troviamo l'esplicito ricordo nel racconto di Nompar de Caumont (2) ; a s. Giovanni apostolo ed evangelista era intitolata

(1) Vedi sopra, nota 1 a p. 403.

(2) Solo nella relazione di Nompar de Caumont, fra quelle che ho letto, appare un esplicito riferimento alla cappella di S. Giorgio. Tuttavia l'autore dell'anonimo *Voyage de la Saincte Cyté de Hierusalem* (a. 1480) parla di un « puys sainct Georges qui est en une lieue dehors de la ville » (ed. SCHEFER, p. 47) come dell'unica sorgente d'acqua dolce a Metone. Alla stessa sorgente si riferisce assai probabilmente Felix Fabri nel 1483, quando scrive « nec erat in civitate aqua, nisi ea, quam inferebant de cisterna quadam, quae longe a civitate stabat extra, juxta conventum Minorum » (ed. HASSLER, III, p. 334). Ci si può chiedere se questa sorgente non sia da identificare con quella che il Bory de Saint-Vincent osservò durante la spedizione scientifica in Morea del 1829, a mezza strada fra Navarino e Metone, e cioè a una lega (circa 6

la chiesa cattedrale; s. Atanasio — identificato col vescovo di Alessandria — e s. Leone di Metone erano i principali santi dei quali nella chiesa di S. Giovanni si onoravano le reliquie.

È possibile che il codice Chigiano sia stato usato durante la sacra ufficiatura nella stessa cattedrale di Metone: la solennità con cui vi è presentata l'acolutia per s. Leone si accorda bene con questa ipotesi. È interessante anche la conferma che esso offre, da parte greca, dell'attribuzione a s. Atanasio di Alessandria della reliquia di s. Atanasio vescovo di Metone, identificazione che abbiamo visto finora documentata solo dalle relazioni dei viaggiatori occidentali.

Anche se solo una delle sezioni di cui si compone il codice (la sezione *c*) reca una data esplicita, quella del 1438, le altre (come si è già notato sopra) si possono sicuramente collocare intorno allo stesso periodo. Il codice si configura infatti essenzialmente come un Pentecostario (sezione *c*, ff. 14-263), che comincia con l'ufficiatura del Vespro del Sabato Santo (ff. 14r-15v) (1). Ad esso una mano diversa ma contemporanea ha aggiunto all'inizio, a mo' di complemento, parte dell'ufficiatura del Sabato Santo (sezione *b*, ff. 9-13: per il Vespro f. 9r, il canone del Mattutino ai ff. 9v-12r, un exaposteilarion) (2) e alla fine le acolutie delle feste fisse più importanti che cadono nel periodo compreso tra la Pasqua e la Pentecoste, con il tipico di due fra esse (sezione *d*, ff. 264-303) (3). Le sezioni *b*, *c*, *d* presentano dunque una sostanziale unità (essendo le sezioni *b* e *d* di poco posteriori alla *c*), mentre ad esse sembra estranea la sezione *a* (ff. 1-8), che è il primo quaternione di un codice contenente la Paracletica, più o meno contemporaneo all'altro ma oggi perduto, salvo queste otto carte iniziali, contenenti il principio del primo modo.

Il manoscritto, nonostante la sua qualità di codice liturgico, destinato cioè all'uso pratico durante le funzioni religiose, non presenta gravi tracce d'usura: esso dové lasciare Metone non molto

km) da quest'ultima città (si veda Bory de Saint-Vincent, *op. cit.*, I, p. 103: « Nous voulions aller à Modon en nous promenant, Navarin n'en étant qu'à deux lieues »; pp. 106-107). Non lungi da questa sorgente si vedevano i resti « d'une petite chapelle .. qu'on aperçoit de tous les points de la plaine de Modon » (*op. cit.*, p. 110).

(1) Si veda la descrizione di P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

(2) Franchi de' Cavalieri, *op. cit.*, *loc cit.* Il f. 13 è bianco.

(3) Franchi de' Cavalieri, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

tempo dopo il 1438, per essere offerto dallo sconosciuto Lazzaro — se dobbiamo prestar fede a ciò che si leggeva un tempo nel codice — a un membro della famiglia Accolti. Certo il codice non era nella città messenica nel tragico agosto del 1500, quando Metone fu messa a ferro e fuoco e i suoi abitanti furono tutti massacrati (1).

Il codice oggi a Grottaferrata — un Anthologion che contiene le ufficiature per le feste fisse del secondo semestre dell'anno bizantino — nel secolo XVIII era in dotazione, con altri manoscritti liturgici greci, della chiesa parrocchiale di Acquaformosa, un paese in provincia di Cosenza dove, a partire dai primi anni del secolo XVI, si formò una colonia di profughi albanesi (2). Il codice — attribuibile alla fine del XV o al principio del XVI secolo — appartenne appunto ai membri di questa colonia, e secondo il dotto ieromonaco criptense Marco Petta, che del manoscritto ha dato una minuziosa descrizione, fu tra i libri che i profughi portarono con sé dal loro paese d'origine quando cercarono rifugio in Italia (3). Ma i profughi albanesi cui il codice appartenne dovettero provenire — a mio giudizio — non dall'Epiro (4), bensì dalla Morea : l'ufficiatura per s. Leone di Metone che in esso è contenuta ci riconduce senza esitazione alla ristretta regione in cui questo santo era venerato ; e la connessione con l'elemento etnico albanese trasferitosi in Italia

(1) Sull'esecuzione in massa degli abitanti di Metone nei giorni immediatamente successivi alla conquista della città siamo informati da varie fonti : cf. i *Diarii* di Marino SANUTO, ed. FULIN, III, coll. 732, 771-772, 798, 810-811, ecc. ; narrazione di Andrea Balastro, ed. I. URSU (vedi sopra, nota 1 a p. 381), pp. 257-258. I viaggiatori cristiani che passavano in vista di Metone dopo il 1500 parlano di due torri fatte con le teste dei Metonei decapitati : cf. la relazione di Greffin Affagart relativa a un viaggio del 1519 (ed. J. CHAVANON, Paris, 1902, p. 35) : «... les Turcs les firent tous décapiter, et de leurs testes furent faictes deux tours, lesquelz jusques à présent sont appellées les tours des martirs ». Cf. anche la relazione di Barthélemy de Salignac (a. 1522), ed. 1587, p. Cc 4v, e quella di Denis Possot (a. 1532), ed. SCHEFER, Paris, 1890, p. 126. Sui pochissimi abitanti di Metone che riuscirono ad aver salva la vita dietro promessa di un riscatto si vedano indicazioni presso Marino SANUTO, *op. cit.*, III, col. 732 ; BALASTRO, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

(2) P. P. RODOTÀ, *Dell'origine, progresso e stato presente del rito greco in Italia*, III, Roma, 1763, pp. 88-89 ; D. ZANGARI, *Le colonie italoalbanesi di Calabria*, Napoli, 1940, pp. 27-28.

(3) PETTA, *op. cit.*, in *Mélanges Tisserant*, III, p. 176.

(4) Come ritiene lo ieromonaco Marco Petta, *op. cit.*, *ibid.*

ci fa propendere per la più precisa localizzazione del codice nell'altra città della Morea che di Metone condivise a lungo la storia, cioè Corone.

L'elevato numero delle ufficiature contenute nell'Anthologion non permette di per sé di assegnare questo manoscritto con assoluta certezza a una località precisa, come si è invece potuto fare per il codice Chigiano. Le acolutie in esso contenute per intero sono in tutto trentaquattro (1), e si riferiscono nella grande maggioranza a feste delle prime tre classi (2), la cui scelta perciò non è molto significativa. Tuttavia la presenza in questa serie delle quattro feste fisse tipiche di Metone (23 aprile, 2, 8 e 12 maggio) basta a documentare l'indubbia provenienza peloponnesiaca del manoscritto. Per ciò che riguarda Corone, possono essere significative la commemorazione di s. Teodoro Stratelata (3) e alcune meno importanti festività mariane (4): esse potrebbero collegarsi con le chiese di S. Teodoro e di S. Maria esistenti in Corone, spesso citate in testamenti locali (5). Tuttavia, gli autori di questi testa-

(1) Esse sono le seguenti: 40 martiri di Sebastia (9 marzo); acolutia dell'Inno acatisto; Annunciazione (25-26 marzo); s. Giorgio (23 aprile); s. Atanasio (2 maggio); s. Giovanni evangelista e s. Arsenio (8 maggio); s. Leone di Metone (12 maggio); ss. Costantino ed Elena (21 maggio); terzo ritrovamento del capo di s. Giovanni Battista (25 maggio); S. Teodoro Stratelata (8 giugno); s. Eliseo profeta e s. Metodio patriarca di Costantinopoli (14 giugno); natività di s. Giovanni Battista (24 giugno); ss. apostoli Pietro e Paolo (29 giugno); sinassi dei 12 Apostoli (30 giugno); ss. Cosma e Damiano (1° luglio); deposizione della veste della Madonna (2 luglio); s. Ciriaca (7 luglio); s. Procopio (8 luglio); ss. Quirico e Giulitta (15 luglio); ss. Padri del concilio di Calcedonia; s. Marina (17 luglio); s. Elia profeta (20 luglio); s. Anna e ss. Olimpiade ed Euprassia (25 luglio); ss. Parasceve ed Ermolao (26 luglio); s. Panteleemone (27 luglio); fratelli Maccabei (1° agosto); traslazione delle reliquie di s. Stefano protomartire (2 agosto); vigilia della Trasfigurazione e s. Eusignio (5 agosto); Trasfigurazione di G. C. (6 agosto); vigilia della Dormizione della Vergine e profeta Michea (14 agosto); Dormizione della Vergine (15 agosto); traslazione dell'icone di G. C. da Edessa (16 agosto); decollazione di s. Giovanni Battista (29 agosto); deposizione della cintura della Vergine (31 agosto).

(2) MERCENIER, *op. cit.*, II, 1, pp. 51-68.

(3) 8 giugno, festa di 6a classe presso il MERCENIER, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

(4) Quelle del 2 luglio e del 31 agosto, rispettivamente di 4a e di 5a classe.

(5) Cf. A. LOMBARDO, *Pasquale Longo Notaio in Corone, 1289-1293*, Venezia, 1951 (Monumenti storici pubblicati dalla Deputazione di Storia Patria delle Venezie, n.s., 6), rispettivamente alle pp. 33, 46, 58, 73, 79, 91 e 13, 33, 46, 55, 58, 63, 65, 73, 77, 79, 91. Per la chiesa di S. Maria cf. anche Marino SANUTO,

menti sono generalmente Latini, e ciò induce a ritenere che anche le due chiese fossero officiate da clero latino. Il culto della Madonna anche presso gli Ortodossi di Corone può essere attestato dal fatto che i vescovi greci di Corone usano spesso nel sigillo l'immagine della Theotokos (1) : ma si tratta di una consuetudine diffusissima nella gerarchia ecclesiastica bizantina (2). Sicura è piuttosto l'esistenza a Corone di una chiesa greca di S. Giovanni Battista, il Precursore : sia essa che la confraternita ivi istituita sono documentate con certezza ancora nel XVI secolo (3) e sono probabilmente da identificare con la *Congregatio Sancti Iohannis* e il *monasterium sive ecclesia Sancti Iohannis* citati nel testamento di un *Dimitrius Strovoiati rusticus Corone* dell'anno 1292 (4). Comunque, le festività del Battista registrate nell'Anthologion in esame (5) sono tutte molto solenni e universalmente celebrate nell'intero mondo bizantino.

Corone si salvò, nel 1500, dall'atroce sorte di Metone arrendendosi ai Turchi (6) : le furono risparmiate così la distruzione e la strage che annientarono l'altra città peloponnesiaca. Una trentina d'anni dopo, nel settembre del 1532, la flotta del Sacro Romano Impero, al comando del genovese Andrea Doria, attaccò e prese Corone (7).

Diarii, LVII, ed. G. BERCHET, N. BAROZZI, M. ALLEGRI, Venezia, 1902, col. 134. L'attuale santuario della Madonna *Ἐλεήστρια* fuori della cinta veneziana di Corone è di fondazione moderna (anno 1900): cf. *Σύντομος ἱστορία τῆς εὑρέσεως καὶ τῶν θαυμάτων τῆς ἁγίας εἰκόνος τοῦ ἐν Κορώνῃ ἱεροῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἐλεηστρίας, ἐν Ἀθήναις*, 1917 ; citata presso PETIT, *Bibliographie des acolouthies grecques*, p. 154, n° 32.

(1) Cf. LAURENT, *Le corpus des sceaux*, V, I, pp. 487-488, 490, 491.

(2) LAURENT, *op. cit.*, V, I, pp. XXXV-XXXVI.

(3) Si veda il documento edito dal LAMPROS, in *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 20 (1926), p. 159.

(4) LOMBARDO, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-64. *Dimitrius Strovoiati* e la sua famiglia sono sicuramente ortodossi : nel testamento è nominato un nipote di Dimitrios, papàs Matteo, padre di un Marco Dimitrio. Non saprei dire in che rapporto fossero questa chiesa e questo monastero col convento di S. Giovanni sito fuori della città, a 4 o 5 miglia di distanza, citato in un documento veneziano del 1436 (cf. ZAKYTHINOS, *op. cit.*, II, p. 275).

(5) 25 maggio, 24 giugno e 29 agosto.

(6) Cf. Marino SANUTO, *Diarii*, III, *ed. cit.*, coll. 810-811, 827-828, 874-875 ; ANDREWS, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

(7) Cf. Teodoro SPANDUGINO CANTACUZINO, *op. cit.*, in SATHAS, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Âge*, IX, pp. 194-195 ; Marino

Ma tale conquista, per quanto appoggiata dalla popolazione cristiana della città, non poteva che essere effimera. Tutto ciò che Carlo V fu in grado di fare in favore dei Coronei che, al sopraggiungere dell'armata cesarea, si erano violentemente rivoltati contro i Turchi (1), fu l'offerta di ospitalità nei suoi domini d'Italia meridionale e di Sicilia. Le navi imperiali caricarono cinquemila abitanti di Corone insieme con il loro vescovo greco Benedetto, e li trasferirono nel Reame di Napoli, dove alcuni si stabilirono nella capitale, altri nella diocesi di Melfi, altri in Calabria, altri infine passarono in Sicilia (2). Moltissimi degli esuli Coronei erano Albanesi, affluiti nei possedimenti veneziani di Morea già dal secolo XV (3), e sovente essi trovarono naturale aggregarsi alle colonie albanesi che già li avevano preceduti in terra italica. Erano tutti di rito greco, e a questo rito si mantenevano in genere fedeli, a ciò confortati sia da esplicite disposizioni di Carlo V (4) sia da concessioni pontificie (5).

SANUTO, *Diarii*, LVII, *ed. cit.*, coll. 31-32, 75-76, 78-82, 93-95, 134-135, 181-183, ecc.; RODOTÀ, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 54-56; F. TAJANI, *Le Istorie Albanesi, Epoca Quarta*, Salerno, 1886, pp. 45-46.

(1) Sulle violenze commesse dai Moreoti — e specialmente dagli Albanesi — contro i Turchi dopo la caduta di Corone cf. Marino SANUTO, *Diarii*, LVII, *ed. cit.*, coll. 182, 252-253.

(2) Cf. RODOTÀ, *op. cit., loc. cit.*; TAJANI, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-48; D. Chr. DUKAKIS, *Γνωστοὶ ἐπίσκοποι Κορώνης*, in *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια*, 30 (1910), p. 147; C. KOROLEVSKIJ, *Le vicende ecclesiastiche dei paesi italo-albanesi della Basilicata e della Calabria*, in *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*, 1 (1931), pp. 43-68, specialmente pp. 54-55. Sui Coronei passati in Sicilia cf. M. SCIAMBRA, *Prime vicende della comunità greco-albanese di Palermo e suoi rapporti con l'Oriente bizantino*, in *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s., 16 (1962), pp. 95-115 (specialmente pp. 98, 107-110); IDEM, *Clero di rito greco che ha servito la comunità greco-albanese di Palermo*, in *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s., 17 (1963), pp. 3-27. Sulle disposizioni emanate da Carlo V e confermate dai suoi successori sul trono di Napoli in favore dei Coronei, si veda Sp. LAMPROS, *Μετανάστευσις Ἑλλήνων, ἰδίως Πελοποννησίων ἀποίκων, εἰς τὸ βασίλειον τῆς Νεαπόλεως*, in *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 8 (1911), pp. 377-461, specialmente pp. 380, 413-461.

(3) Cf. THIRIET, *Régestes*, III, pp. 204, n° 2987 (a. 1455), 215, n° 3030 (a. 1456), 217, n° 3040 (a. 1457), ecc.

(4) Si veda ad esempio il privilegio edito da G. SCHIRÒ, *Gli Albanesi e la Questione Balkanica*, Napoli, 1904, pp. 219-221, specialmente p. 220. Cf. anche [S. GASSISI], *Contributo alla storia del rito greco in Italia*, in *Roma e l'Oriente*, 8 (1914), p. 342.

(5) Cf. la bolla del papa Paolo III in data 23 giugno 1536, trascritta da Sp. LAMPROS e edita in *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 20 (1926), pp. 164-168.

Profughi albanesi di Corone dovettero dunque portare in Italia meridionale, allorché vi si rifugiarono nel 1533, il codice conservato oggi nella Biblioteca di Grottaferrata : un manoscritto di modesto aspetto, che appare copiato da un unico scriba « con mano inesperta » e con « molti errori, non soltanto di iotacismo », come nota il R. P. Petta (1). L'inesperienza linguistica dello sconosciuto copista del nostro codice — egli stesso ne era cosciente, e se ne scusa umilmente alla fine del manoscritto, nel colofone oggi mutilo (2) — si spiega molto bene se si considera che il greco era per lui la lingua liturgica, non la parlata nativa (3). Questa considerazione conferma l'origine greco-albanese, o meglio ancora albanese-moreota, del codice.

Si possono così aggiungere, mi sembra, altri due manoscritti — il *Vat. Chis.* R VII 53 e il *Crypt.* 385 — alla lista dei codici trascritti in Morea compilata dal prof. Zakythinos (4) e agli altri manoscritti dovuti a copisti di Metone e di Corone citati dal Lampros (5).

7. — I TESTI

a. — Sinassario per s. Leone

Sui manoscritti si veda sopra, pp. 403-404, 430-438.

Il testo ci è giunto in una duplice redazione : quella « aliturgica » inserita nella raccolta di omelie, vite di santi e sermoni compilata da Giovanni Simeonachis protopapa di Candia, e quella dei due codici liturgici moreoti (*Vat. Chis.* R VII 53 e *Crypt.* 385) : quest'ultima presenta rispetto alla prima alcune interpolazioni che si debbono a mio parere espungere secondo un criterio rigidamente filologico, ma che non sono prive di interesse dal punto di

(1) PETTA, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

(2) Trascritto dal P. PETTA, *op. cit., loc. cit.*

(3) Analoga constatazione ho pntuto fare esaminando un manoscritto liturgico greco-italo-albanese moderno, redatto nel 1816 da don Domenico Roseti, arciprete nella colonia italo-albanese di Frascineto (Cosenza), distante circa 35 km da Acquaformosa. Tale manoscritto, di proprietà dell'attuale parroco di Frascineto, è stato di recente oggetto di una tesi di laurea discussa nell'Università di Roma.

(4) ZAKYTHINOS, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, II, pp. 316-319. Lo stesso autore osserva (*ivi*, p. 319) che questa enumerazione « est certes loin d'être complète ».

(5) In *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 13 (1916), pp. 318-320 ; 17 (1923), p. 95.

vista agiografico : si veda in particolare l'aggiunta dell'attributo *σῶον* a *λείψανον* (linea 33), con cui si arricchisce la semplice notizia dell'invenzione della reliquia col prodigio dell'incorruttibilità della medesima (prodigio cui d'altra parte si fa ampio riferimento nel canone), e la frase inserita dopo *κιβωτίῳ* (linea 35), riferentesi all'edificio sacro in cui la reliquia era venerata *μέχρι τῆς σήμερον* (la primitiva chiesa extraurbana o la chiesa cattedrale di Metone, dove la reliquia era definitivamente conservata forse già dal secondo quarto del xv secolo (1)? La risposta a tale interrogativo rimane assai incerta. Ricordiamo d'altronde che il *terminus post quem* per la trascrizione del sinassario nel codice Chigiano è l'anno 1438 (2)). Una amplificazione pleonastica sembra anche la frase finale contenente la data, presente nei due codici liturgici e mancante nella raccolta di Giovanni Simeonachis (sarebbe stato più spiegabile il contrario).

Il sinassario in prosa è preceduto dai consueti epigrammi (uno composto in origine di due, poi di tre dodecasillabi bizantini, l'altro sotto forma di esametro) modellati sul tipo di quelli dei calendari metrici di Cristoforo di Mitilene (3). Sono entrambi di fattura assai scadente (4).

b. — Sticheri

Sono probabilmente opera di Nicola di Metone (5). Il modello metrico-melurgico è desunto dal *θεοτοκίον αὐτόμελον* del modo I che comincia *Τῶν οὐρανίων ταγμάτων* ... (6). Si tratta di uno schema usato assai spesso (7).

(1) Cf. sopra, pp. 391-393 e nota 3 a p. 426.

(2) Vedi sopra, p. 433.

(3) Cf. E. Follieri, *Il calendario giambico di Cristoforo di Mitilene secondo i mss. Palat. gr. 383 e Paris. gr. 3041*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 77 (1959), pp. 245-304.

(4) Il primo dodecasillabo ha l'articolo *ὁ*, breve, là dove sarebbe stata necessaria una lunga ; l'esametro presenta una sillaba in più.

(5) Vedi sopra, pp. 425-426.

(6) Lo si veda per intero in *Παρακλητική*, ed. Propaganda Fide, *ἐν Ῥώμῃ*, 1885, p. 24, e in W. Christ-M. Paranikas, *Anthologia Graeca carminum christianorum*, Lipsiae, 1871, p. 64.

(7) Cf. Follieri, *Initia hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, IV, pp. 352-353.

c. — Canone per s. Leone

Il testo tràdito dal codice Vaticano Chigiano (V) è migliore di quello conservato dal Criptense (C), ma nessuno dei due è integro: in entrambi manca il 4° tropario della IV ode (1), e il theotokion della IX è stato sostituito con una strofa che, pur rispettando l'acrostico (Σ), è modellata su un diverso irmo (*Οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας* ...) ed è desunta da un altro canone, attribuito a Teostericto o a Teofane (2). Inoltre sia l'uno che l'altro codice hanno lacune loro proprie (vv. 20-21 in V, parte del v. 64 e v. 65 in C). Per la correzione *αἰσίως* da me proposta al v. 20, dove V è lacunoso e C ha *δυσίως*, si veda F. I. Bast, Commentatio Palaeographica, in appendice a Gregorii Corinthii ... Libri de dialectis linguae graecae ..., ed. G. H. Schaefer, Lipsiae, 1811, p. 704 e Tab. 1, linea 1.

Gli irmi delle singole odi sono desunti da più acolutie irmiche: quelli delle odi I e III da una acolutia irmica recante il nome di Germano patriarca nell'edizione dell'Irmologio curata da S. Eustratiadis (3); quelli delle odi IV e IX, V, VII e VIII da tre distinte sequenze edite dal medesimo studioso sotto il nome di Giovanni Damasceno (4); quello della VI da una acolutia attribuita nell'edizione dell'Eustratiadis al patriarca Elia (5). Gli irmi meno usati nell'innografia bizantina sono quelli delle odi III, VI e VIII (6).

Dal punto di vista linguistico, da notare al v. 36 il participio aoristo *θνήξας* in luogo del classico *θανών* (7), e al v. 124 il participio maschile *φωταγωγῶν* accordato con un sostantivo neutro, *σαρκίον*

(1) Incipit T[..., come dimostra l'acrostico.

(2) Inc. *Πολλοῖς συνεχόμενος πειρασμοῖς* ... Bibliografia presso FOLLIERI, *Initia*, III, Città del Vaticano, 1962 (Studi e testi, 213), p. 342.

(3) EUSTRATIADIS, *Εἱρμολόγιον* cit., pp. 225-226, n° 323.

(4) EUSTRATIADIS, *op. cit.*, rispettivamente p. 224, n° 321; p. 219, n° 314; p. 220, n° 315.

(5) EUSTRATIADIS, *op. cit.*, p. 240, n° 343.

(6) Vedere rispettivamente FOLLIERI, *Initia*, III, pp. 218-219, *sub initio Οὐκ ἔστιν ἅγιος ὡς ὁ κύριος καὶ οὐκ ἔστι* ...; IV, p. 214, *sub initio Τὸν Ἰωνᾶν ἐν τῷ κήτει, Κύριε* ...; II, Città del Vaticano, 1961 (Studi e testi, 212), p. 445, *sub initio Μουσικῶν ὀργάνων συμφωνούντων, καὶ λαῶν* ...

(7) Per questo fenomeno vedere G. BÖHLIG, *Untersuchungen zum rhetorischen Sprachgebrauch der Byzantiner*, Berlin, 1956 (Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten, 2), pp. 79-80.

(v. 122) (1). L'aumento nella forma *εὐηρέστησας* (v. 45), dal composto «indiretto» *εὐαρεστέω*, è documentato nel Nuovo Testamento e nei Padri Apostolici (2).

Roma Enrica Follieri.

a. — *Synaxarium in s. Leonem thaumaturgum* (ad diem 12 Maii) e codicibus Vat.Ottob.gr. 411 (a. 1445 ca.), ff. 353v-354r (= O), Vat.Chis.R VII 53 (paulo post a. 1438), ff. 295r-296r (= V), Crypt. 385 (saec.XVex.-XVI in.), ff. 53v-54v (= C).

Μνήμη τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ θαυματουργοῦ Λέοντος τοῦ νέου τοῦ ἐν Μεθώνῃ λάμψαντος

Καὶ πρὶν μὲν ηὔχει ὁ Λέων ἐν τοῖς πόνοις,
αὐχεῖ δὲ καὶ νῦν, ἀφορῶν ὡς πρὸς στέφη.
Ἐξέφανεν μαΐοιο Λέων δύο καὶ δεκάτῃ κυδρός.

Οὗτος ὁ ἅγιος καὶ θαυματουργὸς Λέων ὑπῆρχεν ἐκ χώρας οὕτω πως καλουμένης Καλαβρίας, περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διακειμένης, ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς τῶν παίδων ἡλικίας μηδ' ὁποσουοῦν τινος κοσμικοῦ φροντίζων μηδὲ εἰς παίγνια καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα τοῖς νηπίοις ἔθος ἐστὶ ποιεῖν ἐνασχολούμενος, λλὰ πᾶσαν ἀφροντίδα καὶ ὅλον

1 *μνήμη* VC, om. O | *ἁγίου* VC, *ὁσίου* O | *καὶ θαυματουργοῦ* VO, om. C | *τοῦ*[2] O, om. VC 2 *λάμψαντος* VC, om. O 3 *μὲν* VO, om. C | *ἐν τοῖς πόνοις* O, *τοῖς ἐν πόνοις* V, *τας ἐν πόνοις* C 4 *αὐχεῖ* O, *αυχῆ* V, *εὐχῆ* C | *πρὸς στέφη* correxi, *πρὸς στέρει* O, *προστέφη* V, *προστέφει* C | post *στέφη* tertium add. dodecasyllabum VC: *καὶ νῶ* (*νῦν* C) *ἀποστὰς εἰς τὸ πρεσβεύειν* (*-ην* V) *ζέει* (*ζέη* V, *ζέοι* C). 5 *Ἐξέφανεν* correxi, *Ἐξήφανεν* O, *ὑὸν ἔκθανεν* V, *Ἔκθανεν* C | *μαΐοιο* O, *μαίω* VC | *λέων* O, *ὁ λέων* VC | *δεκάτῃ* OC, *δεκάτην* V | *κυδρός* correxi, *κύδρον* O, *κύδρυν* VC 6 *ἅγιος* VC, *ὅσιος* O | *ἐκ* VO, *ἀπὸ* C 6-7 *οὕτω πως* correxi, *οὑτόπος* O, *οὗτο* C, om. V 8 *τῆς* VO, *δὲ* C | *ὁποσουοῦν τινος* correxi, *οποσούντινος* O, *ὁποσοῦν τινός* VC 9 *φρωντίζων* O, *φροντίδος* V, *φροντίδων* C | *μὴδὲ εἰς* O, *μὴδε εἰς* C, *μὴδ' εἰς* V 10 *ἐστὶ* O, *ἐστὶν* VC | *ἐνασχολούμενος* O, *ἀσχολουμένοις* V, *ἀσχολούμενος* C

(1) Cf. F. Blass-A. Debrunner-R. W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, Cambridge-Chicago, 1961, p. 75, § 136.

(2) Cf. Blass-Debrunner-Funk, *op. cit.*, p. 38, § 69, 4.

τὸν νοῦν πρὸς θεὸν εἰς ἀεὶ ἔχων. ὡς συναυξανομένης αὐτῷ τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐργασίας, καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν τέχνη τούτῳ καὶ φυσικῶς ἐπιστήμη ἡ πρὸς ταῖς θείαις συνάξεσι καθ' ἡμέραν διατριβὴ καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ γλώττης διηνεκῶς εὐχὴ καὶ εὐχαριστία, καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς πένητας ὅσον τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν θεραπεία· καὶ μονοχίτων διάγων καὶ ἀνυπόδητος τῇ νηστείᾳ καὶ ἀγρυπνίᾳ κατατρύχων οὐ διέλειπε τὸ σωμάτιον· στάσις οὖν αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον, εἰ δέ ποτε καὶ ἡ φύσις αὐτὸν πρὸς ὕπνον κατηνάγκαζεν, ἐπὶ γῆς ἀνακλινόμενος μικρὸν ἀφύπνει, καὶ πάλιν τῆς εὐχῆς ἥπτετο. καὶ ἁπλῶς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἐπιμελῶς κατορθώσας, γέγονε καθαρὸν οἰκητήριον τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκεῖσε θαυμαστὸς καὶ περίδοξος. μὴ φέρων δὲ τὴν παρὰ πάντων τιμήν, τῆς πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ὁδοῦ εἴχετο. μή πω οὖν τῶν ὧν ἐπόθει φθάσας, περί που τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔν τινι λιμένι καταντήσας, πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ Μεθώνης διακειμένῳ, χαλεπῇ τινὶ νόσῳ κατασχεθείς, διὰ τὸν πολὺν ὡς οἶμαι τῆς ἀρετῆς κάματον, πρὸς Κύριον ἐξεδήμησεν. οἱ δὲ ναυτικοὶ τῆς νηὸς ἀποβάντες ἐντίμως ἔθαψαν τὸ τίμιον αὐτοῦ λείψανον ἔν τινι τόπῳ καλουμένῳ Ῥώσῳ Χώματι. χρόνων δὲ ὕστερον οὐκ ὀλίγων διαβιβασθέντων, ἐπίσκοπός τις τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄστεος Μεθώνης, Νικόλαος ὄνομα, παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου χρηματισθεὶς ἐφ' ᾧ ἀνακομιδὴν αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι, ἀπελθὼν ὡς εἶχε τάχους σὺν παντὶ τῷ κλήρῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνορύξας, εὗρε τὸ τίμιον αὐτοῦ λείψανον, καὶ τοὺς ὀφειλομένους καὶ ἀξιοτάφους ὕμνους μετὰ θυμιαμά-

11 ὡς VO, ὠ propter haplographiam C | συναυξανομένης O, συναυξανόμενος VC 12 τῶν VO, om. C | ἐργασίας VO, ἐνεργασίας C | τέχνη VO, τέχνην C 13 τούτῳ O, om. VC | συνάξεσι VO, -εσιν C 14 διατριβὴ VO, διατριβὴν C | ἡ VO, om. C | post διηνεκῶς add. αὐτῷ V, ἑαυτῷ καὶ C 16 μονοχίτων VO, μονοχύτος C | ἀνυπόδυτος VC, ἀνυπόδετος O 17 διέλυπε O, διέλιπε V, διέλυπεν C 18 post αὐτῷ add. ὅσω V | πρὸς O, εἰς VC 19 κατηνάγκαζεν VC, -ζε O | ἐπὶ VO, om. C | ἀνακλινόμενος VO, ἀνανομένος C 21 γέγονε O, γέγονεν V, γέγωνεν C 22 πᾶσι VO, -ιν C | ἐκεῖσε VO, ἐκεῖθεν C 23 εἶχετο O, ὤχετο VC 25 λιμένι VO, λημένα C | ἄστυ correxi, ἄστει VC, ἄστω O 26 τινὶ VO, τῇ C | τὸν O, τὸ VC | οἶμαι O, εἶχε V, ἦχε C 28 τὸ τίμιον αὐτοῦ λείψανον VO, αὐτοῦ τὸ τίμιον λείψανον C 29 οὐκ OC, ὀκ V 30 τις O, τῆς VC | τοῦ VO, om. C 31 post ἁγίου add. πνεύματος VC | ἐφ' ὦ VO, ἐφ' ὧν C 32 ἀνηκομιδὴν O, νἀνακομηδὴν V, ἀνακομηδεῖν C | αὐτῷ O, om. VC | ἀπελθὼν ὡς εἶχε τάχους O, om. VC 33 post αὐτοῦ add. ἀπελθὼν οὖν ὡς εἶχε τάχος VC (ἦχεν C) | post λείψανον add. σῶον VC 34 τοὺς VO, om. C

35 *των καὶ ὅσης τιμῆς συγκροτήσας κατέθηκεν αὐτὸ ἐν κιβωτίῳ. ἐξαυτῆς οὖν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν οὐ διαλείπει θαυματουργῶν, νόσους παντοίας ἰώμενος καὶ δαίμονας ἀπελαύνων, ὡς καὶ θαυματουργὸν αὐτὸν ἡ φήμη διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν γινομένων θαυμάτων παρ' αὐτοῦ καλεῖσθαι πεποίηκεν. Τελεῖται δὲ ἡ*
40 *αὐτοῦ σύναξις ἐν τῇ προρρηθείσῃ πόλει ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ κατετέθη καὶ κατάκειται ἡ τιμία καὶ ἁγία αὐτοῦ σορὸς μετὰ τοῦ πανενδόξου καὶ πολυτίμου αὐτοῦ λειψάνου, καὶ ἐν λοιποῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ εὐκτηρίοις οἴκοις.*

35 *ὅσης* VO, *ὅσους* C | *αὐτὸ* scripsi, *αὐτῷ* VC, *αὐτὸν* O | post *κιβωτίῳ* add. *καὶ ἀπήγαγον* (*-ων* C) *μετὰ λιτῆς καὶ ὕμνων* (*ὕμνους* C) *εὐχαριστηρίων* (*-ους καὶ* C) *κατέθηκαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτοῦ τῷ ὄντι μέχρι* (*μέχρη* C) *τῆς* (*τὴν* C) *σήμερον* VC 37 *παντοίας* O, *παντοίους* V, *παντίους* C | post *ἰώμενος* add. *καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν τοῖς προστρέχουσι* (*προτρέχουσιν* C) *μετὰ πίστεως ἰᾶται* VC | *ἀπελαύνων* O, *ἀπελαύνει* VC 38 *τὸ πλῆθος* VO, *τοῦ πλήθους* C | *γινομένων* VO, *γενομένων* C 39 *πεποίηκεν* VC, *-ε* O 42 *λοιποῖς* VO, *λυπίοι* C 43 *εὐκτηρίοις* VO, *εὐτηρίοις* C | in fine *κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν καὶ δεκάτην τοῦ μαΐου μηνός* add. VC

b. — Stichera in s. Leonem thaumaturgum
(auctore Nicolao episcopo Methonensi?)

e codicibus Vat. Chis. R VII 53, f. 291r (= V) et Crypt. 385, ff. 50v-51r (= C)

Ἦχος α'
Τῶν οὐρανίων ταγμάτων ...

Ὁ θαυμαστὸς ἐν ἁγίοις
τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις αὐτῷ
Θεὸς τὸν κεκρυμμένον
φανεροῖ θησαυρόν σε
5 *θαυμάτων παραδόξων*
ὡς τῆς αὐτοῦ
ἁγιότητος μέτοχον
καὶ πλήρη χάριτος, Λέον θαυματουργέ,

1 Ps. 67, 36 2 cf. I Cor. 8, 3 3-4 cf. Matth. 13, 44

2 *αὐτῷ* scripsi, *αὐτὸν* VC 8 *πλήρη* scripsi, *πλήρης* V, *πλήροις* C

τῆς ἀφράστου καὶ λαμπρότητος.

Νεοφανῆ σε λαμπτῆρα,
Λέον, ἀνέδειξεν
ὁ νοητὸς τῆς δόξης
καὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης
ἥλιος, τὸν ζόφον
καὶ τὴν ἀχλὺν
τῶν νοσημάτων ἐξαίροντα
καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ λαμπρύνοντα τοὺς πιστοὺς
προσιόντας τοῖς λειψάνοις σου.

Ὁ νέος Λέων ὡς λέων
δικαίως πέπονθε
ἐν τῇ Χριστοῦ δυνάμει,
τὸν ἀρχέκακον ὄφιν,
τὸν δράκοντα τὸν μέγαν,
τὸν σοβαρὸν
καὶ ἀνήμερον λέοντα
καταπατῶν καὶ συντρίβων περιφανῶς
ἰσχὺν πᾶσαν τὴν ὀλέθριον.

13-14 Mal. 3, 20 23 cf. Apoc. 12, 3 25 cf. 1 Pe. 5, 8

10 *Νεοφανῆ* V, *Θεοφανὴ* C 19 *ὡς* V, *ὡσαν* C 26 *καταπατῶν* C, *κατὰ παθῶν* V

c. — *Nicolai episcopi Methonensis canon in s. Leonem thaumaturgum*

e codicibus Vat.Chis. R VII 53, ff. 293v-297v (= V)
et Crypt. 385, ff. 52r-55v (= C)

Acrostichis *Αἰνῶ <Λέον> τα θαυμα<τ>ουργὸν τὸν νέον, Νικόλαος.*

ἦχος πλ. δ΄

Ὠδὴ α΄. Ἆσμα ἀναπέμψωμεν, λαοί.

Ἆσμα ἀναπέμψωμεν, λαοί,
τῷ θαυμαστῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν
τῷ ἀναδείξαντι

Acrostichis *Νικόλαος* om. VC Post acrostichidem *Ποίημα νικολάου φιλοσόφου μεθώνης* add. VC

παγκόσμιον φωστῆρα
νεκρὸν πολυχρόνιον
λάμποντα θαυμασίοις
ἐξαισίοις,
Λέοντα τὸν νέον.

Ἴχνη τῶν βημάτων σου, Χριστέ,
καὶ τρίβους τὰς ἐν ὕδασι
καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ
ὁδοὺς τίς ἐπιγνῶναι
ἀνθρώπων δυνήσεται;
βάθη δὲ σῶν κριμάτων
καὶ θαυμάτων
τίς ἐξερευνήσει;

Νέμοις σὰς ἀφθόνους δωρεὰς
τῶν χαρισμάτων, Κύριε,
τοῖς σοὶ λατρεύουσιν
αἰσίως καὶ δεικνύοις
εἰς σὲ τοὺς πιστεύοντας
ζῶντας καὶ μετὰ πότμον
ὡς προέφης
θείαις ἐνεργείαις.

Ὤφθης νέα, Κόρη, κιβωτός, θεοτοκίον
οὐ πλάκας ἔνδον φέρουσα
ἀλλὰ τὸν Λόγον αὐτόν,
τὸν ποιητὴν τοῦ κόσμου,
Χριστὸν τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν,
νόμον τῆς ἁμαρτίας
ἀναιροῦντα,
ζωῆς νομοδότην.

20-24 cf. Io. 3, 15 ; 3, 36 ; Eph. 1, 19 ; Col. 2, 12 30-32 cf. Rom. 8, 2

10 *τρίβους* V, *τρύβας* in *-βους* ead. m. corr. C 12 *τίς* V, *τοὺς* C
14 *σῶν* V, *τῶν* C 17 *σὰς* V, om. C | *δωρεὰς* C, *δωρεον* V
19 *τοῖς* V, *τοὺς* C | *λατρεύουσιν* C, *λατρέβοντας* V 20-21 om. V
20 *αἰσίως* scripsi, *δυσίος* C 21 *εἰς* V, *εἰ* C propter haplographiam
22 *ζῶντας* V, om. C 24 *θείαις ἐνεργείαις* V, *θείας ἐνεργείας* C
25 *Ὤφθης* V, *Ὤφθει* C 30 *νόμον* scripsi, *νόμῳ* VC

Ὠδὴ γ'. Οὐκ ἔστιν ἅγιος ὡς ὁ Κύριος.

Τὸν βίον ἄμεμπτον σὺ διήνυσας
καὶ τὴν σάρκα ἀμόλυντον,
μάκαρ, ἐτήρησας·
διὰ τοῦτο καὶ θνήξας
τῷ νόμῳ τῆς φύσεως
μένεις ἀδιάφθορος.

Ἁγίου πνεύματος ὤφθης σκήνωμα·
εὐσεβῶς γὰρ ἐβίωσας
καὶ ἅγιος γέγονας
ὅλος καὶ ἁγιάζεις
τῇ ψαύσει τῆς λάρνακος
σοῦ καὶ τὰ ἐντάφια.

Θεῷ διὰ βίου εὐηρέστησας
καὶ θεὸς ἐχρημάτισας
τῇ χάριτι, ὅσιε,
καὶ θαυμάτων τὴν χάριν
τῶν θείων ἐπλούτησας·
ὅθεν εὐφημοῦμέν σε.

Ἁγίων ἁγίασμα, μητροπάρθενε, *θεοτοκίον*
ἡ θεὸν ὑπεράγιον
ἁγίως γεννήσασα,
σὺν ἁγίοις δυσώπει
ἡμᾶς ἁγιάζοντα
τοὺς πόθῳ σε γεραίροντας.

Ὠδὴ δ'. Ἐξ ὄρους κατασκίου, Λόγε.

Ὑπέρτερον τὸν νοῦν κτησάμενος τῆς ὕλης
καὶ ταῖς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον νεύσεσι θεώσας
τῶν ὑπὲρ νοῦν ἠξιώθης χαρίτων,
Λέον θεόφρον παμμακάριστε.

Μύρου εἰς ὀσμὴν δραμὼν τοῦ κενωθέντος

45 cf. Gen. 5, 22, 24 ; 6, 9 61 cf. Philipp. 2, 7

39 ὤφθης V, ὤφθη C propter haplographiam 44 ἐντάφια C, ἐνφία V 45 Θεῷ V, Χριστῷ contra acrostichidem C 51 ἁγίασμα C, ἁγίαν σε V 58 νεύσεσει C, νεύσεισι V 61 κενωθέντος V, νεκρωθέντος (in νεκρο- corr.) C

Λόγου καὶ πλησθεὶς τῆς τούτου εὐωδίας
ὅλος μυρίπνους ἐγένου, τὴν δυσωδίαν,
Λέον, διώκων τῶν κακώσεων.

Ἄνω μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν μετέβης, μάκαρ Λέον,
κάτω δὲ Μεθώνης ἔλιπες τὸ σῶμα
θησαυρὸν ἄσυλον θείων χαρισμάτων,
νόσων παντοίων ἐλατήριον.

Ὅλη σὺ χαρά, παρθένε θεοτόκε, *θεοτοκίον*
ὅλη χάρις, ὅλη σὺ εὐλογημένη,
ὅλη καλή, καὶ πλησίον θεοῦ σοὶ πρέπει
χαίρειν, ὡς ἔφησεν ὁ ἄγγελος.

Ὠδὴ ε'. Ἵνα τί με ἀπώσω.

Ὑπερήφανον ὄφιν,
μάκαρ, ἐταπείνωσας, τὴν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν
ἐξαλείφειν πᾶσαν
ἐγκαυχώμενον καὶ κατεπάτησας,
ταπεινώσει θείᾳ
περιφραχθεὶς καὶ ἐξουσίαν
ἐκ θεοῦ κατ' αὐτοῦ κομισάμενος.

Ῥῆμα θεῖον ῥομφαίαν,
μάκαρ, τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος περιζωσάμενος
ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τοῦ σκότους
ἐξουσίαις στερρός τε ἀντίπαλος
ἐγνωρίσθης, ὅθεν
καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἐκομίσω
πονηρίας διώκειν τὰ πνεύματα.

Γαληνότατον ὅρμον
νῦν κατειληφώς, ἐκπεράσας ἀκύμαντος
τὴν τοῦ βίου ζάλην

72 cf. Lu. 1, 28

63 *μυρίπνους* scripsi metri causa, *μυριπνους* V (in *μυρίπνοος* corr., *υ* expuncto), *μυρίπνου* C 64-65 verba *διώκων — Λέον* om. C 67 post *θησαυρὸν* C add. *ὃν* post v. 68 troparium omittunt VC, ad acrostichidis fidem e littera T- incipiens 71 *σοὶ* V, *σοῦ* C | *πρέπει* V, *πρέπειν* C 72 *ἔφησεν* V, *ἔφυσε* C 76 *καὶ* C, om. V 80 *ῥομφαίαν* V, *ῥομφαία* C 87 *ὅρμον* V, *ὅρκον* C 88 *ἀκύμαντος* scripsi, *ἀκύμαντον* V, *ἀκοίματον* C 89 *τὴν* V, *τὸν* C

ταῖς τοῦ πνεύματος αὔραις καὶ ἄβροχος
ἁμαρτίας φαίνῃ
τοὺς ἐν πελάγει κλυζομένους
ὁδηγῶν πρὸς λιμένα σωτήριον.

Ὁ θεοῦ θεὸς Λόγος θεοτοκίον
μήτραν ἀπειρόγαμον τὴν σὴν κατῴκησεν
καὶ ἁγνὴν τηρήσας
ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐπαχύνθη καὶ γέγονε
σὰρξ ἀτρέπτως, Κόρη,
ὅλον ἐμὲ φορέσας ὅπως
ὅλον σώσῃ δι' ἄμετρον ἔλεος.

Ὠδὴ ς'. Τὸν Ἰωνᾶν ἐν τῷ κήτει.

Νομοθετῶν Χριστὸς ὡς ὑπέσχετο
καὶ νῦν ἐν σοὶ πεποίηκεν,
εὑρών σε φύλακα τῶν τούτου,
μάκαρ, σεπτῶν ἐντολῶν
καὶ θεϊκῆς δόξης οἶκον ἄξιον.

Τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ τρόπον τὸν φιλόξενον
ζηλώσας κατηξίωσας
ξενίσας διὰ τῶν πενήτων
τὴν τρισυπόστατον
ζωαρχικήν, ὅσιε, θεότητα.

Ὀνομαστὸν τόπον σοι καὶ ὄνομα
αἰώνιον δεδώρηται
ἐν οἴκῳ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ
Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς
ὡς ἑαυτὸν ἐνθέως εὐνουχίσαντι.

Νυμφῶνά σε τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σαρκώσεως, θεοτοκίον
ἀνύμφευτε, δοξάζομεν·

111-115 Is. 56, 4-5 115 cf. Matth. 19, 12

91 ἁμαρτίας scripsi, ἁμαρτίαις VC | φαίνῃ scripsi, φαίνει V, φαίνειν C 92 κλυζομένους scripsi, κληζομένους C (in κληδονιζο- corr.), κλυδωνιζομένους V 97 γέγωνε C, γέγονεν V 102 καὶ νῦν V, κονὺν C 105 θεικῆς δόξης V, θεικῆ δόξη C | ἄξιον V, ἅγιον C 106 φυλόξενον C, λιλόξενον V 107 κατηξίωσας V, κατηξίωσε C 113 τῷ post οἴκῳ add. V, om. C 115 εὐνουχίσαντι scripsi, εὐνουχήσαντα VC

ἐν σοὶ γὰρ ὁ Λόγος ὑπὲρ λόγον
σκηνώσας ὁ τοῦ Πατρὸς
τὴν σὴν ἐκ σοῦ φύσιν ἐνυμφεύσατο.

Ὠδὴ ζ'. Παῖδες Ἑβραίων ἐν καμίνῳ.

Νόμῳ τῆς φύσεως θανόν σου
τὸ σαρκίον ἀδιάφθορον τηρεῖται
ὑπὲρ φύσιν, Λέον, θαυμάτων λαμπηδόσιν
φωταγωγῶν τοὺς ψάλλοντας ·
ὁ θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἶ.

Εὗρες καμάτων σου τὰ γέρα,
ἐκοπίασας εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, Λέον,
τὸν παρόντα, καὶ ζῇς εἰς τέλος καὶ συμψάλλεις
τοῖς αἰωνίως μέλπουσιν ·
ὁ θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἶ.

Ὄλβιος πλήρης θυμηδίας,
πλήρης χάριτος οἰκεῖς ἐν χώρᾳ ζώντων,
ἔνθα ἦχος τερπνὸς ἐστὶν ἑορταζόντων
καὶ μελῳδούντων · Κύριε
ὁ θεός, εὐλογητὸς εἶ.

Νέμοις, παρθένε θεοτόκε, *θεοτοκίον*
τοῖς ὑμνοῦσί σου τὰ θεῖα μεγαλεῖα
τὴν σὴν ἄφθονον χάριν, τοῖς βοῶσι ·
Εὐλογημένος, πάναγνε,
ὁ καρπὸς τῆς σῆς κοιλίας.

Ὠδὴ η'. Μουσικῶν ὀργάνων.

Νυσταγμὸν οὐκ ἔδωκας βλεφάροις
οὐδὲ τοῖς κροτάφοις ἀνεπαύσω
ἕως ἐτέλεσας σαυτὸν

132 cf. Ps. 114, 9 141-142 Ps. 131, 4

123 *θαυμάτων* C, om. V 128 *συμψάλλεις* scripsi, *συμψάλλοις* V, *συψάλλοις* C 132 *οἰκεῖς ἐν* V, *οἰκήσσαι* C 138 *τοῖς βοῶσι* scripsi, *τοῦ βοᾶν σοι* V, *τοῖς βοᾶσοι* C 142 *κροτάφοις* V, *κροτάτοις* C 143 *ἐτέλεσας* V, *τέλεσας* C | *σαυτὸν* scripsi, *αὐτὸν* propter haplographiam habent VC

ἀξιόθεον τόπον
σκήνωμά τε <τῆς> δόξης
τῆς σεπτῆς Τριάδος, παμμάκαρ, εἰς αἰῶνας.

Ἰατρεῖον ἄμισθον ἠνοίχθη,
θησαυρὸς ἀδαπάνητος εὑρέθη
ἡ θήκη τοῦ θαυματουργοῦ
Λέοντος τοῦ λειψάνου·
οἱ κάμνοντες ἐν νόσοις
καὶ ἐν κακουχίαις ἀντλοῦνται τὰς ἰάσεις.

Κοσμικοὺς θορύβους διαδράσας
πρὸς τὴν ὑπερκόσμιον ἀνῆλθες
καὶ ζῶν ἔτι μετὰ σαρκὸς
ἀγγέλων πολιτείαν,
μεθ' ὧν καὶ νῦν συμμέλπεις
καὶ ὑμνολογεῖς τὸν Χριστὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

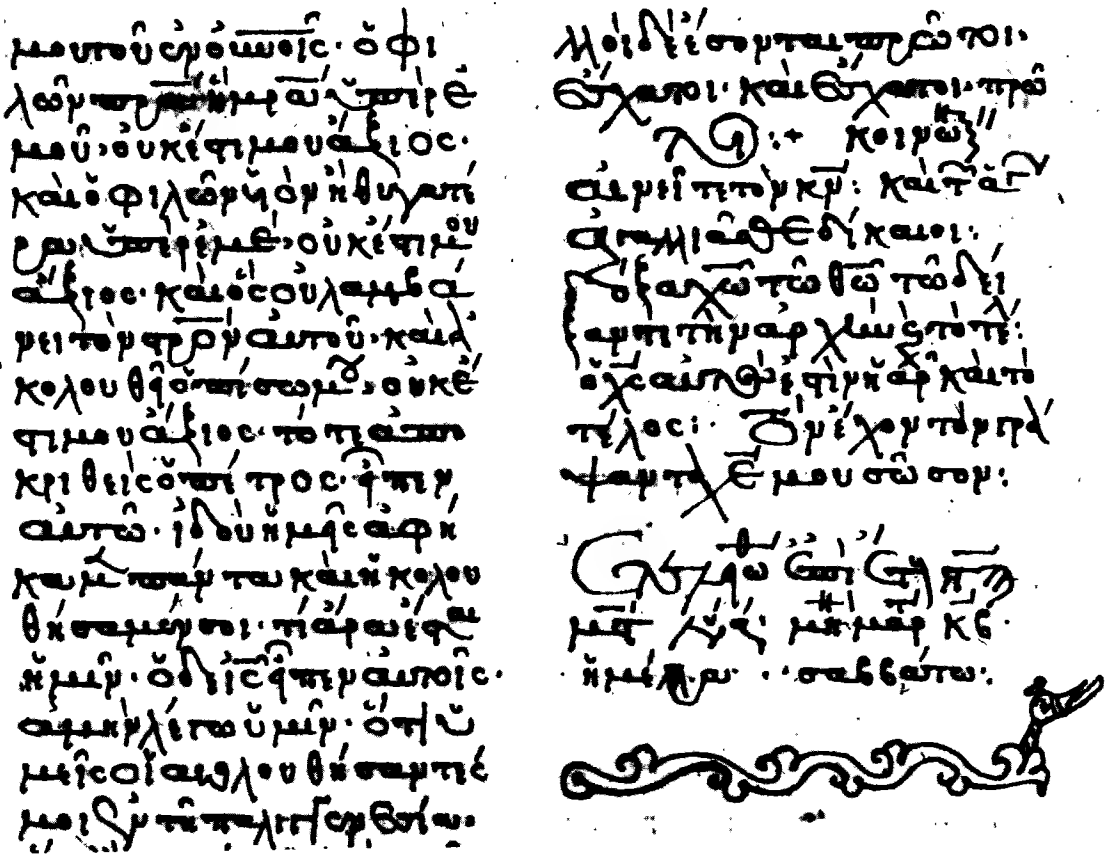
Ὁ δρακὶ συνέχων πᾶσαν κτίσιν θεοτοκίον
σαῖς ἁγναῖς συνέχεται ἀγκάλαις,
πανύμνητε, καὶ ταῖς σειραῖς
κακῶν συνεχομένους
λυτροῦται φιλανθρώπως
τοὺς ὑπερυψοῦντας αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Ὠδὴ θ'. Κυρίως θεοτόκον σὲ ὁμολογοῦμεν.

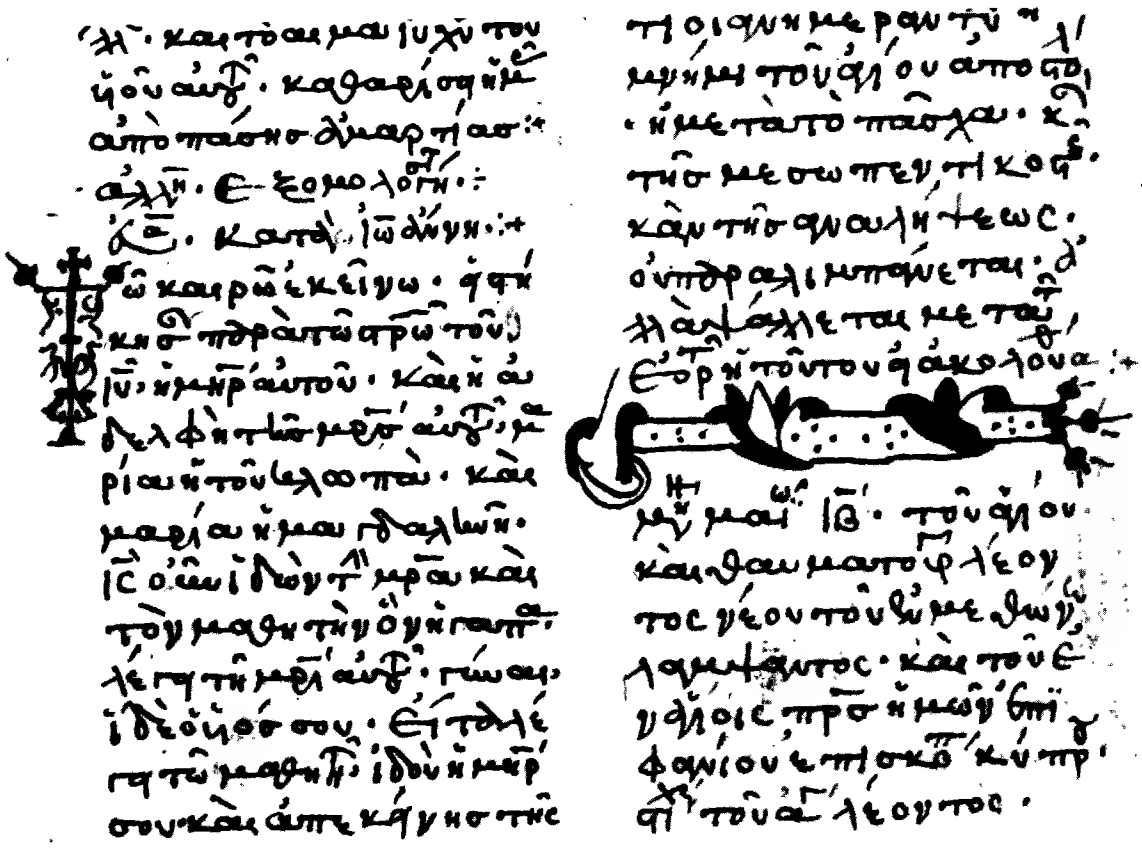
Λεόντειον οὐ βρύχων
ἀλλὰ θείᾳ νεύσει
ἐπιτιμῶν ἀλαλήτως, τοὺς λέοντας
τοὺς νοητοὺς ἀπελαύνεις,
Λέον πανόλβιε.

Ἀγάλλου καὶ εὐφραίνου,
πόλις Μεθωναίων,
ἡ τὸ πανάγιον σκῆνος κατέχουσα
τοῦ παναγάθου προστάτου
καὶ θείου Λέοντος.

145 τῆς addidi metri causa 148 ἀδαπάνητος V, ἀδάπανος C
150 λέοντος V, λέων C | τοῦ C, om. V 151 νόσοις V, ὁσοις propter haplographiam C 153 διαδράσας V, διεδράσας C 155 καὶ V, καὶ καὶ C | ἔτι V, ἔτεμες C 156 ἀγγέλων C, ἀγγέλω V | πολιτείαν V, πολειτεία C
158 τὸν V, om. C 163 φιλανθρώπως V, φιλανθρώπους C



Vat. Chis. R VII 53, f. 261v, metà sup.
Sottoscrizione della sezione *c*.



Vat. Chis. R VII 53, f. 290 v, metà inf. Nella sezione *d*.

Ὁ ξύλῳ χαριτώσας
ἐν ᾧ προσηλώθη
θεοπρεπῶς, καὶ σορὸν τὴν ξυλίνην σου
θαυματοφόρον δεικνύει
Χριστός, ἡ πάντων ζωή.

Σ{ωμάτων μαλακίας *θεοτοκίον*
καὶ ψυχῶν ἁμαρτίας,
θεογεννήτρια, τῶν πόθῳ προσιόντων
τῇ σκέπῃ σου τῇ θείᾳ
θεραπεύειν ἀξίωσον,
ἡ τὸν σωτῆρα Χριστὸν
ἡμῖν ἀποτεκοῦσα}.

177 *σορὸν* V, *σορρῶ* C 180-186 ex alio canone, Theostericto seu Theophani tributo, theotocium desumptum est (cf. FOLLIERI, *Initia*, III, p. 610) 182 *τῶν* V, *τὸ* C

ÉTUDES SUR LES DEUX HISTOIRES DU RÈGNE DE MICHEL III (*)

Τοὺς ἀγείροντας λέγει ἤτοι ἀγύρτας, ὧν νῦν δεῖγμα οἱ κατάρατοι Παφλαγόνες ᾠδάς τινας συμπλάσαντες πάθη περιεχούσας ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν καὶ πρὸς ὀβολὸν ᾄδοντες καθ' ἑκάστην οἰκίαν (1).

Dans la conclusion de son admirable article *Manuel et Théophobe ou la concurrence de deux monastères* (2), Henri Grégoire disait au sujet des chroniqueurs des IXe-Xe siècles :

(1) ARÉTHAS DE CÉSARÉE, scol. à Philostratos, *Τὰ ἐς τὸν Τυανέα Ἀπολλώνιον*, 93, 11, in S. B. KOUGEAS, *Αἱ ἐν τοῖς σχολίοις τοῦ Ἀρέθα λαογραφικαὶ εἰδήσεις*, dans *Λαογραφία*, IV, 1913, 239.

(2) *Byz.*, IX, 1934, 183-204.

(*) SIGLES ET ABBRÉVIATIONS UTILISÉS

Gc Bonn	= *Parisinus gr., 1708*, GEORGIUS continuatus in THEOPHANES continuatus etc. ex recog. Im. Bekkeri, Bonn, 1838.
Gc Istrin	= *Vaticanus 163*, GEORGIUS continuatus, ed. V. M. Istrin, Хроника Георгя Амартола, Petrograd, 1922.
Gc Muralt	= *Mosquensis 251*, ed. E. Muralt, Petropoli, 1859.
Gén.	= *Lips. bibl. univ., 16, 4* ff. 248r-286r, GENESIUS ex recog. C. Lachmanni, Bonn, 1834.
GM	= GEORGES LE MOINE, éd. C. de Boor.
Log A	= Logothète, recension courte.
Log B	= Logothète, recension longue.
Leo Gr	= *Parisinus 1711*, LEO GRAMMATICUS ex recog. Im. Bekkeri, Bonn, 1842.
Ps.-S.	= *Parisinus gr. 1712*, SYMEON MAGISTER, in THEOPHANES continuatus etc. ex recog. Im. Bekkeri, Bonn, 1838.
*S	= Source commune de Génésios et de THc.

« Il faut les lire avec la plus extrême méfiance et les croire capables de tout. Il faut sans cesse les soupçonner de remplacer l'histoire par la légende. Ils dépendent d'hagiographies détestables. On peut voir clair néanmoins dans leur fatras, à condition de contrôler les racontars de Génésius-Continuateur de Théophane par le Logothète, souvent plus véridique, à condition surtout de vérifier les dates et les faits chez Michel le Syrien et chez les Arabes. Nous espérons enfin que l'éditeur futur de Génésius et du Continuateur de Théophane pourra tirer quelque profit, pour l'établissement du texte de ces auteurs vraiment difficiles, de recherches comme celles-ci ... ».

Malgré la somme imposante de travaux qui ont été consacrés à ces chroniqueurs, le sujet est loin d'être épuisé. L'élaboration à travers les siècles d'ouvrages du genre *Weltchronik* et la complexité de leurs traditions ont d'abord retenu l'attention (1). Plus récemment, des travaux importants ont été consacrés à des domaines circonscrits (2). La *Weltchronik* est, en définitive, composée de tranches successives. Ce

THc	=	*Barber., 232* (apographe du *Vat., 167*), THEOPHANES continuatus ex recog. Imm. Bekkeri, Bonn, 1838.
Théod. Mel.	=	*Monacensis 218*, THEODOSIUS MELITENUS, éd. T. L. F. Tafel, Munich, 1859.
V. I	=	*Vita Sancti Ignatii*, *P.G.*, CXV, 488-574.
V. TH.	=	*Vita Theodorae imperatricis*, éd. W. Regel, *Analecta Byzantino-russica*, Petropoli, 1891, 1-19.

(1) Voir MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2e éd., Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1958, et KAŽDAN, Хроника Симеон Логофета, *Viz. Vrem.*, XV, 1959, 125-143. Dans cet article, K. étudie principalement les Vies de Basile et de Léon VI et la tradition postérieure à 963. Le présent article concerne exclusivement Michel III et, bien que nous ne connaissions les chroniques de ce règne qu'à travers les recensions postérieures, le problème est essentiellement différent.

(2) F. BARIŠIĆ, *Les sources de Génésios et du continuateur de Théophane pour l'histoire du règne de Michel II* (820-829), *Byz.* 36, 1961, 257-271 ; J. GOUILLARD, *Deux figures mal connues du second iconoclasme*, *ibid.*, 371-401 ; P. LEMERLE, *Thomas Le Slave*, *Travaux et Mémoires* I, 1965, 225-297.

sont elles que nous interrogeons pour connaître l'histoire d'une époque. Les recherches sur le tout ne nous renseignent qu'accessoirement sur la valeur historique des parties ou la valeur relative de récits différents d'une même époque — à condition que ces récits soient vraiment différents, bien entendu. Dans les pages qui suivent, m'attachant à une de ces divisions horizontales, à une période très restreinte (1), le règne de Michel III, je me propose de soumettre un nombre limité de passages à un examen extrêmement attentif pour essayer d'en dégager quelques conclusions quant à la méthode des chroniqueurs, à la nature de leurs sources et aux rapports des chroniques entre elles : indépendance, interdépendance, dépendance d'une même source.

Les plus anciennes chroniques qui racontent le règne de Michel III remontent, dans la forme que nous leur connaissons, au xe siècle (2). Elles sont publiées sous les noms de Georges le Moine continué, Théodose de Mélitène, Léon le Grammairien, Théophane continué, Génésios et (Pseudo-) Syméon. Mais en réalité, tout se ramène à deux traditions représentées, chacune, par deux ou plusieurs rédactions.

La première est celle de Georges le Moine continué ou du Logothète, qui nous est parvenue en deux recensions, brève et longue (A et B chez Moravcsik, dorénavant Log A et Log B). Log B est caractérisé par l'addition de passages provenant de Génésios (3).

(1) Le choix du règne de Michel III pour un travail de cette nature se justifie aisément : d'une part c'est le début des continuateurs de Georges le Moine ; d'autre part, avec la *Vita Basilii*, les problèmes se présentent déjà de façon différente.

(2) GEORGES LE MOINE raconte le rétablissement des images, mais s'arrête là (ed. de Boor, Leipzig, 1904). GEORGES LE MOINE continué : édd. 1) Bonn, 1838 ; 2) ISTRIN, Хроника Георгиа Амартола, Petrograd, 1922 ; 3) MURALT, Petropoli, 1859 — THÉODOSE DE MÉLITÈNE, éd. TAFEL, Munich, 1859 — LÉON LE GRAMMAIRIEN, éd. Bonn, 1842 — THÉOPHANE continué, Bonn, 1838 ; GÉNÉSIOS, Bonn, 1834 — PSEUDO-SYMÉON = SYMÉON MAGISTER, in THEOPHANES continuatus etc., Bonn, 1838.

J'écarte ici les compilations postérieures qui ont repris ces chroniques : Cédrénus, Zonaras, etc.

(3) MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2e éd., p. 270.

D'autre part, la recension brève se divise aussi en deux branches : les représentants publiés de la première sont Théodose de Mélitène (*Monacensis*, 218) et Leo Grammaticus (*Paris.*, 1711) ; ceux de la seconde Gc Bonn (*Paris.*, 1708) et Gc Muralt (*Mosq.*, 251).

La différence principale affecte le récit de la restauration des images. Chez Theod. Mél. et Leo Gr. il est très court et attribue à l'influence de Théoctiste une grande part dans cette restauration. Comme Manuel chez Thc-Gén., ici Théoctiste y pousse Théodora. Vu le grand rôle qu'il joue dans la chronique, il n'est pas exclu que sa *Vie ait constitué une des sources du Logothète.

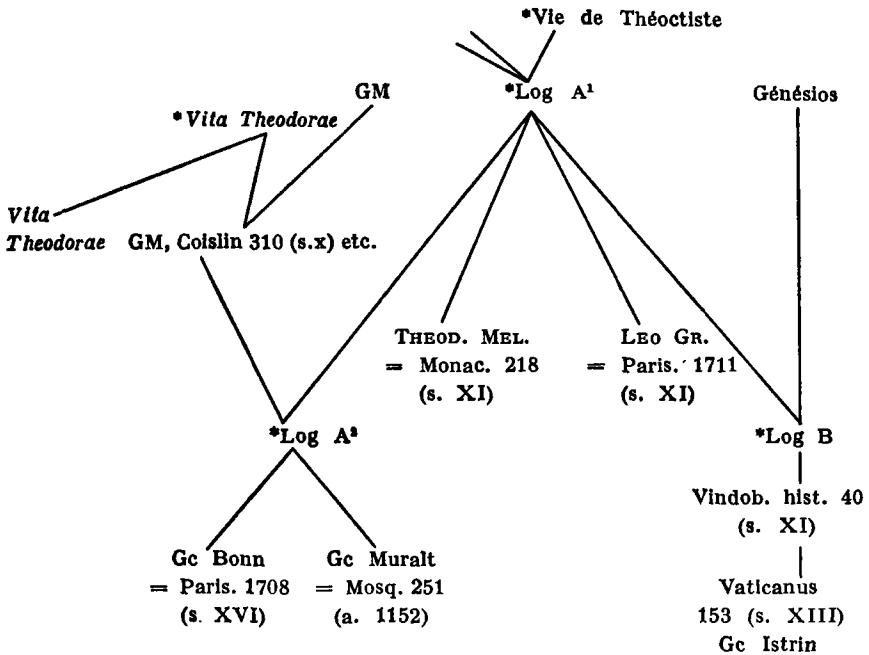
A ce récit s'ajoute chez Gc Bonn et Gc Muralt celui de Georges le Moine, c'est-à-dire celui de la *Vita Theodorae* qui, dans une version très légèrement différente (1), constitue le dernier chapitre de GM. Cette recension semble particulièrement favorable à Michel III : elle reprend de la *V.TH.* des expressions telles que: *τὴν πατρῴαν βασιλείαν διαδεξάμενος, τὴν δὲ θεοστυγῆ ... νέαν θρησκείαν εὖ μάλα γνησίως ἀποσεισάμενος τὴν ἔκπαλαι θεοφιλῆ καὶ θεοβράβευτον ἱεράν τε καὶ ὀρθοτάτην πίστιν ἀνεκήρυξεν* (Gc Bonn 811, 2 ; voir aussi *ibid.*, 811, 16-812) ; détail plus frappant encore, elle omet la phrase qui montre Michel participant au meurtre de Théoctiste et qui subsiste toujours dans l'autre branche de Log A.

C'est de la version primitive représentée par Théod. Mél. et Leo Gr. que dérive Log B.

Ces relations peuvent être représentées schématiquement comme suit :

(1) W. REGEL, *Analecta byzantino-russica*, Petropoli, 1891, procura une édition de la *V. TH.*, et attira l'attention sur les relations entre celle-ci et GM. Discussion de ses conclusions dans KAŽDAN, *op. cit.*, 126. Je pense, comme lui, que le chapitre de Georges le Moine consacré à la restauration des images est un *post-scriptum*, mais cette addition peut remonter très haut : on ne saurait en déterminer la date d'après celle de la rédaction, qui peut fort bien être postérieure, qui nous est parvenue de la *V. TH.*

La différence essentielle entre la *V. TH.* publiée par Regel et celle qu'a utilisée GM, est que cette dernière parle d'un synode, alors que la première cite nommément des pères auxquels elle a déjà consacré un long développement (*op. cit.*, 12, 27 et 7, 24 sqq.).



La seconde tradition est celle de Génésios et de Théophane continué. Elle est moins homogène que celle du Logothète.

Une constatation très importante s'impose : pour le règne de Michel III, les sources, immédiates ou ultimes, à très peu d'exceptions près, ne semblent pas être les mêmes dans les deux traditions (1). Par contre, chez tous, et malgré des

(1) Si je ne me trompe, une identité de sources ne se laisse envisager que dans les cas suivants : 1) *εἰσήγετο δὲ ὁ πολλοῖς πόνοις καὶ κόποις τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς κτλ.* (Méthode) THc 151, 17-22 ; *ἀντεισάγεται δὲ* ... Gc Bonn 812, 12 et peut-être, à travers d'autres sources intermédiaires : *εἰσάγει δὲ* ... *ibid.*, 811, 12 : Gc Istrin 1, 18, etc. La source, du moins pour les deux premiers, est une rédaction de la Vie de Theodora, cf. *V. TH.*, éd. Regel 13, 6 sqq. Il y a deux remarques à faire : premièrement la *V. TH.* donne l'impression d'être une compilation. Il se pourrait que le passage en question provienne d'un texte consacré à Méthode. Deuxièmement, si Gc Bonn 811, 12 remonte à cette source, elle a servi aux deux récits de la restauration des images chez le Logothète (voir p. 455). 2) La légende de Basile Gc Bonn 816, 15-821, 6 dont plusieurs éléments se retrouvent chez THc-Gén. Chez le Logothète, elle est insérée dans une chronique antérieure, hostile à Basile. 3) Des traces extrêmement peu

partis pris opposés, les événements déterminants sont la restauration des images, le meurtre de Théoctiste et son corollaire, l'éloignement de Théodora, l'ascension de Basile — criminelle chez le Logothète, bénéfique et providentielle chez THc-Génésios — et l'élimination, d'abord du César Bardas, puis de l'Empereur Michel.

Les deux traditions sont combinées chez Ps.-Syméon qui greffe sur Log B des développements qui tantôt reproduisent servilement THc, tantôt se rapprochent de Génésios, parfois sous des formes particulièrement accusées (1) ; cependant un grand nombre des passages dérivés de Génésios viennent via Log B. Enfin Ps.-S. a des passages étendus qui lui sont propres.

Cependant, les très longs extraits de Pseudo-Syméon qui répètent presque mot à mot des textes connus par ailleurs, avec d'autres particularités, par exemple le fait qu'il était capable de reproduire trois fois la même historiette s'il la trouvait dans trois de ses sources (voir schéma p. 458), nous autorisent à croire que l'auteur était un copiste servile qui, après avoir classé ses documents avec plus ou moins de

certaines dans le récit du meurtre de Théoctiste (voir p. 463). 4) *ἀποκείρουσί τε ταύτην μετὰ τὰς θυγατέρας ὁμοῦ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὰ Καριανοῦ ἀνακτόροις τότε μὲν περιορίζουσιν* ... THc 174, 6 et Gc 823, 5. 5) La bataille de Lalakaon THc 179, 13-183, 15 ; Gc 825, 1-9. 6) Campagne contre les Bulgares qui souffrent d'une famine ; conversion des Bulgares et baptême de Boris Gc 824, 12-23. Version fantaisiste mais de même origine chez THc 163, 9-18. 7) Déposition d'Ignace (voir ci-dessous, tableau en face p. 479 et p. 483). 8) Raid de Ros THc 196, 6-15 ; Gc 826, 15-827, 10. 9) Les sources pour la révolte de Symbatios et de Peganes ne semblent pas être les mêmes. Voir toutefois THc, *Vita Basilii*, 235, 15-20 et 240, 5-241, 16 ; Gc 833, 10-834, 16. 10) Michel et Constantin l'Arménien dans l'hippodrome THc 198, 15-20 ; Gc Bonn 835, 6-10. (Voir ci-dessous, p. 488 sqq.).

(1) Un exemple particulièrement frappant se trouve dans le récit des souffrances d'Ignace. THc écrit : ... *ἡ δυσεντερία τε καὶ τῶν ἐντὸς ἀναγκαίων ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ψύχους ὑπερβολῆς διὰ γαστρὸς ἀπόρροια* ... 194, 4. Génésios élabore : : *τῶν κρυφίων σαρκῶν ἀποβολὴν ἐποιεῖτο σαπρίας καὶ αἵματος : καὶ ἡ ὀδύνη ὁποία, ἴστε πάντες τινὲς οἳ δυσεντερίας καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκ ψύχους πεπείρασθε κτλ.* (100, 22). Gc Istrin 10, 24 et Ps.-S. 667, 17 : *ἐκ τῶν κρυφίων σαρκῶν ἀποβολὴν ἐποιεῖτο σαπρίας καὶ αἵματος.*

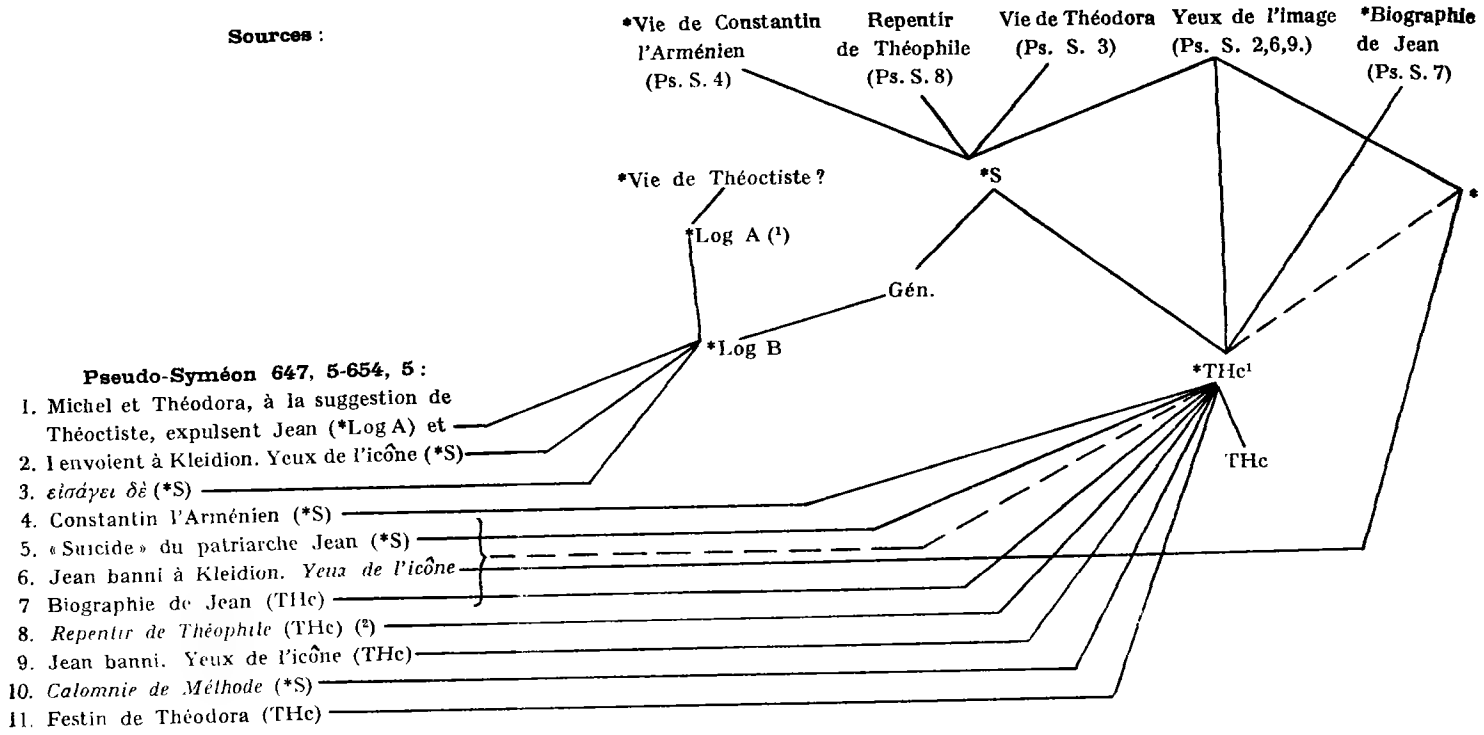


Schéma des sources de Pseudo-Syméon 647, 5-654, 5 montrant ses liens, pour ce passage, avec le Logothète et THc-Génésios

(1) Bien que le fond du récit soit ici de Georges le Moine et non du continuateur, Log B n'utilisait pas un ms «pur» mais une recension du Logothète, et c'est à Log B que se rattache Ps.-Syméon.

(2) En italiques quand le texte de Ps.-S. s'éloigne fort de celui de THc : le Repentir de Théophile est tout à fait différent dans les deux textes ; la Calommie de Méthode à la même affabulation, mais la formulation est à mi-chemin entre THc et Génésios. C'est une version abrégée de l'histoire des yeux de l'icône que donne le n° 6.

bonheur, se contentait de les reproduire. Les passages que nous ne connaissons pas par ailleurs, qu'il s'agisse de textes parallèles (le repentir de Théophile, par exemple) ou appartenant en propre à Ps.-S., remonteraient alors également à des documents perdus (1).

À l'intérieur de la tradition Gén.-THc, le premier enrichit un récit qu'il partage avec le second ou en donne une version parallèle. Il me semble qu'il n'ajoute aucun épisode complet au fonds commun (2). THc, au contraire, y ajoute des faits. Génésios apparaît donc essentiellement comme une rédaction de la source commune (*S), alors que pour THc, celle-ci n'est qu'une source, la principale sans doute, mais une parmi d'autres.

Dans les Vies de Michel III transmises par les chroniqueurs,

(1) Une analyse graphique du récit d'un seul événement chez Ps.-S. — la restauration des images — en fera ressortir le caractère composite ainsi que la complexité de ses liens avec les autres sources (Voir le schéma ci-contre).

2, 6 et 9 : l'histoire de l'icône dont le patriarche Jean fit gratter les yeux se lit trois fois. Dans le n° 2 se reconnaît la formulation distinctive de Génésios. Log B ajoute ce passage et le n° 3 au récit Log A de l'expulsion de Jean. Ps.-S. reprend le tout. Dans le n° 9, c'est le texte de THc. Le n° 6 pourrait avoir été puisé à une source indépendante, qui avait déjà simplifié la source originelle. Toutefois, là encore, il se pourrait que Ps.-S. soit tributaire de THc^1 : les n°s 5, 6 et 7, bien que d'origines différentes, donnent l'impression d'avoir été réunis avant leur incorporation dans la chronique. THc aurait alors tout simplement laissé tomber cette anecdote qu'il avait l'intention de raconter ailleurs. (La version de Gén., comme celle de THc, doit dériver de *S, mais j'ai négligé cette étape pour mieux mettre en évidence les autres).

Les ressemblances et les divergences entre Ps.-S. et THc m'ont amenée à postuler un état antérieur de celui-ci, *THc^1 sur le schéma. 4, 5, 7, 8, 10 et 11 se retrouvent chez THc. Pour les deux n^{os} en italique, il y a d'importantes différences avec celui-ci : le Repentir de Théophile a même une autre affabulation ; pour Méthode calomnié, la formulation est à mi-chemin entre THc et Génésios. 4 et 5 proviennent également, à travers *THc^1, de *S.

(2) La légende de Basile est présente dans la Vie de Michel de Génésios et non dans celle de THc, mais c'est parce qu'elle a été retirée de cette dernière pour prendre place dans la *Vita Basilii*.

certains thèmes, certains sujets, certains individus dominent (1). Parfois, cela suggère la présence d'une même source (qui souvent est déjà une compilation), comme c'est le cas pour les mentions de Manuel. Ailleurs nous sommes confrontés avec des sources nettement différentes, à l'occasion contradictoires, et cela dans les pages d'une même chronique.

C'est à travers deux épisodes, le meurtre de Théoctiste et la chute du patriarche Ignace, et la série des références à Constantin l'Arménien que je me propose d'aborder les chroniques. Ici, les Arabes n'apportent rien. Par contre, il y a des comparaisons à faire avec les « détestables sources hagiographiques ».

I. — Le meurtre de Théoctiste (2)

De ce drame nous avons deux récits différents : celui de Génésios-THc et celui du Logothète. Le premier groupe raconte que Théoctiste fut assailli par Bardas qui, au lieu de le tuer immédiatement, le fit enfermer dans le portique des Skyla où un des gardes de l'Empereur fut envoyé pour le mettre à mort. D'après le Logothète, il fut mis en pièces sur-le-champ par Bardas et Damianos. D'autres divergences caractérisent les deux groupes. Cependant celui qui comprend Génésios et THc n'est pas tout à fait homogène et je me propose de commencer par l'examen de ce dernier.

Deux constatations préliminaires s'imposent : 1) Lorsque ces deux chroniqueurs utilisent la source commune (*S), le remaniement formel ne laisse subsister que rarement ces coïncidences verbales auxquelles certains chroniqueurs nous

(1) Certains de ces thèmes ont déjà été étudiés : Adontz s'est occupé de la captivité bulgare de Basile 1er (*L'âge et l'origine de l'empereur Basile Ier* (867-886), *Byzantion* VIII, 1933, 475-500 et IX, 1934, 223-60) ; Moravcsik, de sa légende (*Sagen und Legenden über Kaiser Basilius I.*, *D.O.P.*, 15, 1961, 61-126 ; Grégoire, de Manuel et de Théophobe (*Manuel et Théophobe ou la concurrence de deux monastères*, *Byzantion*, IX, 1934, 183-204). Le rétablissement des images a été étudié à diverses reprises.

(2) Gc Bonn 821, 14-822, 18 ; Théod. Mél., 164-5 ; Gc Istrin 6, 23-7, 13 ; Ps.-S. 657, 12-18 ; THc 168, 5-171, 2 ; Gén., 86, 8-90, 5.

ont habitués. Malgré cela, dans le texte qui nous occupe, comme souvent ailleurs, l'identité de source est manifeste, mais seulement pour les deux tiers environ du passage. Bien plus, en un point important où ils paraissent diverger, la source originelle a dû être la même, mais une déformation fut introduite intentionnellement au cours de la tradition ; le contexte ne fut pas tout de suite mis en harmonie avec cette déformation, et chez THc les contradictions subsistent toujours, alors que chez Génésios les rectifications qui s'imposaient ont été faites. 2) Génésios présente la particularité d'apporter certains renseignements qui accordent un rôle important à des personnages qui n'apparaissent pas dans le récit de THc.

Venons-en à la comparaison détaillée des textes. 1) THc et GENÉSIOS : *Un différend surgit entre Manuel et Théoctiste, qui résidaient tous deux au palais en tant qu'ἐπίτροποι. Une accusation de trahison circule sous le manteau contre le premier. Il en a vent et s'en va dans sa maison proche de la citerne d'Aspar, d'où il se rend quotidiennement au palais pour les affaires du gouvernement. Bardas, ainsi débarrassé de lui, songe à éliminer Théoctiste.* 2) (Ici nous abordons le passage, dont j'ai parlé plus haut, où des textes qui ont en réalité la même origine semblent diverger à la suite de modifications successives en cours de transmission). THc et GÉNÉSIOS : Bardas agit en excitant Michel contre le logothète. Mais, pour GÉNÉSIOS, il le fait tout naturellement lui-même, tandis que, d'après THc, il a recours au pédagogue du jeune empereur comme intermédiaire. Nous verrons tout à l'heure la signification de cette différence. THc : *On suggère donc à Michel que les affaires publiques sont mal gérées, que Théoctiste le tient à l'écart de l'empire et se prépare à arranger un mariage pour Théodora ou une de ses filles et à le priver, lui, Michel, de ses yeux.* GÉNÉSIOS ne parle pas de la mauvaise gestion des affaires et modifie la présentation de ce qu'il retient : *Bardas prévient Michel que sa mère envisage un mariage pour elle ou une de ses filles; Michel sera privé de l'empire et aveuglé. L'Empereur est troublé et Bardas lui dit que Théoctiste est à l'origine de ces projets.* 3) THc et GÉNÉSIOS : *après de nombreux entretiens, on décide de se débarrasser de Théoctiste en l'assassinant ou en l'exilant.* 4) GÉNÉSIOS : *pour les aider dans leur dessein, les conjurés s'adjoignent certains officiers qui*

avaient été privés de leur commandement (1) *et même la sœur de Théodora, Kalè Maria. Ils voulaient qu'elle les aide secrètement, et ils percèrent un trou dans le mur d'une chambre élevée d'où elle pouvait guetter et faire signe à l'Empereur dès qu'elle verrait Bardas assaillir Théoctiste.* 5) THc : *τότε ὁ Βάρδας ἐν τῷ Λαυσιακῷ συνεδρίαζεν* ... GÉNÉSIOS : à peu près la même chose. Dans toutes les versions, le signal est donné par l'apparition de Bardas, assis en fonctions dans le Lausiakon (2). 6) THc : *Théoctiste se préparait à présenter les ἀναφοραί à Théodora* — GÉNÉSIOS : s'acquittait de ses fonctions de logothète. 7) GÉNÉSIOS 87, 19 sqq., est un passage qu'il ne doit sûrement à aucune source. Ce n'est que de la mauvaise littérature, qui lui aura paru convenir à un récit de guet-apens : *Comme un lion embusqué dans l'obscurité, Bardas l'épiait, s'approchant de l'Empereur ou s'en éloignant, prêt à s'élancer, à le suivre, à l'arrêter ou plutôt à le jeter à terre. Il était en proie à un grand combat. Il s'élançait pour l'assaillir et retenait son élan*, etc. Ce passage est un échantillon des développements littéraires si fréquents chez cet auteur, et qui ne doivent pas être confondus avec les apports d'une autre source. L'auteur de ceci devait se croire toutes les libertés permises en adaptant un texte. 8) THc : *à la vue de Bardas assis dans le Lausiakon, Théoctiste prend la fuite vers l'hippodrome du coté des* asecreteia (3), *mais seul*

(1) Souvenir du rôle de Théophane le Ferghan chez le Logothète? (Gc Bonn 815, 13 et 821, 18).

(2) Le Logothète : *Βάρδαν καθεζόμενον ἔμπρακτον* (Gc Bonn, 822, 5 ; Théod. Mél., 165, 2) ; *ἐν τῇ προελεύσει καθήμενον* (Gc Istrin, 6, 34). *Συνεδρίαζεν* signifie donc ici : « siégeait en fonctions ». Toute la portée de cette circonstance apparaît à la lecture du Logothète. Génésios ne semble pas l'avoir saisie — elle n'en a d'ailleurs pas dans le cadre de la version qu'il partage avec THc — au contraire, il trouve une autre justification du préverbe *συν-* : *τοῖς πραιποσίτοις συνεδριάζων*. Pour la topographie, voir R. GUILLAND, *La porte des Skyla, Études de topographie de Constantinople byzantine*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag-Amsterdam, Hakkert, 1969, 151-164 (*Ἐ.Ἑ.Β.Σ.* 33, 1964, 70-86).

(3) R. GUILLAND, *Le Palais d'Hormisdas*, 296 et n° 46, p. 326, *Études de topographie de Constantinople byzantine*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag-Amsterdam, Hakkert, 1969 (*Byzantinoslavica*, 12, 1951, 210-37).

contre plusieurs, il ne put pas échapper. Bardas tire son épée et en menace ceux qui voudraient s'opposer à ce qui se passe. GÉNÉSIOS : au terme du débat intérieur décrit plus haut, Bardas finit par s'élancer, courut derrière sa victime, la frappa et la fit tomber. 9) GÉNÉSIOS : *τῆς ἕδρας οἱ ἀποστράτηγοι διανίστανται θαρσαλέως ἀπαμυνοῦντες τῷ ἐγχειρήματι.* Cette phrase ambiguë est-elle l'écho du fait rapporté par le Logothète, que le drongaire de la veille se leva et dit à Bardas de ne pas frapper le logothète? Et alors la phrase de Gén. rapportée plus bas (n° 11) ne proviendrait-elle pas en définitive de la même source? 10) GÉNÉSIOS revient à Kalomaria qui donne un signal à l'Empereur. 11) GÉNÉSIOS : celui-ci donne son ordre impérial (1) d'emmener Théoctiste ; THc : Bardas commande à l'un des siens de le tuer, mais personne n'ose le toucher. 12) THc et GÉNÉSIOS : il est emmené aux Skyla (THc: *ἀπήγετο* ; Gén. : *ἑλκύεται χαμαί*) et enfermé là en attendant une décision de l'Empereur. 13) GÉNÉSIOS place ici les lamentations de Théodora et l'incident où un des Mélissène lui dit de rentrer chez elle, parce que c'est la « journée de ceux qui frappent » (*τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν τῶν κρουόντων ἀποκαλῶν*). Cet incident est connu également de Gc Istrin (7, 14) et de Ps.-S. (657, 20), mais ils le rapportent après la mort de Théoctiste. 14) GÉNÉSIOS : tentative de Constantin l'Arménien pour sauver le logothète (2). 15) THc et GÉNÉSIOS : les conseillers de Michel le poussent à le tuer (THc : *δέει τῆς Αὐγούστης ... ἵνα καὶ μὴ θᾶττον ἀπολυθῇ* ; Gén. : *ὡς εἴπερ μὴ διὰ τάχους ἀναιρεθείη Θεόκτιστος, ἐπανάστασις ἔσται παρὰ δεσποίνης δυσφόρητος*). 16) THc : *τῶν καθ' ἑταιρείαν τινὰ ἐξαπέστειλαν γυμνὸν ἐπισείοντα ξίφος αὐτῷ.* GÉNÉSIOS : *τοὺς ἐκ Ταυρικῆς καθ' ἑταιρείαν Σκύθας ὁ βασιλεὺς ῥαγδαίῳ προστάγματι διαρώννυσιν ἐπελθεῖν κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ συντόμως διαχειρίσασθαι. οἱ δὲ ἐπῆσαν ὁμοθυμαδόν...* Selon son habitude, Génésios force la note, en outre, ici, il prépare le n° suivant. 17) GÉNÉSIOS revient au rôle de Constantin l'Arménien qu'il gonfle

(1) Chez le Logothète, Bardas dit qu'il agit sur ordre de l'Empereur (Théod. Mél., 165, 12 ; Gc Istrin 7, 8). Y a-t-il une même source à l'origine? La rédaction de Log A représentée par Gc Bonn et Gc Muralt supprime cette information (voir, ci-dessus, p. 455.

(2) Sur Constantin l'Arménien, voir ci-dessous, p. 469.

de façon romanesque. 18) Génésios et THc : la fin cependant est la même chez tous deux : un seul garde pénètre auprès de la victime. Celle-ci cherche à se cacher sous un banc, mais le garde la tue d'un coup d'épée dans le ventre. 19) Là-dessus Manuel, que nous avions un peu perdu de vue, vient φοιβόληπτος (THc) ou σιβυλλαίνοντα (Gén.) prédire à Bardas, dans des vers semblables, mais non identiques, qu'ayant tiré l'épée, il périra par l'épée.

Un certain nombre d'observations se dégagent de cette analyse.

De 1) à 6) les deux récits sont extrêmement proches, et par leur déroulement et par nombre d'expressions : si on fait abstraction des quelques passages signalés plus haut comme propres à l'un ou à l'autre, la trame de l'histoire subsiste et les termes mêmes sont très proches chez les deux chroniqueurs. Nous sommes en présence de *S et sous une forme à peine altérée.

Les paragraphes 7) à 11), par contre, nous présentent deux récits différents et d'origine différente.

Puis, de 12) à la fin, nous revenons à *S, entrelardée, chez Génésios, de deux passages d'autre provenance (13 et 14).

Quant à *S, certains indices nous orientent vers la source qu'elle a utilisée pour ce passage : en effet, celui-ci débute et se clôt par une allusion à Manuel. Parlant de ce personnage, H. Grégoire a démontré (1) qu'il mourut en 838, mais qu'une Vie fut composée qui lui faisait jouer un grand rôle sous Michel III. Nous avons ici affaire à ce roman dont on retrouve la trace plusieurs fois dans la première partie de THc-Génésios (2). Chez THc, nous trouvons, me semble-t-il, cet épisode tel qu'il se présentait dans la Vie : en effet, ses contradictions s'expliquent toutes par la seule nécessité d'introduire Manuel, car, en dehors de cela, son récit est très homogène. Mais cette

(1) *Op. cit.*

(2) THc et Gén., ou plutôt les deux rédactions de *S dont ils dépendent, ont peut-être utilisé cette *Vie dans des rédactions différentes : tous deux donnent de la restauration des images une version 'manuélienne', mais avec des différences considérables.

Vie utilisait comme source toute narration de caractère historique relative à l'époque où son héros était censé avoir vécu. Ici, je crois que c'est une *Vie de Théoctiste qui est mise à contribution. Il ne faut pas oublier que celui-ci a trouvé place dans le Synaxaire(1). Alors que H. Grégoire a montré l'hostilité de THc pour le ministre de Théodora (2), nous relevons ici d'incontestables traces d'une opinion favorable : Bardas veut se débarrasser de lui, non seulement par ambition, mais aussi parce que le logothète lui reprochait continuellement sa liaison honteuse avec sa bru (169, 2) ; refusant à Michel la promotion de son peu estimable pédagogue, il dit qu'il faut gouverner *ἐπαξίως καὶ οὐκ ἀναξίως* (169, 10) ; ce même pédagogue se montre un *ὄργανον πονηρόν* en semant la zizanie *περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός* dans sa propre âme (*τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ... ψυχῇ*) et dans celle de l'Empereur (*ibid.*) ; quand Bardas commande à ses gens de le tuer, personne n'ose le toucher (170, 12).

En conclusion, le récit de la mort de Théoctiste qui se lisait dans la Vie de Manuel a été recueilli par *S, d'où il est passé dans THc, apparemment sans grande modification. Génésios, au contraire (ou la rédaction de *S qu'il utilisait), a substitué à la section centrale un récit ayant une autre origine et qui semble tout à fait romanesque, où Kalomaria, la sœur de Théodora, joue un rôle aussi sensationnel qu'inutile (on aura remarqué le penchant de Gén. pour le sensationnel).

2) Deux brèves allusions (nos 9 et 11 de l'analyse ; voir ci-dessus) pourraient être l'écho lointain et déformé de la source du Logothète.

3) Nous trouvons ici (Gén., 88, 16-19) un des passages qui ont été recueillis par la version longue du Logothète et sont passés de là à Ps.-S., mais à une autre place dans le récit.

J'ai dit ailleurs ce que je pense des Tauroscythes de Génésios : nous n'avons aucune raison de croire que ce terme

(1) 20 nov. : *ἄθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοκτίστου πατρικίου, τῇ θέσει εὐνούχου · ὃς ἦν ἐπὶ Θεοδώρας τῆς Αὐγούστης.* Voir F. HALKIN, *Trois dates historiques précisées grâce au Synaxaire*, *Byzantion*, XXIV, 1954, 7-17.

(2) A. A. VASILIEV, *Byzance et les Arabes* I, *La dynastie d'Amorium*, éd. française prép. par H. GRÉGOIRE et M. CANARD avec le concours de C. NALLINO et E. HONIGMANN, Bruxelles, 1935, p. 194, n. (1).

figurait dans la chronique telle qu'elle circulait au xe siècle (1).

Passons maintenant à l'autre tradition, celle du Logothète. Il faut se souvenir que, d'après lui, Bardas avait été exilé au lendemain de l'expédition malheureuse de Théoctiste en Asie Mineure (2). C'est en exil qu'il prépare la perte du logothète, responsable de sa disgrâce. Il commence par se lier avec Damien, patrice et parakimomène, qui obtient de l'Empereur son rappel, à Constantinople d'abord. Ensuite, *il se concilie par des dons la faveur de l'entourage de Michel et il reçoit l'ordre de faire sa rentrée solennelle* (προέρχεσθαι) *au palais en compagnie du parakimomène. Il s'était lié également avec Théophane surnommé le Ferghan.* (Ce Théophane avait aussi contre Théoctiste des griefs remontant à la campagne du Mavropotamos : avec plusieurs autres, il avait passé aux Arabes à cause de l'oppression exercée par le logothète. Par la suite, il obtint un λόγος ἀπαθείας et rentra en terre chrétienne (Gc Bonn, 815, 13)). Bardas, Théophane et Damien forment le projet de perdre Théoctiste. *Damien* (Bardas n'a pas encore été réadmis au palais) *gagne l'Empereur à ce dessein, car Bardas disait à Damien* (pour qu'il le répète à Michel) *: Tant que Théoctiste reste auprès de l'Impératrice, jamais l'Empereur ne régnera.* Il enchaîne immédiatement avec le récit de l'attentat : *Théoctiste, comme il en avait coutume, du bain d'Aréobinde se rendit aux ἀσηκρητεῖα et de là, tenant en main les ἀναφοραί, passa dans le Lausiakon. Jetant un regard autour de lui, il vit Bardas assis ἔμπροακτον. Fort troublé, il dit : Je vais aller chez l'Impératrice le faire expulser de nouveau. Mais comme il pénétrait dans l'Horologion, Michel le rencontra avec Damien et ne le laissa pas entrer chez Théodora, lui commandant avec colère d'ouvrir les ἀναφοραί et de les lire devant lui. Et quand il se fut à contre-cœur exécuté, Michel l'obligea à rebrousser chemin et à sortir.*

(1) *Byz.*, XL (1970), pp. 236-7.

(2) Log A : Gc Bonn, 815, 21 ; THÉOD. MÉL., 160. Log B : Gc Istrin, 4, 24. Ps.-S. rappelle ce fait en abordant le récit du meurtre de Théoctiste : Βάρδας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ὤν ... (657, 12).

Quant à la question de savoir s'il faut lire Mavropotamos ou Mavropotamon, voir la note à la p. 196 de VASILIEV, *Byzance et les Arabes*, t. I (éd. franç.).

Pleurant amèrement et gémissant, il sortit. Dans le Lausiakon, il rencontra Bardas qui se mit à le frapper à la tête et à lui tirer les cheveux. A cette vue, le drongaire de la veille, Maniakès (1), *se leva et dit à Bardas : Ne frappez pas le logothète.* Ici Gc Bonn omet quelques mots mettant en cause Michel (v. plus haut, p. 463, n. 1), mais Théodose et Gc Istrin poursuivent : *Bardas répondit qu'il agissait sur ordre de l'Empereur. Celui-ci, sur le conseil de Damien, se montra. En le voyant, Bardas et Théophane le Ferghan saisirent le logothète* (Gc Bonn reprend ici son récit) *et ils l'égorgèrent et le taillèrent en pièces dans les Skyla* (Théod. Mél. ; Gc Bonn : le Skythè) *avec une férocité digne de fauves.*

Dès l'abord, ce récit accuse une différence importante avec celui de THc-Génésios : ces derniers ne connaissent pas l'exil de Bardas. Il n'y a pas, que je sache, d'autre témoin pour trancher le débat. La *Vita Sanctae Theodorae* raconte le meurtre de façon très succincte et n'apporte aucun élément nouveau. La *Vita Ignatii* non seulement n'en parle pas, mais met en rapport avec la chute d'Ignace la pression exercée sur Michel pour qu'il secoue le joug maternel. Je reviendrai brièvement sur cette question, plus loin. Pour l'exil de Bardas nous n'aurions donc que le témoignage du Logothète. En fait, à y regarder de plus près, cet exil est impliqué dans le récit de THc. Pourquoi, en effet, Bardas, s'il était présent au palais, aurait-il eu subitement besoin d'un intermédiaire pour s'adresser à son neveu ? Pourquoi Théoctiste, dès qu'il le vit dans le Lausiakon, se douta-t-il des intentions de Michel ? Notons bien que le chroniqueur, pour expliquer le trouble de Théoctiste, ne dit pas que Bardas le regardait d'un œil meurtrier, mais qu'il voyait dans sa présence le signal précurseur donné par Michel (*τὸ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ σύνθημα προτρέχον ἅμα καὶ προφθάνον τοῦτον ὁρῶν*, THc, 170, 6) ; c'est par conséquent à la présence même de Bardas qu'est due l'angoisse du logothète. Il est donc sous-entendu dans le récit de THc que l'oncle de l'Empereur était en exil. Ces indices font défaut dans le récit de

(1) Ce nom arménien convient parfaitement à Constantin. R. GUILLAND adopte cette identification, v. *Contrib. à l'hist. admin. de l'Emp. byz. Le drongaire et le grand drongaire de la veille*, **B.Z.**, **43**, 1950, 346.

Génésios : Bardas s'adresse directement à Michel, modification introduite avec la plus grande simplicité de moyens. Il a suffi de laisser tomber la mention du pédagogue intermédiaire pour que Bardas devienne automatiquement le sujet de : « Il suggère à l'Empereur Michel ... ». D'autre part, la réaction de Théoctiste à la vue de Bardas a été remplacée par le passage ridicule comparant celui-ci à un lion embusqué.

Mais c'est bien la même source qu'emploient ici THc et Gén. Que l'un d'eux ait introduit gratuitement des contradictions dans un texte cohérent est impensable, l'opération contraire est toute naturelle. Nous conclurons donc immédiatement que les contradictions de THc nous en apprennent davantage sur la source que le récit plus satisfaisant en apparence de Génésios, d'autant plus que nous pouvons expliquer, je le crois, la genèse des contradictions. La clef, c'est la présence de Manuel. Pour donner à celui-ci un rôle sous Michel III, il a fallu récrire l'histoire. Un des épisodes adaptés fut le meurtre de Théoctiste, attribué à des dissensions qu'il aurait eues avec Manuel et que Bardas devait exploiter. Or, pour cela, il fallait que Bardas fût présent. Par conséquent, son exil est passé sous silence. Chez THc, toutefois, les traces de remaniement subsistent. Quant à Génésios, peut-être disposait-il d'une rédaction déjà revue et corrigée, peut-être a-t-il fait lui-même le travail d'édition qui s'imposait, en même temps qu'il incorporait à son récit des éléments venus d'ailleurs.

Nous voyons donc pour quelle raison une des traditions a été amenée à éliminer l'exil de Bardas, sans toutefois en faire disparaître, du premier coup, toute trace. Cet exil est à retenir comme historique.

Il existe, je l'ai dit, une autre différence fondamentale entre les deux traditions ; Théoctiste fut-il tué sur-le-champ par Bardas et Damien, ou enfermé quelque temps dans les Skyla, avant d'être mis à mort par un garde ? On pourrait alléguer qu'une des traditions présente des incohérences et des traces de remaniements successifs, alors que l'autre est simple, cohérente et vraisemblable, et qu'il faut, par conséquent, préférer celle-ci. Mais je crois que nous disposons ici d'une pierre de touche — l'intervention de Constantin l'Arménien. L'affabulation des incidents où intervient ce personnage

est souvent ahurissante, mais le fond me paraît exceptionnellement solide. Je reviendrai ci-après sur son dossier (v. ci-dessous, p. 483) ; pour le moment, je me bornerai à chercher derrière l'emphase de Génésios quels sont au juste les actes héroïques qu'il prête à Constantin : celui-ci, quand Bardas assaillit Théoctiste, aurait fermé la porte du Triclinos ; puis, quand l'homme mandé par l'Empereur se présenta, il le laissa passer. On admettra facilement que le drongaire de la veille se soit comporté ainsi dans les deux cas. Cette interprétation s'impose encore davantage quand on songe aux tentatives embarrassées faites pour expliquer que Constantin laissa passer l'assassin.

Bref, pour ces quelques lignes, c'est la tradition Génésios - THc qu'il faut préférer. La version du Logothète représente une autre tradition, qui noircissait Bardas. A part cette conclusion et le début, les récits du meurtre de Théoctiste chez THc et le Logothète se complètent simplement : la fuite vers l'hippodrome et les *ἀσηκρητεῖα*, par exemple, rentrent parfaitement dans le cadre du Logothète.

Au meurtre de Théoctiste se rattache le problème de la tonsure de Théodora. Bury s'en est occupé (1), ou, plus précisément, de la question de son éloignement du palais, qui eut lieu après le meurtre de Théoctiste, le 20 novembre 855. La difficulté consiste en ce que la *Vita Ignatii* et surtout le libelle de Théognoste (2) mettent ces événements en relation directe avec la chute du patriarche Ignace, destitué le 23 octobre 858. Il refusa, nous disent ces deux sources, de tonsurer l'Impératrice déchue et ses filles (refus motivé, dans la *V.I.*, pas l'engagement qu'il avait pris vis-à-vis de la souveraine lors de sa consécration ; chez Théognoste, par le fait que les femmes n'étaient pas consentantes). Non content de cela, il refusa la communion à Bardas à cause des bruits qui couraient sur une liaison entre lui et sa bru. Ces deux conflits avec le pouvoir auraient provoqué sa destitution.

(1) *History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, London, Macmillan, 1912, Appendix VII, The fall of Theodora (*chronology*), 469-71.

(2) *Vita Ignatii*, 504-505 A ; Libelle de Théognoste, MANSI, *Ampl. coll.*, XVI, 296 CD ; Anastase le Bibliothécaire, *ibid.*, 3.

Bury a voulu préciser, à l'aide des redoutables chiffres fournis par nos sources, jusqu'au mois où Théodora dut quitter le palais. Ceci me paraît hasardeux, mais, par contre, je me rallie volontiers à sa conclusion générale : « Both the chronological statement of George the Monk ... and the evidence of the Patriarch are perfectly correct. The fall of Theodora from power is a distinct event, chronologically divided by an interval, from her expulsion from the Palace ». J'ajouterais que la tonsure fut chronologiquement distincte de l'expulsion.

Le sort de Théodora après la mort de son ministre nous est raconté par le Logothète dans ses différentes recensions et par THc (Génésios est ici très bref). Les deux récits ont peu de chose en commun.

1) THc : Théodora, les cheveux déliés, maudit Bardas et Michel. (Dû à l'historiographe de Constantin Porphyrogènète ou d'origine plus ancienne, ce passage annonce et justifie la mort violente qui va les frapper l'un et l'autre :) « Puissé-je voir, Seigneur, puissé-je voir cet homme vengé » ! Irrités par ses malédictions incessantes, ils décident de l'expulser du palais. Elle se rendait compte de ce qui se tramait, mais ne voulait rien faire par crainte de voir couler le sang.

Avant d'être chassée, elle convoque le Sénat pour qu'il soit témoin qu'elle laisse le trésor bien garni. Cet incident (historique ou non) sert de prétexte à une longue parenthèse sur les prodigalités de Michel, qui se clôt par ces mots : « Mais j'anticipe. A l'époque dont il est question, Théodora fréquentait les Blachernes, d'une part pour faire ses dévotions, d'autre part pour le bain ». C'est là que Pétronas, envoyé par Michel et Bardas, l'appréhenda. Ils la firent tonsurer avec ses filles et l'enfermèrent au palais *τὰ Καριανοῦ*. Peu après, elle mourut. Sa dépouille fut transférée par Basile au monastère *τῶν Γαστρίων*, où il envoya aussi ses filles pour y vivre saintement.

2) Le Logothète : informée du meurtre, Théodora exhale sa colère contre Michel et les autres coupables. (Log B, suivi par Ps.-S., place ici l'extrait dérivé de la tradition de Génésios concernant Mélissène et qui se trouve chez Génésios entre l'emprisonnement de Théoctiste et sa mort). L'Empereur, d'abord, mit tout en œuvre pour apaiser sa mère, mais elle

refusait toute réconciliation. Il changea donc d'avis et chercha par tous les moyens à la vexer avec autant d'application qu'il en avait mis auparavant à l'amadouer. C'est ainsi qu'il expulsa du palais ses filles, Thécla, Anastasia et Anna, et les envoya à Karianou ; quant à Pulchérie, comme elle était la préférée de sa mère, il l'envoya au monastère *τῶν Γαστρίων*. Peu après, il les réunit toutes à *τῶν Γαστρίων*, les tonsura et les revêtit de l'habit monastique.

Le sénat le proclame seul Empereur et Bardas est promu magistre et domestique des scholes.

Sa mère, cependant, restait irréconciliable à cause de tout ce qu'il lui avait fait et du meurtre injuste de Théoctiste, et une haine implacable les séparait. Et elle aussi il l'expulsa du palais et l'envoya à *τῶν Γαστρίων*. Elle en fit une dépression nerveuse et, ne sachant plus ce qu'elle faisait, elle machina une chose indigne d'elle : un complot contre Bardas. Elle eut, entre autres, comme complice le protostrator de l'Empereur. Ils devaient tuer Bardas comme il rentrait de son *προάστειον* de Kosmidion. Mais le projet fut connu avant d'être mis à exécution et ses auteurs furent pris et eurent la tête tranchée dans l'hippodrome. Michel promut Basile à la place du protostrator défunt, et Bardas, son oncle, devint curopalate.

Tout cela est assez confus. Sérions les problèmes et commençons par les différentes résidences assignées aux femmes expulsées du palais. Exceptionnellement, il me semble qu'ici la *Vita Theodorae* peut nous aider. L'Impératrice, d'après ce texte, *εἰς ἔχθραν ἐλθοῦσα μετὰ Βάρδα τοῦ ... ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῆς διὰ τὴν ἄδικον σφαγὴν τοῦ προμνημονευθέντος ... Θεοκτίστου* (1) *τοῦ λογοθέτου, ἄκουσα καὶ μὴ βουλομένη κατῆλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ παλατίου ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῶν Γαστρίων μετὰ τῶν τεσσάρων θυγατέρων αὐτῆς, Πουλχερίας, Θέκλας, Ἀναστασίας καὶ Ἄννης. καὶ τὰς μὲν τρεῖς θυγατέρας αὐτῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς Μιχαὴλ ἀπέκειρεν ... καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν Καριανοῦ μονῇ προσέταξεν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ μητέρα αὐτοῦ, τὴν εὐσεβεστάτην Ἄνασσαν Θεοδώραν μετὰ Πουλχερίας τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ προειρημένῃ τῶν Γαστρίων μονῇ εἶναι*

(1) Cf. : *δι' ἃ ἐλύπει αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν ἄδικον σφαγὴν Θεοκτίστου, ἔχθρα ὑπῆρχεν ἀναμεταξὺ αὐτῶν ἄσπονδος* ... Gc Bonn, 823.

παρεκελεύσατο. En fait, ce texte est très proche de Gc Bonn, mais la succession des épisodes est changée. D'après ce dernier, Michel envoie trois de ses sœurs dans un monastère et la quatrième dans un autre. L'explication : « parce que celle-ci était la préférée de sa mère », n'explique rien, puisque toutes étaient éloignées d'elle. Puis les quatre sœurs sont réunies. Enfin, on envoie Théodora les rejoindre. Dans la *Vita Theodorae*, au lieu de ceci, nous avons un premier temps : l'éloignement en bloc des cinq femmes ; puis, en un deuxième temps, on leur fait à chacune un sort — provisoire ou définitif. Trois sont tonsurées et envoyées à Karianou ; Théodora et Pulchérie sont laissées à Gastrion, provisoirement sans être tonsurées (1).

Les deux textes restent très voisins : la différence dans l'ordre des événements n'est guère qu'une modification de celui des phrases. J'ai relevé (p. 471, n. (1)) un cas frappant de parallélisme verbal. Sans doute remontent-ils à une même source (2).

Notons tout de suite qu'on a l'impression d'un doublet chez Gc Bonn : « L'Empereur faisait tout pour retrouver la faveur de sa mère, mais elle était inconsolable et ne se départait pas de son ressentiment ... c'est pourquoi l'Empereur ... chassa ses sœurs du palais ... Et comme sa mère était irréconciliable à cause de tout ce qu'il lui avait fait et du meurtre injuste de Théoctiste, une haine implacable naquit entre eux et il l'expulsa du palais ... ».

(1) THc dit qu'elles furent tonsurées et reléguées dans le palais de Karianou où Théodora mourut peu après — ce qui rejoint la *Vita* : morte avant Michel (18, 19) ; μέσην ἄγουσα ἡλικίαν (16, 14) — et que son corps fut transféré par Basile au monastère τὰ Γαστρίων où, pourtant, la *Vita* la fait mourir.

(2) Cependant, le passage figure chez Théodose de Mélitène et chez Leo Gr., qui n'appartiennent pas à la branche de Log A qui a adopté le récit de la *V. TH.* sur la restauration des images. Mais les deux emprunts ont très vraisemblablement été faits séparément : en effet, celui qui concerne la restauration des images se trouve déjà dans le Georges le Moine du Coislin 310 dont il constitue la fin. Un emprunt fait à la Vie pour une période postérieure a été fait plus tard, indépendamment. Voir p. 456, n 1, n° 1.

La séparation des sœurs, trois à Karianou, la quatrième, Pulchérie, à Gastrion, se comprend mieux dans le récit de la *V. TH.* : on la laisse à Gastrion auprès de sa mère *parce qu'elle était sa préférée.* Cette précision, absente de la *V. TH.*, mais retenue par le Logothète dans un récit où elle n'a plus de sens, devait figurer dans la source (1).

Et c'est à Gastrion que, d'après le Logothète, Théodora tenta de monter un coup de force contre Bardas. Le fait que cette erreur d'un personnage aussi vénéré soit ailleurs passée sous silence n'a rien d'étonnant. En revanche, la façon dont le Logothète tente de l'excuser me paraît être une confirmation sérieuse de la véracité de son récit. C'est, je pense, après la découverte de ce complot, quand les autres conspirateurs eurent la tête tranchée, que Théodora fut tonsurée.

Récapitulons les faits : après le meurtre de Théoctiste, elle resta au palais pendant un certain temps, dont il est absolument impossible d'évaluer la durée. Puis elle fut envoyée avec ses filles au monastère de Gastrion. THc affirme que Petronas fut chargé de l'arrêter et qu'il le fit aux Blachernes. (Ce détail entre dans l'Histoire, parce que Pétronas est un des « thèmes » de THc). Thécla, Anastasia et Anna furent tonsurées et transférées à Karianou. Pulchérie resta auprès de sa mère. Celle-ci conspira contre Bardas, le complot fut découvert et ses complices furent exécutés. C'est ici que je propose de placer la tonsure de l'ex-Impératrice, dont parlent la *V. I.* et le Libelle de Théognoste, mais qui n'est pas explicitement mentionnée dans les passages des chroniqueurs que nous avons vus, et semble même démentie par la silence de la *V. TH.* Il serait assez naturel que Théodora ait été, par la même occasion, envoyée ailleurs ; le transfert de sa dépouille à Gastrion par Basile pourrait alors être historique. La liste du *De Cerimoniis* place à Gastrion les tombeaux de Théodora et de trois de ses filles, Thécla, Anastasie et Pulchérie. Celui d'Anna aurait été au monastère *τῆς Κυρᾶς Εὐφροσύνης* (2).

(1) Une rédaction antérieure, sans doute, de la *Vita Theodorae.*

(2) *De Cer.*, Bonn, 647, 18 ; 647, 15 ; Ph. GRIERSON, *The tombs and obits of the Byz. emperors*, *DOP*, 16, 1962, 27 ; R. JANIN, *La*

La prise d'habit de l'Impératrice a dû être, comme le disait Bury, séparée du meurtre de Théoctiste par un délai assez considérable. Et pour ma part, à l'encontre de Bury, j'admettrais également un laps de temps relativement long entre la prise d'habit et la chute d'Ignace. Théognoste n'aurait pas hésité à évoquer, fût-ce deux ou trois ans plus tard, cet affrontement entre Ignace et Bardas. Ce dernier, de son côté, s'il s'est incliné, n'a rien oublié, et quand Ignace lui a publiquement refusé la communion, la coupe a débordé. D'ailleurs on ne peut guère douter que le conflit entre le patriarche et le pouvoir séculier ait connu d'autres incidents. Théognoste et l'auteur de la *Vita Ignatii* ont choisi les deux plus spectaculaires — qui avaient aussi l'avantage d'être indiscutablement édifiants (1).

géogr. eccl. de l'emp. byz. I. *Le siège de CP et le patr. oec.* III. *Les égl. et les mon.*, Paris, Inst. français d'Ét. byz., 1953, 72 (*τῶν Γαστρίων*) ; 137 (*τῆς Εὐφροσύνης*).

D'après la Vie de Théophile de THc, Thécla serait morte aux Blachernes (147, 21-148, 3).

(1) La *Vita Ignatii* annexe au récit de la tonsure de Théodora des éléments provenant d'un autre contexte. Bardas dit à Michel : « Pourquoi, Sire, cèdes-tu le pouvoir à ta mère et à tes sœurs ? Es-tu encore un enfant ? N'es-tu pas adulte ? Voyons, tu as même pris femme, tu es un homme fait ». Ceci, dans la source originelle, préparait certainement le meurtre de Théoctiste, se plaçait à un moment où Théodora détenait encore le pouvoir et où le mariage de Michel était tout récent. Autant, en effet, il est admissible que Théognoste ait rappelé la résistance d'Ignace à la tyrannie de Bardas, même si les faits remontaient à deux ou trois ans, autant l'argument « Maintenant tu es marié, tu es un homme » doit faire allusion à un fait récent.

Plusieurs sources parlent de l'accession de Michel à l'âge d'homme : THc 167, 12 : *ἀνθορμᾶν κατὰ τῶν Ἰσμαηλιτῶν καὶ ἀντεπεξιέναι καὶ Μιχαὴλ ὁ βασιλεὺς (ἄρτι γὰρ τὴν παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν παραμείψας πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἠπείγετο) ἐβούλετο* ... Malheureusement il décide, sous l'impulsion de Bardas, de commencer par les compatriotes [sc. Théoctiste]. *Ibid.*, 176, 6.

II. — La chute d'Ignace (1)

Hirsch pensait que la source de certains passages des chroniqueurs était la *Vita Ignatii*, Dvornik et G. Da Costa Louillet l'ont suivi. Ka dan, par contre, parle de sources communes, et ceci me paraît juste (2). En ce qui concerne la chute d'Ignace, le témoignage des chroniqueurs, pour le petit nombre de faits qu'ils rapportent, vaudrait alors celui de la *V. I.*, et permettrait de critiquer celle-ci. C'est ainsi que, à propos d'un détail assez important, je crois reconnaître la bonne tradition, non dans la *Vita*, mais chez THc et le Pseudo-Syméon. La rectification concerne l'ordre chronologique de certains événements. Dvornik a d'ailleurs été gêné par la place que la *V. I.* assigne à certains épisodes, mais il n'a pas songé à s'appuyer sur THc pour rectifier leur ordre. Pourtant l'enchaînement des faits que nous propose celui-ci rend plus compréhensible le déroulement de l'affaire ignatienne. S'il est exact, il jette en outre quelque lumière sur les procédés de l'hagiographe.

Les chroniqueurs alignent ce qu'ils trouvent dans différentes sources, condamnés par la nature même de leur œuvre à faire une place à des événements tellement variés que leur très faible don de synthèse n'arrive pas à créer un tout cohérent. Le contraste est vif avec la *Vita Ignatii*, organisée autour d'un thème suffisamment circonscrit pour que l'auteur le domine, dans une certaine mesure. Ce contraste risque d'estomper le fait que l'hagiographe travaillait aussi à partir

(1) Gc Bonn 826, 3 ; Gc Istrin 10, 14-32 ; Ps.-Sym., 667, 6-668, 14 ; 671, 8-19 ; Gén., 99, 5-102, 9 ; THc 4-196, 5 ; *Vita Ignatii*.

(2) F. Hirsch, *Byzantinische Studien*, Leipzig, 1876, index s.n. Nicetas der Paphlagonier ; F. Dvornik, *Le schisme de Photius, histoire et légende*, Paris, éditions du Cerf, 1950, 78 ; G. da Costa Louillet, *Saints de Constantinople aux VIIIe, IXe et Xe siècles*, *Byzantion* XXIV, 1954 ; A. Каждан, Хроника Симеона Логофета, Viz. Vrem., XV, 1959, 134, toutefois il ne s'agit pas d'un pamphlet antiphotien unique, rédigé à une date précise, quelle qu'elle soit, mais d'une série de pamphlets, s'enrichissant et se modifiant sans cesse, contemporains des événements qui les suscitaient.

de documents écrits, parfois de documents qui avaient connu plusieurs éditions et une grande diffusion.

C'est Jenkins, il me semble, qui, le premier, a détruit, en se servant d'arguments précis, la conception de la *V. I.*, comme œuvre tout d'une pièce : il a démontré que de longs commentaires de Nicétas David sur la tétragamie y ont été incorporés (1). Dvornik, d'ailleurs, avait reconnu, ici aussi, une anomalie qu'il n'a pas tenté d'expliquer « Un long passage... est de nature à surprendre un peu à cet endroit du récit » (2).

Mais il n'y a pas que cela : toute l'œuvre trahit des raccords et présente des traces d'éléments d'origines différentes. En fait, elle est basée avant tout sur les pamphlets de la propagande ignatienne. Certains de ces derniers, ou plutôt un florilège qui donnait de l'affaire un résumé (3) furent utilisés par les chroniqueurs. Toutefois, l'ordre différent de certains épisodes dans la *V. I.* et chez les chroniqueurs, n'est pas dû à une interversion des sources, à un « accident de fichier », mais correspond à des préoccupations d'ordre apologétique.

La *Vita Ignatii*, le Logothète, le groupe Génésios-THc et enfin Ps.-Syméon racontent tous la chute du patriarche Ignace. Les chroniqueurs n'apportent que peu d'éléments qui ne se trouvent dans la vaste compilation de l'hagiographe (4). Mais il faut dès l'abord noter la très grande

(1) *A note on Nicetas David Paphlago and the* Vita Ignatii, *DOP*, 19, 1965, 241-7.

(2) Dvornik, *Schisme*, 78.

(3) Il existait des résumés qui racontaient l'affaire d'un point de vue différent, p.e. le résumé du Logothète, ou celui qui expose les événements par rapport à Grégoire Asbestas (*V. I.*, 512B-513A ; Ps.-S. 671. Voir ci-dessous, p. 477).

(4) Vrais ou légendaires, ils se ramènent aux 6 faits suivants : 1. Candidature des fils de Léon V au trône patriarcal (Gén., 99, 20) ; 2. intervention de Constantin l'Arménien (THc, 194, 9 ; Gén., 101, 19 ; Gc Istrin 10, 26 ; Ps.-S. 668) ; 3. Michel convoque séparément les métropolites mécontents et leur promet à chacun le patriarcat, etc. (THc 195) ; circonstances de la condamnation de Grégoire Asbestas (Ps.-S. 671) ; 5. Un synode réuni au patriarcat dépose ceux qui, sous l'influence d'Asbestas, médisent d'Ignace (*ibid.*) ; 6. Photius arrive à reprendre l'engagement qu'il avait signé et déchire le papier avec ces mots: « Ni vous, ni Ignace je ne vous tiens pour des évêques » (*ibid.*).

différence de formulation qui sépare la *V. I.* de toutes les autres rédactions. Ceci pourrait paraître dénué de signification, n'était la particularité de Ps.-Syméon, déjà notée, d'être un copiste assez dénué d'originalité pour qu'on puisse être persuadé qu'il reproduit toujours un autre texte, même quand celui-ci ne nous est pas connu par ailleurs. Ce manuscrit résume par deux fois la chute d'Ignace dans des passages d'une certaine longueur, indépendants l'un de l'autre et même séparés par un intervalle de deux pages (667-8 et 671). C'est le premier (seul analysé dans le tableau synoptique, en face p. 479) qui correspond au récit des autres chroniqueurs. Il commence en reprenant presque intégralement et mot à mot le paragraphe consacré à cet épisode par Log B. Quand Log B s'arrête, Ps.-Syméon continue en fournissant des renseignements qu'il partage avec la *V.I.*, mais qu'il est seul à donner parmi les chroniqueurs ; les tournures, cependant, et les phrases ne sont pas celles de la *V.I.*

Le second passage raconte l'affaire d'un autre point de vue (toujours ignatien, bien entendu) ; il correspond pour l'essentiel à un passage particulier de la *V.I.* ; Photius, ayant appris par certains devins que, grâce à d'habiles manœuvres, il va monter sur le trône patriarcal, s'abouche avec un certain Grégoire, ancien évêque de Syracuse, déposé par Méthode. Il se lie avec lui et avec d'autres qui étaient déposés également, dont Eulampe d'Apamée et Pierre de Sylée [! de Sardes, ὁ *Δείλαιος*]. Tout ce monde se réunissait dans la maison de Photius pour élaborer des projets contre Ignace. *Un synode réuni au patriarcat les déposa tous et les excommunia* (1). Ce Photius fut créé patriarche par le César Bardas, oncle de l'Empereur. Quelques jours plus tard, il redemanda le document signé de sa main qu'il avait donné aux métropolites quand ils l'avaient ordonné. *On apporte donc le document, en demandant l'assurance qu'il ne sera pas déchiré. Mais les gens de Photius l'arrachent à celui qui le tenait, et Photius le prend et le déchire en petits morceaux en disant : Ni vous ni Ignace, je ne vous tiens pour évêques.* Ceci est condensé au point d'être à peine compréhensible ; la *V. I.*

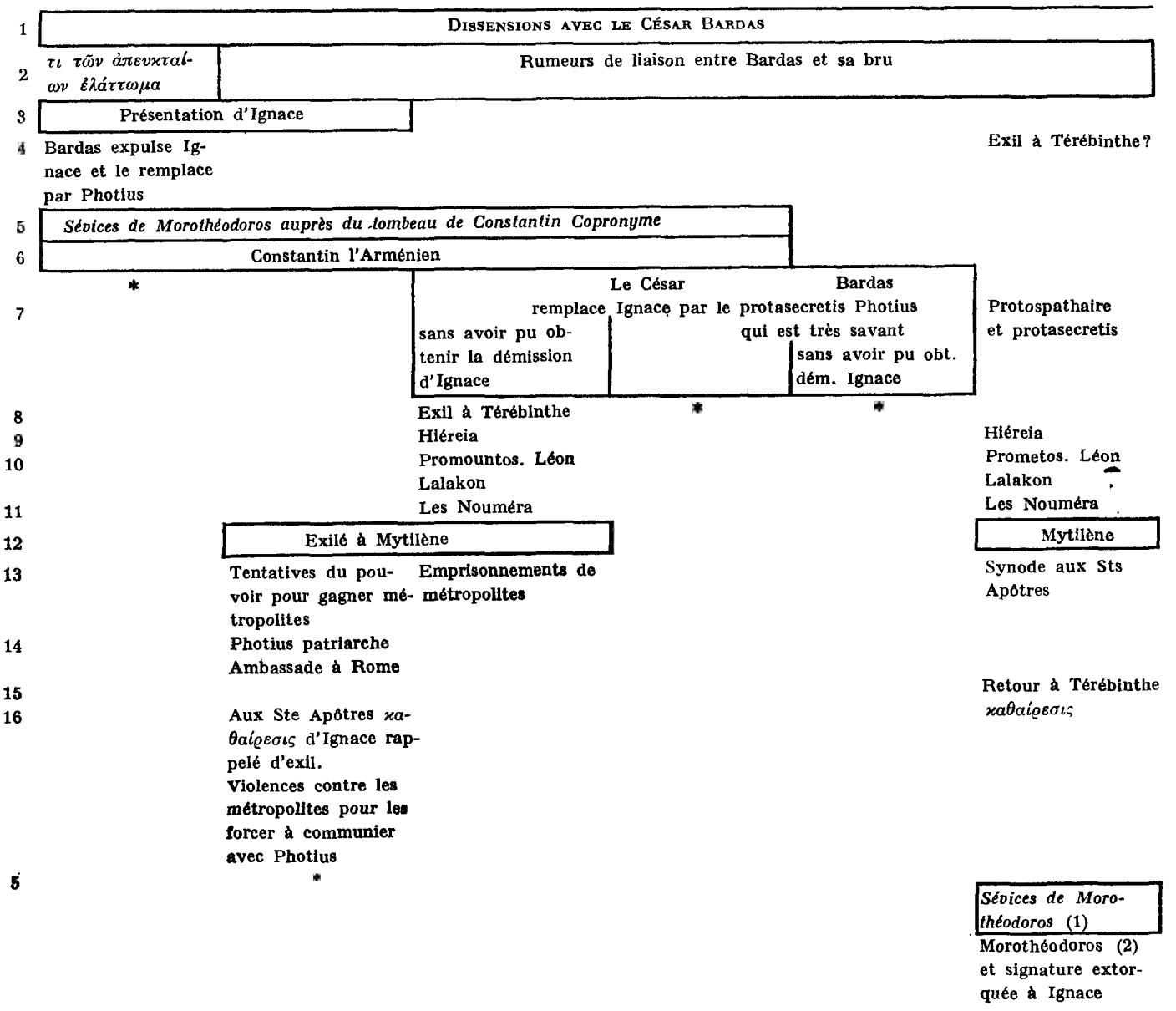
(1) Les phrases en italique n'ont pas de pendant dans la *V. I.*

donne un récit un peu plus clair. L'affaire du document nous est connue par une autre source qui permet de voir vraiment de quoi il s'agit : Métrophane de Smyrne écrit que lui et certains autres évêques, avant d'accepter l'accession de Photius au trône patriarcal, avaient exigé qu'il s'engage par écrit à accorder à Ignace les honneurs patriarcaux (MANSI, XVI, 416, 6 ; DVORNIK, *op. cit.*, 84, 97, sqq.). Mais ce qui nous intéresse ici c'est : 1) le fait même que ce passage soit incompréhensible chez Ps.-Syméon, et qu'il le soit parce qu'il repose sur un document écrit qui a été trop condensé ; 2) le fait qu'il répète ce qu'il a dit ailleurs, que Bardas a créé ce Photius patriarche, ce qui confirme qu'il s'agit bien d'un récit indépendant ; 3) le choix très spécial d'événements qui constituent ce récit, fondamentalement le même chez Ps.-S. et dans la *V. I.* ; 4) et enfin le fait que Ps.-Syméon ajoute des données qui ne se trouvent pas dans la *Vita*, qui, par conséquent, n'en est pas la source.

Une partie de la propagande ignatienne a cherché à faire croire que Photius était déjà excommunié quand il fut élu patriarche (Métrophane de Smyrne : *ὅτι λαϊκὸς ὤν, ἀποκήρυκτος ὑπῆρχεν κτλ.* MANSI, XVI, 416 A ; Théognoste, *ibid.*, 300 A). Ps.-Syméon accueille cette accusation ; la *Vita Ignatii*, non.

Enfin, le récit que nous venons de voir est singulièrement mal intégré dans la *V. I.* Comme chez Ps.-Syméon, il est associé à un passage consacré à l'indignité de Photius. C'est tout simplement un des pamphlets qui circulèrent contre le patriarche : il nous a été conservé dans deux recensions légèrement différentes, par la *V. I.*, la grande source ignatienne, et par Ps.-Syméon, le grand spécialiste de l'anti-photianisme.

Les chapitres sur Gryllos et l'« Église » de Michel présentent un cas analogue : le récit de THc et de Ps.-Syméon remonte certainement à la même source que celui de la *V. I.*, mais ne saurait dériver directement de celle-ci. Il y a des éléments d'origine commune dans la *V. I.* et le Ps.-Syméon pour l'affaire Théodore Santabarénos. On pourrait invoquer nombre d'autres petits faits, mais je crois que ce serait superflu, et que nous pouvons admettre que ce sont des sources communes qui sont l'origine des passages parallèles des chroniqueurs et



La chute d'Ignace dans différentes versions

(1) D. Serruys écrit, au sujet de ce passage, que le récit du *Paris.* 1712 (Ps.-S.) « représente la tradition du *Paris.* 854 écourtée et que celle-ci, quoique constituant une traditiou parallèle à celle des autres textes, en est toutefois parfaitement indépendante » (*Recherches sur l'Épitomé*, *BZ*, 16, 1907, 14). Ceci appelle une légère rectification.

Le récit de la chute d'Ignace dans le *Parisinus* 854 est composé, à part une interpolation de deux lignes sur le couronnement de Basile, des mêmes éléments que celui du *Paris.* 1712 et des traditions analysées comparativement ci-dessus. Toutefois, dans le 854, ils sont combinés dans un ordre particulier : 7, 1, 2, 5, 6, ce qui confirme ce que dit Serruys de l'indépendance de cette tradition. Par contre, le *Parisinus* 1712 ne paraît pas en être une version écourtée : 1) le *Parisinus* 1712 conserve le même ordre que le Logothète B (= Log A plus une interpolation de Génésios) ; 2) le 1712 donne du n° 2 la version du Log (A et B), faisant état de rumeurs concernant Bardas et sa bru, alors que le 854 parle, sans préciser, de *τινα σφάλματα*, ce qui se rapproche plutôt de Génésios (*τι τῶν ἀπευκταίων ἐλάττωμα*). Les lignes 10-13 de l'extrait du 854 correspondent à la tradition du Logothète, mais de nouveau le *Paris.* 1712 est beaucoup plus proche de celui-ci. *Parisinus* 854 : *τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξώσθη καὶ βασάνοις ἀνηκέστοις ὑπεβλήθη καὶ τὴν παραίτησιν τῆς πατριαρχίας ἐξεβιάζετο ποιῆσαι* ; Gc Bonn : *ὡς ἄνομον καὶ φθορέα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξέωσε, καὶ βασάνοις ἀπείροις καὶ ἀνημέροις ὑπέβαλεν ὡς ποιῆσαι παραίτησιν* ; Ps.-S. : = Gc Bonn jusqu'à : *ἐξέωσε, καὶ παραιτήσασθαι ἀναγκάζων βασάνοις ἀπείροις ὑπέβαλεν.* On voit que Ps.-S. n'est pas une version écourtée de 854, qui s'éloigne déjà considérablement du texte représenté par Gc Bonn, Théodose de Mélitène, Léon le Grammairien et transmis sans grande divergences au Log B de *Vindob. hist.*, 40 et *Vaticanus* 153, alors que ce texte apparaît presque sans altération dans Ps.-S. = *Paris.* 1712.

de la *V. I.*, et non ceux-là qui ont puisé directement dans celle-ci.

Après cette digression, revenons en à la chute d'Ignace et au problème soulevé par les variantes dans l'ordre chronologique des épisodes qui ont accompagné cette chute. Un tableau schématique permettra de saisir d'un coup d'œil ces différences, et en même temps de se faire une idée du développement donné à cet événement par chacune des sources étudiées.

La différence dont il s'agit ici concerne les sévices infligés à Ignace par Morotheodoros et ses complices près du tombeau de Constantin Copronyme (1). D'après THc, Ps.-Syméon et Log B, ce fut avant l'élection de Photius ; d'après la *V. I.*, et Génésios, au contraire, celle-ci les précéda.

La succession chronologique de ces événements semble, à première vue, d'un intérêt bien secondaire. Prenons garde, cependant, que dans le récit de la *V. I.*, ces sévices aboutissent à un résultat : Ignace signe sa démission. Peu importe ce que rapporte la *Vita* que sa main fut tenue et guidée, que même ainsi ce n'est pas une signature qu'on lui extorqua, mais une croix au bas d'un feuillet blanc que Photius se chargea de remplir. Tout ceci n'a d'autre but que d'invalider la signature. Mais le fait essentiel, c'est que l'hagiographe reconnaît que le patriarche a signé sa démission. Pourtant, quel curieux moment pour avoir voulu l'extorquer ! Ignace vient d'être déposé dans toutes les formes et devant une imposante assemblée par un concile auquel participaient les légats du Pape. Comment pouvait-on, sans déconsidérer le concile et les légats, demander sa démission à celui qu'on venait de déposer ? D'autre part, agir ainsi c'était soit dire qu'il n'y avait pas eu de démission antérieure, soit reconnaître qu'elle était invalide et que Photius était monté sur le trône partriarcal alors qu'un autre l'occupait.

Chez THc et Log B (reproduit par Ps.-S. : Log A ne les relate pas), par contre, les sévices du Morothéodoros précèdent l'élection de Photius. A vrai dire, il n'y est pas précisé qu'ils eurent comme résultat la démission d'Ignace, mais

(1) Dvornik, *op. cit.*, 138-9, s'efforce d'expliquer cet épisode à la place qu'il a dans la *V. I.*

l'aveu de la *Vita Ignatii* suffit. Cette démission était extrêmement gênante pour les Ignatiens. Ils pouvaient y parer de deux façons : soit en affirmant qu'elle avait été extorquée par la violence, c'est ainsi que s'y prend la *V. I.*, et en la postdatant ; soit en la passant sous silence ou en la niant. Mais Ignace la donna effectivement, et cela avant l'élection de Photius : c'est, en effet, implicitement attesté par Métrophane de Smyrne qui raconte que le synode, ne voulant pas de Photius, avait proposé ses candidats (1). Donc le trône était bien vacant. Quant à Ignace, il avait fait ce qu'on lui demandait et fut donc traité d'abord avec égards, conservant les honneurs patriarcaux. Puis une résistance ignatienne se constitua, encouragée ou non par le patriarche honoraire, et perturba l'ordre public. Le pouvoir changea d'attitude et finalement déposa celui dont se réclamaient les fauteurs de troubles. Il y eut donc démission suivie de la déposition de 858, puis de celle de 861 devant les légats du Pape. Dvornik a bien montré que cette seconde déposition paraissait superflue aux Byzantins (2), à plus forte raison une nouvelle démission.

Une autre raison de croire que l'ordre originel des chapitres de la *V. I.*, a été perturbé se trouve dans le texte même. La Vie raconte qu'après qu'Ignace eut été chassé du patriarcat, deux délégations successives de notables ecclésiastiques et laïques se rendirent auprès du patriarche exilé pour demander sa démission, puis poursuit : *Ἐπειδὴ οὖν οὐκ εἶχον εὐλόγως παρανομεῖν, οὐδεμιᾶς αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνευθύνου προφάσεως ἐνδιδομένης, γυμνῇ λοιπὸν τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ ἀναιδεῖ προσώπῳ, κατὰ τὸ ᾄδόμενον, πρὸς πᾶσαν ἐχώρουν ἀδικίαν καὶ παρανομίαν* (505, 46). Ce qui suit ne correspond pas à ce préambule, c'est une longue digression où Jenkins (3) a reconnu les commentaires de Nicétas David sur la Tétragamie (505, 50-508 D). Elle se termine en annonçant que l'auteur va revenir à Ignace : *Ἴδωμεν δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἱερὸν Ἰγνάτιον παρηκολουθηκότα, καὶ ὅσα κατὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ κεκρυμμένης ἀληθείας*

(1) Mansi, XVI, 418B ; Dvornik, *op. cit.*, 83, 86.
(2) *Op. cit.*, 122, 124, 125-7.
(3) *A Note on Nicetas David Paphlage and the Vita Ignatii*, in *DOP*, 19, 1965, 241-7.

καὶ ἀρετῆς ὁ τῶν ἁγίων ἐχθρὸς καὶ ἐπίβουλος διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετουμένων αὐτοῦ τῇ κακίᾳ κατεπράξατο. En fait, ce qui suit, c'est le lieu-commun que l'auteur ne saurait tout raconter (1), mais qu'il essayera de ne pas omettre l'essentiel, et puis l'élection de Photius, précédée des mots : *Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν οἱ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τότε πολλὰ πειράσαντες, τὸ πρὸς παρανομίαν ἐνδόσιμον οὐχ οἷοί τε ἐγεγόνεισαν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰγνατίου λαβεῖν, γενναίαις ἐνστάσεσι παραιτήσασθαι μὴ καταδεξαμένου, παρ' ἑαυτῶν ἔλαβον τοῦτο λοιπόν* (509, 4), phrase qui est presque une répétition de celle que nous avons vue déjà (505, 46). Bref, le passage donne des signes manifestes de bouleversements. Les commentaires de Nicétas David ont été ajoutés, mais ce que fit l'ennemi contre la vérité et la vertu que recelait en lui Ignace, nous ne l'apprenons pas : ceci a disparu.

Nous constatons donc : 1) que c'est avant l'élection de Photius que la logique des événements demande de placer les violences qui amenèrent Ignace à donner sa démission ; 2) que le texte de la *V. I.* présente des signes d'altération ; 3) que chez THc et Log B (suivi par Ps.-S.), c'est cet ordre qui est attesté.

Celui de la *V. I.* doit d'autant moins être retenu que les motifs du changement sautent aux yeux. La propagande du parti ignatien avait deux raisons de placer la démission de son chef le plus tard possible et de le montrer résistant avec une constance surhumaine à ceux qui voulaient la lui arracher, mais ne le purent qu'au terme de longs sévices. D'une part, on démontrait ainsi que Photius avait occupé le trône patriarcal avant qu'il ne soit vacant.

Mais, d'autre part, il n'importait pas moins de prouver qu'Ignace n'avait pas démissionné. S'il l'avait fait, il ne pouvait plus, canoniquement, remonter sur le trône patriarcal. Voilà pourquoi les sévices de Morothéodoros et de ses acolytes prennent une telle importance. Voilà pourquoi une seconde mouture de ce récit affirme que le bourreau a tenu la main

(1) Chez THc, l'affaire de Morothéodoros est précédée aussi de l'avertissement qu'il ne racontera pas tout : *καὶ ἵνα τὸν λιμὸν καὶ τὴν δίψαν παρῶ κτλ. ... ἓν τοῦτο μόνον ἐγὼ εἰπὼν ἐπὶ τὰ συνεχῆ βαδιοῦμαι τῆς ἱστορίας.*

de sa victime pour la forcer à écrire (*V. I.*, 521 C). Il s'agit bien d'un doublet : en effet, ce renseignement est séparé du récit qu'il devrait logiquement clôturer par un résumé général des souffrances d'Ignace, qui gêne ainsi placé : *Μετὰ γοῦν τὰς κολάσεις ... μετὰ τὰς ἀπειλάς, μετὰ τὰς ἀλύσεις ... μετὰ τὸ σταυρωδῶς ἐπὶ πρόσωπον κατὰ τῶν μαρμάρων ἐφαπλῶσαι ... μετὰ τὸ ἐπιβιβάσαι τῇ λάρνακι κτλ* (1). Mais, même ainsi, il ne convenait pas que le confesseur cède immédiatement à la violence.

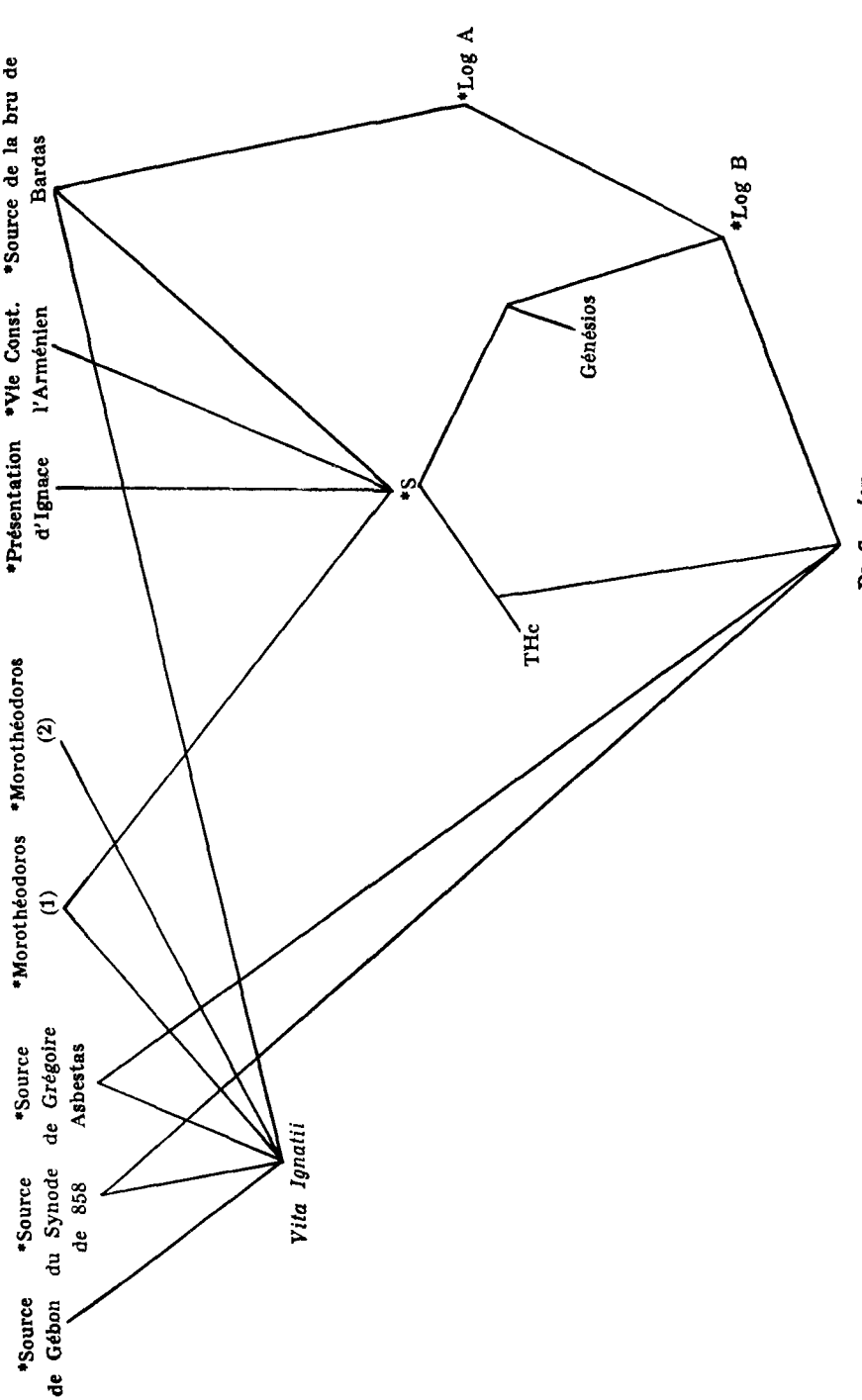
Il y avait peut-être une troisième raison pour retarder la démission le plus possible. De toute évidence, Ignace a eu de sérieux ennuis avec le pouvoir. La *V. I.* reconnaît qu'il a été accusé de *καθοσίωσις* (505 A), mais, à l'en croire, ce n'aurait été qu'un prétexte. Elle répète inlassablement, en relatant les détentions, les transferts, les mauvais traitements, que le but en était d'obtenir cette démission.

Dvornik a beaucoup insisté sur les remous politiques suscités par les Ignatiens. Et peut-être l'importance des désordres dépassait-elle encore le tableau un peu « parlementaire » qu'il esquisse (2). Dès avant sa déposition, le patriarche est accusé par Bardas d'avoir partie liée avec Gébon, un moine qui prétendait à la couronne en se faisant passer pour un fils de Théodora. Les renseignements fournis sur cette affaire sont, hélas, bien maigres. Gébon était moine. Ceci n'autorise nullement à conclure que ses ambitions bénéficiaient du soutien d'une des factions de l'Église. L'accusation portée contre Ignace d'être de mèche avec lui n'a aucune valeur objective. Et quant à la révolte elle-même, la *V. I.*, notre unique source, dit seulement que Gébon venait de Dyrrachium et que *οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦ δήμου* se ralliaient à lui dans l'attente de le voir régner.

De nouveau en 858 éclatent des incidents sanglants dont, cette fois-ci, la capitale fut le théâtre (Dvornik, 97-104).

(1) A noter que le Libelle de Théognoste mentionne une signature extorquée en tenant la main du « signataire », mais c'est celle du métropolite de Cyzique (Mansi, XVI, 300 CD).

(2) Par exemple p. 88, mais la crainte d'un soulèvement populaire n'était pas, à Constantinople, si impensable qu'on doive « interpréter » par « pression des éléments radicaux de leur parti ».



Principales sources utilisées par les historiens de la chute d'Ignace et discutées ici

La *V. I.*, raconte une persécution des Ignatiens absolument gratuite. Elle admet qu'Ignace fut accusé de comploter secrètement (513, 14), mais (le refrain reparaît) tous les efforts visaient à obtenir sa démission.

Le concile de 861 aussi fut marqué par des manifestations (Dvornik, 130).

Très suggestive aussi, bien que trop brève, est l'évocation des événements qui se sont déroulés à partir du jour de la Pentecôte, quand des soldats entourèrent la maison d'Ignace, qui leur échappa, déguisé en serviteur, et prit le maquis. Il passa d'un endroit à l'autre, cependant qu'Oryphas, à la tête de six dromons, fouillait les îles et la côte sans trouver le fugitif. Enfin, il se rendit spontanément, Michel et Bardas lui ayant garanti l'immunité ; ils avaient été impressionnés, dit la *V. I.*, par une série d'effroyables tremblements de terre.

Même alors les affrontements n'étaient pas terminés : trois mois avant la mort de Bardas, Ignace fut de nouveau soumis à une étroite surveillance militaire.

Tout ceci serait une persécution gratuite exercée par le pouvoir sans aucune provocation de la part des Ignatiens ; quand il faudra tout de même invoquer un motif, ce sera la tentative de faire démissionner Ignace. Accessoirement, on alléguera la pression sur les métropolites pour les forcer à communier avec Photius, mais avant tout l'accent est mis sur la signature à extorquer d'Ignace.

En résumé : prouver que Photius s'était laissé introniser alors qu'il y avait un patriarche en fonctions ; montrer que rien n'empêchait Ignace de reprendre le gouvernement de l'Église ; flétrir le pouvoir qui avait accumulé tant de violences rien que pour lui arracher son abdication, tout exigeait que l'affaire Morothéodoros fut reportée après l'intronisation de l'« adultère » au moins, et même le plus tard possible.

III. — Constantin Maniakès l'Arménien

Constantin l'Arménien revient régulièrement — sept fois — dans les pages de Génésios. Hirsch se fondait sur son affirmation qu'il tenait ses renseignements en partie *ἐκ τῶν τότε*

βεβιωκότων, et sur Ps.-Syméon: *Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ ὁ ἐκ Ἀρμενίων ὁ πατὴρ Θωμᾶ πατρικίου καὶ Γενεσίου δρουγγαρίου τῆς βίγλης*, pour croire que le chroniqueur avait recueilli les passages en question de la bouche même de Constantin ou, s'il était déjà mort, du moins de la tradition familiale. Aujourd'hui cette hypothèse a moins d'adhérents (1).

En effet, chez THc nous trouvons cinq mentions de Constantin dont trois recoupent Génésios, cependant qu'une quatrième offre des éléments communs. Ce schéma nous ramène à *S.

Voyons quels sont les huit faits qui ont valu à Constantin l'Arménien sa place dans l'Histoire. 1) Théodora, désireuse de rétablir les images, envoie C., alors drongaire de la veille, avec mission de mettre le patriarche Jean en demeure d'accepter leur restauration ou de se retirer dans sa villa jusqu'à ce qu'un synode se réunisse à son sujet (THc 150, 10, seul). 2) Le patriarche se plaint de sévices exercés contre lui par les étrangers de la garde et en particulier par Constantin : *τοῦτον δέ φησιν, ὦ ἀκροαταί, ... τὸν ... ἐξ ἀρχηγῶν καὶ συνανταδέλφων σταλέντα πρὸς βασιλέα Θεόφιλον ἐπικηρυκεύσεως ὅμηρον, ὃς οὐ μετὰ μακρὸν χρόνον διά τε τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος εὐκοσμίαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην περὶ τὰ βέλτιστα φιλόκαλον πρόθεσιν δρουγγάριος τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ... καθίσταται, ἐντεῦθεν πατρικιός τε καὶ λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου γεραίρεται.* Bardas enquête et reconnaît sans hésiter que l'accusation est née d'un esprit pervers. (GÉN., 81, 12, seul). 3) Théoctiste, incarcéré dans les Skyla, supplie C. de le secourir. A cette fin, celui-ci fait donc fermer les portes du triclinos de Justinien. Quand les gardes envoyés par Michel pour tuer Théoctiste arrivent, ils les trouvent fermées. Constantin, debout à l'intérieur, choisissant le moindre mal, leur cède, tout en essayant par ses paroles et ses actions de calmer ceux qui se ruaient sur Théoctiste. (GÉN., 88, 21, seul). 4) Constantin fut le seul membre du

(1) HIRSCH, *Byzantinische Studien*, Leipzig, 1876, 119-21 ; 137 ; 150, etc. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica*², 318 ; GRÉGOIRE, *Autour de Dig. Akr.*, *Byz.* VII, 1932, 289-90 ; *Manuel et Théophobe*, *Byz.* IX, 1934, 201-3. Sur Constantin, v. : R. GUILLAND, *Contribution à l'histoire admin. ae l'Empire byz. Le drongaire et le grand drongaire de la veille*, *B.Z.*, 43, 1950, 340-65 (343 ; 346).

sénat à s'opposer à l'élévation de Photius au patriarcat, en disant que ce n'était pas permis à un laïc. (GÉN., 100, 5, seul). 5) La déposition d'Ignace relatée par les chroniqueurs est une version abrégée de celle qui nous est connue sous une forme plus développée par la *Vita Ignatii*, mais une addition concernant Constantin se trouve chez Génésios (101, 21), THc (194, 9) et Gc Istrin (c'est-à-dire Log B remontant à Génésios ; Ps.-Sym., comme d'habitude, correspond à Log B). 6) C. participe, à côté de Michel, aux courses de char. Ce fait est relaté par tous les chroniqueurs (1). 7) Lors de l'assassinat de Bardas, il a veillé à la sécurité de Michel (GÉN., 106, 19 ; THc 206, 17). 8) Assistant à la lutte de Basile contre le champion de l'Empereur et du César (GÉN., 110, 2) ou contre le Bulgare (THc, *Vita Basilii*, ch. 12) (2), et animé des meilleurs sentiments à l'égard de Basile parce qu'il était arménien lui aussi (THc) et même parent (! GÉN.), il obtient que de la paille ou de la sciure soit répandue pour éviter que son protégé ne glisse (3).

Devant cette énumération, et encore plus devant la prose pleine d'emphase de Génésios, on ne peut qu'être frappé par la volonté de magnifier le rôle de Constantin et en même temps par l'extrême ténuité des prétextes à toutes ces envolées. Cependant l'histoire de Constantin l'Arménien n'est pas dénuée d'intérêt.

La mention n° 2 (4) dans la liste dressée plus haut nous

(1) GÉN., 102, 18 ; THc 198, Gc Bonn 835, 7 ; THÉOD. MÉL., 174 ; Gc Istrin 15, 20 ; Ps.-SYM., 681, 16.

(2) La lutte entre pallicares au service de différentes personnalités ne dépassait pas l'anecdote. Avec le triomphe sur l'invincible Bulgare nous entrons déjà dans le mythe.

(3) L'ordre de ces épisodes est le même chez Génésios et chez THc, bien que le n° 6 ne soit pas situé dans le temps. Le n° 8, où Bardas joue un rôle, devrait évidemment précéder le n° 7 qui raconte sa mort, mais on ne peut tirer de cela des conclusions certaines quant au schéma de la source, puisque, chez THc, les chapitres sur l'origine de Basile et ses débuts à Constantinople sont déplacés et insérés dans la Vita Basilii.

(4) L'apostrophe *ὦ ἀκροαταί* mérite de retenir l'attention. Elle ne saurait émaner de Génésios lui-même, dont la *βίβλος* ou *γραφικὴ σπουδή* de longue haleine était destinée à être lue en cabinet. Il

renseigne sur ses origines : c'est comme otage qu'il est venu à Constantinople. Théophile en avait fait son drongaire de la veille. Pour faire l'éloge de cet officier de confiance de l'empereur iconoclaste, il faudra, par un biais ou l'autre, après la restaurations des images faire croire à son orthodoxie irréprochable (1). Aussi les nos 1 et 2 le montrent-ils jouant un rôle, si peu déterminant fût-il, dans le rétablissement des images, et 4 et 5 en zélateur d'Ignace.

Les nos 3, 4 et 7 veulent tous lui attribuer une action bénéfique à l'occasion des meurtres de Théoctiste et de Bardas et de la déposition d'Ignace. La soi-disant tentative de secourir le logothète se solde en fait par un ordre de fermer la porte du triclinos de Justinien — vraisemblablement une initiative qui s'imposait au drongaire en présence d'un attentat dans cette partie du palais — et par une protestation verbale. Cette protestation est attestée par le Logothète qui appelle le drongaire Maniakès (2).

Quant à la description de son rôle lors de la déposition d'Ignace, elle brave le ridicule : « [le Seigneur] suscite donc un de ceux qui étaient dans la prison avec le bienheureux non pour l'accabler mais pour le consoler, en ce qu'il prenait des risques pour lui. C'était Constantin l'Arménien ... En cachette, portant un petit vase en verre avec du vin, du pain, parfois [!] des fruits aussi, il obtenait une brève absence des méchants, entrait auprès du saint, le descendait du sarcophage, lui prodiguait sa compassion et soulageait, fût-ce passagèrement, sa détresse ... Car, bien qu'intime du César

l'a trouvée dans *S et l'a recopiée avec le reste. Mais *S aussi l'aura trouvée dans la source où elle puisait, qui paraît être ici une *Vie de Constantin l'Arménien semblable (en plus terne) à la Vie de Manuel, aux romans de Nicéphore Phocas ou des Doucas. Ces compositions étaient consignées par écrit et circulaient même en plusieurs exemplaires, mais elles étaient destinées aussi à des lectures publiques et les « maudits Paphlagoniens » n'en étaient pas réduits aux seules ressources de leur mémoire.

(1) Cf. la méthode beaucoup plus radicale employée par le biographe de Manuel : celui-ci étant mort en 838, il le « ressuscite » et lui attribue un rôle décisif dans la restauration des images (H. GRÉGOIRE, *Manuel et Théophobe*, *op. cit.*).

(2) Gc Bonn, 822, 14-16.

(*ὡς Καίσαρος ὤν, εἰ καὶ τῶν οἰκείων*), il ne cédait pas à ses méchancetés, en homme qui sait rendre à Dieu ce qui est à Dieu et à César ce qui est à César ». (GEN., 101). La première absurdité, c'est la présentation de tout ceci comme ayant lieu plusieurs fois. La seconde, c'est toute la mise en scène : l'art d'être grand-père à l'usage du drongaire de la veille. Malgré cela, l'incident n'est pas, je pense, inventé de toutes pièces : il n'est pas impossible que l'autorité de cet officier aux responsabilités particulièrement graves se soit étendue dans une certaine mesure sur les interrogatoires des sous-sols, et qu'il ait donné ordre, à un certain moment, de porter à manger et à boire au prisonnier.

A l'occasion du meurtre de Bardas, il aurait veillé à la sécurité de Michel. Cela paraît normal pour le drongaire.

Tous les chroniqueurs rapportent que Constantin disputa une course de chars à Michel, mais Génésios apporte des précisions que les autres ignorent et en omet, par contre, d'autres qu'ils fournissent.

On examinera plus facilement les problèmes soulevés en ayant les textes sous les yeux :

LOGOTHÈTE : « L'empereur Léon naquit de Michel(1) et d'Eudocie Ingérina alors que Michel vivait encore, le 1er septembre de la 15e indiction. L'empereur donna des courses à l'hippodrome à Saint-Mamas. *Il courut sous la couleur bleue. Constantin l'Arménien, le père de Thomas le patrice, qui était drongaire de la veille, sous la couleur blanche; Agalianos sous le vert; Crysas sous le rouge.* L'empereur, qui avait gagné, était à table avec Basile et Eudocie ... ». Gc Bonn 835.

THc : « Une autre fois, pour mieux montrer sa démence, ses mœurs effrénées, il était debout sur le char, la *balbis* sur le point d'être lâchée (*il portait le bleu, le logothète Constantin, père du patrice et logothète du drome Thomas, le vert, Cheilas*

(1) Le plus étonnant dans toute l'affaire du « ménage à trois » de Michel, Basile et Eudocie est assurément le fait qu'on n'y trouve aucune allusion dans les catalogues des turpitudes de Michel. Quelle est sa date d'origine ?

le blanc et Crasas le rouge ; même le protasecretis n'échappait pas ni le protonotaire du drome, l'un était combinographe des Bleus, l'autre des Verts), ils étaient donc debout sur les chars, en tenue d'hénioque, quand arrive la nouvelle d'une terrible incursion d'Omar qui dévaste le Thracésien et approche de Malagina, faisant prévoir des maux sans précédents ; le protonotaire, le visage décomposé, lui apportant l'*ἀπόκρισις* du domestique des scholes et lui montrant les lettres qu'il tenait entre ses mains : « Quelle est cette audace, dit-il : vouloir me parler pendant cette épreuve nécessaire (*ἀναγκαῖον ἀγῶνα*), quand j'ai pour souci unique de ne pas voir le milieu déplacé vers la gauche » ? THc 198.

GÉN. : « L'Empereur Michel s'adonnait aux courses dans le palais de la Propontide où se trouve l'église du grand martyr Mamas. Là il organisait des concours fréquents, y participant lui-même sur un char. Tous les accessoires accoutumés des courses dans la Ville s'y trouvaient réunis, et l'image vénérée de la Mère de Dieu était placée sur la tribune impériale (*ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἱδρύσεως*), et c'était d'elle que l'Empereur recevait les prix de la victoire. Il désirait à ce point l'emporter par son adresse à conduire un char qu'un jour qu'il courait avec le Constantin déjà nommé, à la suite d'une *περιτροπή* involontaire il le fit tomber et le char faillit l'écraser dans sa chute. Par là, il montra qu'il ne valait pas cher, mais il fit plus et montra qu'il ne valait rien du tout avec son pseudo-patriarche et le honteux « clergé » qu'il lui adjoignit ... ». GÉN., 102.

Plusieurs questions se posent : pourquoi cette mention de Constantin est-elle seule à être commune à tous les chroniqueurs ? Pourquoi THc accuse-t-il clairement la même source que le Logothète, alors que les liens, s'il y en a, avec Génésios sont beaucoup moins clairs ? La source est-elle partout la même ? Si oui, quelle était sa nature originelle ? D'où provient la différence des contextes historiques proposés ?

La réponse à la première question semble évidente : cette notice n'appartenait pas exclusivement à la *Vie de Constantin ; on pouvait la connaître par ailleurs, incontestablement elle circulait indépendamment de cette *Vie. En fait, chez THc comme chez Génésios, elle se trouve dans un contexte tout à fait particulier : la fameuse liste des méfaits de Michel

qui fut certainement, à l'origine, un pamphlet politique. L'édition du pamphlet employée par THc avait utilisé, en la rattachant bien maladroitement, la notice qui figure également chez le Logothète, mais dans un simple contexte historique (1). Est-ce la même notice qui est à l'origine du passage de Génésios? Tout ce qu'on peut affirmer, c'est que, chez l'un et l'autre, une mention de Constantin comme synhénioque de Michel figure dans une anecdote incorporée dans un pamphlet consacré aux turpitudes de celui-ci. Chez Génésius, ce pamphlet est plus court. D'autre part, l'anecdote à laquelle THc rattache la notice est péjorative, alors que chez Génésios, qui nous montre les exploits de Michel couronnés par la Vierge, ce n'est pas tellement évident. Nous entrevoyons ici que le thème de Michel hénioque ne s'accompagnait pas nécessairement de réprobation, mais il nous est parvenu déformé par des adversaires qui en avaient fait un de leurs grands chefs d'accusation contre lui. Plusieurs anecdotes avaient cours, et les pamphlétaires les combinaient librement au gré de leur fantaisie. Chez THc, la petite notice qui nous occupe est tout simplement rattachée à un contexte étranger (l'insertion est patente : *αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἅρματος ἱσταμένου καὶ τῆς βαλβῖδος μέλλοντος ἐκπηδᾶν (ἐπάτει δὲ βένετος ...) αὐτῶν οὖν ἐφ' ἅρματος ἱσταμένων...* (En outre, elle manque chez Ps.-Syméon (2)). Chez Génésios, englobée dans un pamphlet semblable

(1) THc en reproduit un peu plus (les combinographes) ; l'expression malveillante : « n'échappait pas » est soit de THc lui-même, soit du rédacteur du pamphlet, mais n'appartient pas à la source première.

(2) La comparaison de THc et de Ps.-S. est ici curieuse. Pour la faire, il faut interroger deux passages de Ps.-S. D'abord, la liste des turpitudes de Michel, insérée, comme chez THc, après la chute de Théodora et amorcée par l'allusion aux 1090 centenaria d'or qu'elle laissait dans le trésor. Le second, tiré du Logothète, raconte que Michel a célébré avec des courses la naissance de Léon, le futur empereur, mais ajoute un paragraphe hostile.

Chez THc et chez Ps.-S. après les 1090 centenaria viennent les dons excessifs aux enfants d'hénioques que Michel tenait sur les fonts baptismaux et l'envoi à la fonte du platane, des lions, de l'orgue d'or et des vêtements d'apparat. THc s'interrompt alors pour retourner à Théodora : *ταῦτα μὲν προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου γεγόνασιν· τότε δὲ εἴθιστο Θεοδώρα κτλ.* De là il passe à d'autres

à celui qui est à la base des textes de THc et de Ps.-S., nous trouvons une anecdote, qui ne fut peut-être pas hostile à l'origine, où Constantin joue un rôle. Remarquons qu'ici, il n'y a pas de contexte proprement historique. Génésios se contente d'enregistrer un accident survenu pendant une course. La banalité même de l'incident plaide en faveur de son authenticité. Plus intéressant et non moins vraisemblable paraît le rôle joué par l'image de la Théotokos. THc (et Ps.-S.) ont eu raison de laisser tomber ce détail : l'effet produit sur le lecteur est l'inverse de celui qu'ils cherchaient. On a l'impression que l'exemplaire de *S utilisé par Génésios ne connaissait qu'une rédaction rudimentaire du pamphlet. Celui-ci a connu plusieurs rédactions ; il y avait des anecdotes de rechange ; le drongaire Constantin a pu plus d'une fois conduire à côté de Michel. Bref il ne semble pas possible de dire s'il y a, oui ou non, identité de la source première. Il serait plus intéressant de savoir si les deux lignes en question sont à leur place chez le Logothète. Je le crois, mais c'est uniquement parce que, à la différence de THc, le contexte paraît sain. Leur grande diffusion est postérieure à l'éléva-

événements et ne revient que beaucoup plus tard (p. 197) à la liste. Le second incident qu'il note alors, après l'affaire de Lulua, est celui avec lequel Ps.-S., qui n'interrompt pas son énumération, enchaîne — or c'est l'incident traduit plus haut (p. 488-9), auquel THc avait rattaché une mention de Constantin. J'ai dit que Ps.-S. reprenait textuellement THc, mais à un détail près : ces deux lignes ne figurent pas chez lui. L'un et l'autre poursuivent alors avec l'histoire de Michel chez la pauvre femme, puis avec l'affaire Gryllos, la tendance antiphotienne du texte de Ps.-S. n'existe pas chez THc. Cette légère différence n'empêchera pas de reconnaître chez l'un et chez l'autre le même pamphlet.

Nous avons donc vu qu'une des anecdotes concernant Michel à l'hippodrome, présente chez THc, manque, à cette place, chez Ps.-S. ainsi que la notice où figure Constantin l'Arménien. Or cette dernière est transmise par le Logothète, bien entendu sans être englobée dans un pamphlet hostile à Michel, mais prise dans un contexte simplement historique. Nous ne serons pas étonnés de voir que Ps.-Syméon conserve ce contexte. C'est à l'occasion des courses destinées à célébrer la naissance de Léon que le Logothète en parle. Ps.-S. reprend son texte, mais il intercale à sa suite l'anecdote de THc sur le télégraphe de Lulua (en y ajoutant des détails sur son fonctionnement inconnus par ailleurs).

tion du fils de Constantin, Thomas, au rang de patrice et de logothète. À cette époque encore, il faut croire qu'elles ne paraissaient pas nécessairement infamantes. Quant à leur origine, il me semble qu'ici, exceptionnellement, elle se laisse peut-être reconnaître et je serais tentée d'y voir tout simplement le bulletin officiel publiant l'heureux résultat des courses auxquelles venait de participer (et, sans doute, de triompher) l'empereur.

En définitive, l'aspect le plus intéressant de la carrière de Constantin Maniakès l'Arménien, c'est que jamais, dans aucun des épisodes où il figure, il ne joue un rôle inattendu ou même spectaculaire. Ses gestes tant vantés par Génésios se ramènent tout simplement à la présence d'un drongaire de la veille à son poste lors d'un événement dramatique. La seule exception pourrait, à première vue, concerner la déposition d'Ignace. Mais même là je pense, comme je l'ai dit, que le fond est vrai, que l'auteur de la Vie a travesti — de façon ridicule — des initiatives que pouvait fort bien prendre le drongaire. Pour la lutte de Basile, quand Constantin fit répandre de la sciure, le processus est le même : gonfler un acte banal. On pense, en général, que la partie « athlétique » de la légende de Basile est fondée sur la réalité. La présence de sa lutte dans la biographie de Constantin l'Arménien constitue un argument de plus (1).

(1) Constantin est-il en fait devenu logothète ? J'en doute. Génésios dit (81, 12), il est vrai, qu'il fut drongaire de la veille sous Théophile, puis patrice et logothète du drome, cependant que THc écrit : « le logothète Constantin, père du patrice et logothète Thomas ». Mais ce dernier passage figure aussi chez le Logothète, et là il est appelé drongaire de la veille : Gc Bonn 835, 7 *Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ ὁ ἐξ Ἀρμενίων ὁ πατὴρ Θωμᾶ πατρικίου δρουγγάριος ὢν τῆς βίγλης* ; THÉOD. MÉL., *δρουγγάριος ὢν τῆς βίγλης* ; Gc Istrin *ὁ πατὴρ Θωμᾶ πατρικίου καὶ γενεσίου, δρουγγάριος ὢν τῆς βίγλης* ; la variante de Ps.-S. montre combien ce texte se prête aux déformations : *ὁ πατὴρ Θωμᾶ πατρικίου καὶ Γενεσίου δρουγγαρίου τῆς βίγλης*. Quant au « logothète » de THc, il est contredit par un autre passage qui a été moins exposé aux accidents : dans le livre V de THc, c'est-à-dire la *Vita Basilii* de Constantin Porphyrogénète, nous lisons : *Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ πατρίκιος, ὁ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λογοθέτου τοῦ δρόμου καὶ ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ ἄκρου καὶ ἀδωροτάτου περιφανῶς πατρικίου Θωμᾶ πατήρ*. Je soupçonne donc la promotion de Constantin au rang de logo-

Ces chroniques du IXe s. sont de bien curieuses œuvres historiques : non moins étonnants que ce qu'elles taisent sont parfois les faits que leurs auteurs ont jugés dignes d'être transmis à la postérité. Des événements majeurs sont passés sous silence, souvent par un parti pris de dénigrement, en revanche un foisonnement de faits et de détails sans importance s'explique par les sources utilisées.

Les Vies d'hommes illustres constituaient une de leurs sources de prédilection. Souvent, qu'elles fussent composées dans un monastère ou sur la place publique, c'étaient déjà des compilations où une part plus ou moins grande, plus ou moins abusive, était faite au héros à l'occasion de chaque événement historique rapporté par l'auteur. Quand un passage met en scène deux personnages illustres, il peut passer de la Vie de l'un à celle de l'autre, sans qu'on puisse dire laquelle fut la première à l'utiliser (cf. Pétronas et Jean du Mont Latros, THc 180, 5-184, 9).

Parfois, un extrait a joui d'une vogue particulièrement grande et réapparaît dans des œuvres indépendantes. Ces passages semblent parfois être tirés de sources plus anciennes. Il est évident que différents compilateurs n'ont pas extrait, chacun pour soi, le même paragraphe. Il pouvait circuler indépendamment, parfois intégré à un nouveau contexte, et dans certains cas, c'est tout l'ensemble qui sera repris. C'est ce que nous voyons avec la *Vie de Manuel, par exemple, ainsi qu'avec les pamphlets dirigés contre Michel III ou Photius, ou glorifiant Basile.

Ces caractéristiques générales des sources des chroniqueurs se laissent reconnaître à partir des textes que nous possédons, mais il faut se dire que, même parmi les Vies de saints, quelques-unes seulement nous sont parvenues. Quant aux autres, aux Vies des grands militaires, de ministres, etc., nous en sommes réduits à en identifier quelques fragments chez les historiens (1). Pourtant leur réalité est parfaitement attestée.

thète d'être le résultat d'une confusion. Il n'est nullement invraisemblable de la faire remonter à *S et même à la Vie de Constantin, ce qui expliquerait que Génésios et THc partagent l'erreur.

(1) Le cas des empereurs est, bien entendu, différent. La *Vita Basilii* est, comme l'a fait remarquer P. J. ALEXANDER (*Secular*

La scolie d'Aréthas placée en exergue à cet article n'est qu'un témoin parmi d'autres. La différence entre le sort réservé aux Vies de saints et celui des Vies qu'à défaut d'un meilleur terme je qualifierai de « séculières » s'explique par le caractère pour ainsi dire officiel des premières : composée dans un monastère, préservée dans sa bibliothèque, recopiée, parfois modernisée, une Vie pouvait traverser les siècles et, justifiant un culte, elle restait d'actualité. Tout cela manquait pour les Vies séculières, œuvres de pique-assiettes ou d'amuseurs publics, perdues de toute façon quand leurs héros tombaient dans l'oubli, comme les vedettes de nos jours, à moins que les chroniqueurs n'en aient recueilli quelques fragments.

Pour *S, à côté de la Vie envahissante de Manuel et de celle de Constantin l'Arménien, on peut, je crois, reconnaître des traces d'autres compositions consacrées à différents personnages. Sans doute, une *Vie de Pétronas, dont le chapitre consacré à la défaite d'Omar de Mélitène a chez Génésios une affabulation particulièrement romanesque (94-97). Chez THc, nous trouvons une variante très contaminée par une *Vie de S. Jean du Mont Latros (THc 180, 10-181, 4 et 183, 11-184, 8). Dans *S toujours, une *Vie « noire » de Bardas (défaite de Samosate, signes précurseurs de sa fin, sa mort elle-même) ne se laisse que très partiellement subordonner au thème de l'ascension de Basile. Enfin les chapitres consacrés à la légende de Basile, amalgame d'éléments d'origines diverses, connus du Logothète également où on les trouve insérés en bloc dans un contexte avec lequel ils sont en contradiction fondamentale, sont au contraire, chez THc, développés avec une complaisance infinie (1).

biography at Byzantium, *Speculum* XV, 1940, 194-209), essentiellement une œuvre biographique. Dans cet article très intéressant, l'auteur n'a en vue que des ouvrages de cabinet. Cependant même ceux-ci, pour autant que les restes nous permettent d'en juger, étaient alimentés par un courant populaire, et réciproquement bien des éléments passaient de la littérature « savante » à l'autre.

(1) Le chapitre bulgare doit avoir comme source une *Narratio* semblable au *Περὶ Νικηφόρου*. Ainsi un événement historique n'entre dans la chronique que comme partie intégrante d'un pamphlet, sans lequel il eût simplement été passé sous silence.

Dans les chapitres de THc qui n'ont pas de parallèle chez Génésios, nous trouvons, outre le Repentir de Théophile et d'autres récits appartenant au cycle du rétablissement des images, des traces extrêmement curieuses des légendes de Léon le Philosophe et du Patriarche Jean où leurs opérations magiques emportent carrément l'admiration populaire (1), ainsi que les fragments d'une grande œuvre consacrée à Théodora et à sa famille (2). La légende de Théodora a largement dépassé le cadre d'une biographie écrite — je ne parle même pas de la pauvre Vie qui nous est parvenue. D'ailleurs, à comparer celle-ci avec le fragment de THc, je me demande si elle n'a pas eu une Vie hagiographique et une Vie séculière, peut-être beaucoup plus colorée et où, de toutes façons, une place était faite à sa famille : Irène, édifiante ; Kalomaria, un peu moins peut-être (THc n'en parle pas, Génésios lui prête un rôle assez équivoque dans le meurtre de Théoctiste) ; ses deux frères, qui avaient leurs propres romans, avec les possibilités de contamination qui s'ensuivent. Mais si riche qu'ait été cette œuvre — et si décousue — il semble peu vraisemblable qu'elle ait tout réuni. On peut dégager plusieurs groupes de légendes dans le cycle de Théodora : 1) le rétablissement des images et le repentir de Théophile ; 2) la régence de Théodora, surtout ses relations avec les Bulgares où l'élément fabuleux est important (réponse à l'archonte de Bulgarie ; conversion des Bulgares annexée à son profit THc 162, 3-165, 10) ; 3) Théodora accablant Michel (malédictions après le meurtre de Théoctiste, THc, 171, 6-16 ; le Sénat pris à témoin de

(1) Pour Jean, THc 155, 6-156, 23 ; pour Léon, THc 185, 15-191, 32. NB des expressions telles que : *Τοῦτο γοῦν τὴν ἐπὶ πλέον τῶν Θεσσαλονικέων ἠύξησε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα στοργὴν καὶ τὸ φίλτρον αὐτῶν διήγειρεν, ὡς εἰκός*. La légende se retrouve, sous une forme nettement plus malveillante, dans le *De Theophilo* du Logothète (Gc Bonn. 806).

(2) THc, 1) *De Theophilo*, 89, 21 ; 2) *De Michaele*, 174, 18 (*Ἐδήλου δὲ καὶ ἡ πρὸ ταύτης βίβλος ὅθεν τε κἀκ τίνων ἐξέφυ κτλ.*

Le passage du *De Theophilo* accuse des liens avec la *Vita Theodorae* : *Πατρίδα μὲν ἡ Θεοδώρα κτλ.* (THc) ; *Πατρὶς τοίνυν Θεοδώρας κτλ.* (*V. TH.*, 2, 7).

l'état des finances, *ibid.*, 172, 1-10) (1) ; 4) Théodora voyante (vêtement symbolique envoyé à Bardas, THc, 206, 32 ; prédiction que Basile sera la perte de la famille amorienne, Gc Bonn 821, 1-6 ; THc, *Vita Basilii*, 833, 6-834, 12) ; 5) enfin la vision finale de la mère qui se lamente sur le cadavre sanglant de son fils (Gc Bonn 838, 26 (2)).

Pour conclure : nous percevons dans ces chroniques du règne de Michel III une stratification : plusieurs sources immédiates se laissent cerner de façon satisfaisante. Parfois la source de la source (pour la *Vie de Manuel, un récit de la bataille d'Anzen, peut-être une *Vie de Théoctiste, etc.). Si vraiment la notice sur la course de chars à laquelle Constantin l'Arménien participa à côté de Michel remontait à un bulletin officiel, nous aurions là une source première. Mais en général celle-ci nous échappe.

Avant tout, c'est l'apport populaire qui s'impose à nous. Ce que les auteurs de Vies ont fait de l'histoire, voilà ce que nous trouvons dans les pages de nos chroniqueurs.

Pour l'histoire événementielle pure, c'est souvent décevant, mais ce n'est pas pure perte : le témoignage, par exemple, sur l'attitude populaire à l'égard des grands iconoclastes vaut bien quelques batailles. À leur insu, ces partisans fanatiques que sont les chroniqueurs nous révèlent la vitalité du parti adverse. Ils ne perdent pas tout intérêt, même s'il faut reconnaître qu'ils reflètent parfois les passions et les chansons de Constantinople plutôt que ce qui se passait dans l'Empire.

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(1) Les groupes 3) et 4) ne devaient pas être d'origine populaire, mais trouvaient leur justification dans l'immense prestige dont jouissait Théodora.

(2) Dans ce paragraphe, je n'ai pas donné de références à Ps.-S. : il est du plus grand intérêt de distinguer quand un thème est propre au Logothète ou, au contraire, à THc.

NICEPHORI GREGORAE AD IMPERATOREM ANDRONICUM II PALAEOLOGUM ORATIONES

Praefatio

1. Nicephori Gregorae orationes duas quae nunc eduntur apud imperatorem Andronicum II Palaeologum (1282-1328) fautorem et amicum, ut constat, habitas, iidem fere libri manu scripti tradiderunt. Sunt autem hi :

A = *Vaticanus Gr.* 1086, partim membr., partim chart., s. XIV, ff. 41^{v}-46^{v} (or. I), ff. 159^{r}-162^{r} (or. II) (1).

B = *Vaticanus Gr.* 1085, chart., s. XIV ex., ff. 70^{r}-72^{v} (or. I), ff. 63^{v}-65^{v} (or. II) (2).

C = *Vaticanus Gr.* 116, chart., s. XIV, ff. 129^{v}-131^{v} (or. I), ff. 82^{v}-84^{r} (or. II) (3).

G = *Angelicus Gr.* 82, chart., s. XVI, ff. 59^{r}-62^{r} (or. I), ff. 142^{v}-144^{v} (or. II) (4).

(1) Cf. St. Bezdechi, *Nicephori Gregorae epistulae XC*, in *Ephemeris Daco-Romana*, II, 1924, p. 239 ; R. Guilland, *Essai sur Nicéphore Grégoras*, Paris, 1926, p. XXI sq. ; Id., *Correspondance de Nicéphore Grégoras*, Paris, 1927, p. XVI sq.

(2) Cf. Bezdechi, *op. l.*, p. 239 ; R. Guilland, *Essai*, p. XXI ; Id., *Correspondance*, p. XVII.

(3) Cf. I. Mercati - P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Graeci I*, Romae, 1923, p. 143 sqq. ; St. Bezdechi, *op.l.*, p. 239 ; R. Guilland, *Essai*, p. XIX sq. ; Id., *Correspondance*, p. XVII ; I. Ševčenko, *Some Autographs of Nicephorus Gregoras*, in *Zbornik Rad. Viz. Inst.* 8/2 (= Mélanges Ostrogorsky, II), 1964, p. 435 sqq.

(4) Cf. P. Franchi de' Cavalieri - G. Muccio, *Index codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Angelicae*, in *Studi Ital. di Filol. Class.*, 4, 1896, p. 130 = Chr. Samberger, *Catalogi codicum Graecorum qui in minoribus Bibliothecis Italicis asservantur* II, Lipsiae, 1968, p. 144 ; R. Guilland, *Essai*, p. XXV sq. ; Id., *Correspondance*, p. XVII.

H = *Parisinus Gr.* 3040, chart., s. XVII, ff. 22v-25v (or. I), ff. 61v-63v (or. II) (1).
K = *Monacensis Gr.* 10, chart., s. XVI, pp. 138-145 (or. I), pp. 326-331 (or. II) (2).
L = *Monacensis Gr.* 529, bombyc., s. XIV, ff. 230r-233v (or. I ; om. or. II) (3).
U = *Hafnensis Gr.* E. 117, chart., s. XVII, ff. 4r-10v (or. I), ff. 48r-52r (or. II) (4).

E quibus vero omnino eliminandi sunt codex U, utpote codicis K antigraphum, et codices gemelli H et K, qui ambo ex G descripti sunt (5). Codex autem A, Gregorae aetate exscriptus et is ab ipso auctore emendatus et auctus (6), solus contra ceteros stat ; e.g. :

or. I, inscr. ὁ παρὼν λόγος A : ὁ λόγος οὗτος BCGL = a
δεικνύειν A : δεῖξαι BCGL = a
πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνου λόγους A : τοῖς ἐκείνου λόγοις BCGL = a
79 μόνῳ A : μόνον BCGL = a
82 προσφερόμενα A : προφερόμενα BCGL = a
83 σχολαστικῆς A : στοχαστικῆς BCGL = a
or. II, 69 ἐθηήσατο A : ἐθειήσατο BCG = y
74 γ' A : γε BCG = y

Quas vero et ceteras codicem A ab altera stirpe varias lectiones separantes haud incuriose perpendentibus, satis appareret modo alterutram aperte corruptam esse, nunc autem

(1) Cf. H. OMONT, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, III, Paris, 1888, p. 97 ; R. GUILLAND, *Essai*, p. XVII ; ID., *Correspondance*, p. XVII.

(2) Cf. I. HARDT, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Graecorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bavaricae*, I, Monachii, 1806, p. 48 sqq. ; R. GUILLAND, *Essai*, p. XXV sq. ; ID., *Correspondance*, p. XVII.

(3) Cf. I. HARDT, *op.l.*, V, 1812, p. 318 sqq. ; S. LINDSTAM, *De codice Monacensi Graeco 529*, in *Byzantis*, 7, 1911-1912, p. 420 sqq. ; R. GUILLAND, *Essai*, p. XXVI.

(4) Cf. R. GUILLAND, *Essai*, p. XXVII sq. ; ID., *Correspondance*, p. XVIII.

(5) Cf. etiam R. GUILLAND, *Essai*, p. XVII, XXV sq., XXVII ; ID., *Correspondance*, pp. XVII-XVIII.

(6) Cf. I. ŠEVČENKO, op. l., p. 445 sqq.

utramque, praesertim scilicet quae ad orationis I inscriptionem pertinent, integram ac sinceram : quae quidem scripturae varietas eiusmodi, ni fallor, est, ut ad Gregoram ipsum referendam esse suspiceris. Cum igitur id alibi (1) mihi probabiliter demonstrasse videar, eum duo saltem scriptorum suorum corpora instituisse, quorum alterum codice A, prius autem ceteris codicibus traditum esse pateat, hoc concludere possum Gregoram posterioris corporis textum, hic illic ac non penitus licet, retractavisse. Huc accedit quod noster, ut supra diximus, etiam in codice A non nulla suapte manu vel emendavit vel retractavit vel addidit. Ac vero Gregoram neque harum orationum neque ceterorum scriptorum textum totum lectitavisse et correxisse documento sunt errores omnibus codicibus communes. Sed haec hactenus.

Nunc vero ad codicum BCG(L) necessitudines indagandas atque affinitates transeo ; quos quidem omnes e communi fonte (a), at non ex uno eodemque exemplari originem duxisse manifestum est. Codices enim BCG inter se artiore vinculo coniunctos esse satis evincit mendorum consensus ; e.g. :

or. I, 7 *δι' ἃ* y (= BCG) : *διὰ* AL
36 *ἐκ τοὐναντίου* y (= BCG) : *ἐξ ἀντιῤῥόπου* AL
119 *ἢ* vel *ἦ* y (= BCG) : *ἦ* AL

Adice quod codex L errorem proprium, scil. separativum, praebet: or. I, 59 *ἐν ἀλλήλοις* L : *ἀλλήλοις* Ay. Ac ne illos quidem ex uno eodemque antigrapho derivatos esse codicum BG constantior concordia ac similitudo demonstrat ; qui vero quam arte inter se cohaereant haec clare ostendunt communia vitia :

or. I, 57 *ὑπερβολὴν ἐδόκει* ACL : inv. ord. z (= BG)
98 *τε* ACL : *om.* z (= BG)
175 *τὸ* ACL : *τῷ* z (= BG)
185 *τοῦ* ACL : om. z (= BG)
or. II, 7 *μεγαλοπρεπηίης* AC : *μεγαλοπρεπίης* z (= BG)
46 *ξὺν* AC : *σὺν* z (= BG)
63-64 *μάλιστα πάντων* AC : inv. ord. z (= BG)
154 *μέζον* AC : *μεῖζον* z (= BG)

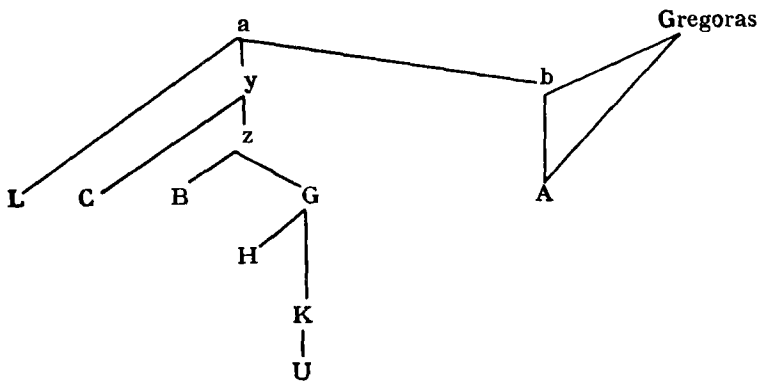
(1) Cf. quae scripsi in *Ann. Fac. di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Macerata*, 1970, p. 578 sqq.

Accedit quod codex C suis inquinatus mendis est ; e.g. :

or. I, 21 *τὸ συγγενὲς* C : *τὸ συγγενὲς τὸ συγγενὲς cett. codd.*
32 *τούτων ἔν τι ἢ* om. C

or. II, 22 *παραχρησάμενος* C : *προσχρησάμενος cett. codd.*
28 *τραπέζῃ* C : *τραπέζῃσι cett. codd.*

Cum autem neque B ex G neque G ex B exscriptus esse possit (G enim cum permultis mendis suis laborat, e.g. or. I, 1 *τραπεζήταις* — 3 *τοὺς* om. — 42 *θαυμάζει* — 76.89.103 *διοικεῖντο* — 121 *τούτων* — 161 *τοῦ* om. — 188 *τῶν* om. — 212 *καὶ* om. — or. II, 9 *συμμεσχήκεσάν* — 35 *ἀριστοτέλους* — 43 *ἀπήησι* — 44 *ἐπήκηρον* —, tum altero recentior est, B autem menda sua propria praebet, e.g. : or. I, 48 *φέρε* om. — 50 *αὐτό* — 60 *κἀκεῖνος* — or. II, 20 *ὄνησι* — 26 *μοχθηροῖς* — 125 *καὶ* om.) ex uno eodemque apographo utrumque fluxisse consentaneum est. Quae cum ita se habeant, hoc fere stemma codicum delineari potest :



Quod autem ad codicum virtutem attinet, quamvis omnes vitiis mendisque suis scateant, tamen ceteris longe excellere videntur codices A et L.

2. Quibus annis Gregoras orationes conscripserit, valde incertum. At illud tamen veri simillimum est eas, de quarum indole optime disputavisse constat virum doctum R. Guilland (1), post annum 1318 confectas esse. Quo enim anno (2)

(1) Cf. R. GUILLAND, *Essai*, p. 148 sqq.

(2) Non igitur anno 1322, ut scripsit R. Guilland (*Essai*, p. 147), qui vero Gregoram a. 1295 natum esse comprobaverat (*Essai*, p. 4).

noster, duodetricesimum agens annum (1) — natus erat, ut luculentissime demonstravit vir doctus V. Grecu (2), a. 1290/91 — apud Andronicum II imperatorem, in cuius familiaritatem receptus erat, orationem illam habuit in Historiam Byzantinam insertam (3), quam ante has scriptam esse patet (4).

Indicia autem quae in orationibus inveniuntur pauciora sunt et ea quidem tenuiora, quam e quibus de tempore quo illae confectae sint certum quid colligere possis. Nihilo minus tamen orationem Ionice scriptam posteriore quodam tempore habitam esse ex his verbis (ll.56 sq.) elucere videtur : *εἰρέαται δ' οὐκ ἥκιστα καὶ ἡμῖν γε πολλάκις ὀλίγα πολλῷ τῶν πολλῶν κτλ.* (5). Quae autem in oratione I legimus (ll. 90 sqq.) quin ad res turbulentissimas spectent bello civili partas, quod Andronicum III suscitavisse constat (6), vix est qui dubitet ; sed omnia tam vaga sunt atque incerta, ut nullus fere fructus percipi possit.

3. Orationum *editio princeps* a. 1924 prodiit, St. Bezdechio curante (7). Nititur haec editio codicibus BC, codice quidem A collato ; caret igitur apparatu critico pleno, non nulla etiam praebet aut perperam emendata aut omnino depravata ; adde quod compluribus mendis typographicis scatet.

Denique restat ut quibus rationibus in hac editione comparanda usus sim, paucis exponam. Ac primum quidem, quod praecipuum editoris munus est, codices omnes lucis ope expressos inspexi et totos contuli. In textu autem constituendo codicem A ducem saepius secutus sum neque tamen ceteros omnino sprevi. In apparatu critico eas lectiones silentio transii quae aperte vitiosae ac depravatae visae

(1) Cf. NIC. GREG., *Hist. Byz.*, VIII, 8, p. 328, 6 sq., Schopen.

(2) Cf. V. GRECU, *Das Geburtsjahr des byzantinischen Geschichtschreibers Nikephoros Gregoras*, in *Bulletin Sect. Hist. Acad. Roum.*, 27, 1946, p. 56 sqq.

(3) Cf. NIC. GREG., *Hist. Byz.*, VIII, 8, p. 328 sqq., Schopen.

(4) Cf. R. GUILLAND, *Essai*, p. 147.

(5) Cf. R. GUILLAND, *ibid.*

(6) Cf. G. OSTROGORSKY, *Storia dell'impero bizantino* (vers.Ital.), Torino, 1968, p. 452 sqq. ; A. A. VASILIEV, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (vers. Angl.), 1964, p. 583 sqq.

(7) Cf. St. BEZDECHI, *op.l.*, p. 364 sqq.

sint (e.g.: or. I, 1 *τραπεζήταις* G — 42 *θαυμάζει* G — 45 *διεκόσ* (pro *διεκόσμει*) B — 72 *θαυμά* (pro *θαυμάζειν*) B — 76. 89.103 *διοικεῖντο* G — 165 *ἀναβράζον* G — 190 *φύσειε* z (super scr. *-η-*G) — 204 *ἐνόμὴσε* G — or. II, 9 *συμμεσχήκεσάν* G — 20 *ὄνησι* B — 26 *μοχθηροῖς* B — 43 *ἀπήησι* G — 47 *ἀξιαπηγητότα* B; errores ab editore principe commissos tacite correxi.

Pisticci (*Matera*). Petrus Aloisius M. Leone.

Conspectus Siglorum

A = *Vaticanus Gr.* 1086, s. XIV
B = *Vaticanus Gr.* 1085, s. XIV ex.
C = *Vaticanus Gr.* 116, s. XIV
G = *Angelicus Gr.* 82, s. XVI
L = *Monacensis Gr.* 529, s. XIV

A = A
a = BCG(L)
y = BCG
z = BG

l(iber)[1] = liber in linea
l[sl] = liber supra lineam
l[pc] = liber post correctionem
l[prob] = liber, ut videtur
l[t] = liber in textu
l[m] = liber in margine

Oratio I

Ὁ παρὼν λόγος ἀφορμὴν εἰληφὼς τὸν τοῦ θειοτάτου βασιλέως ἡμῶν πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἔρωτα πειρᾶται δεικνύειν καὶ συγγενῆ τὰ τούτου πράγματα πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνου λόγους.

Ἔστι τις λίθος τοῖς τραπεζίταις ἀεὶ παρεδρεύουσα· βάσανον οἶμαι καλοῦσιν αὐτήν. αὕτη τὸν χρυσὸν αὐτοῖς ἐξελέγχει εἰ κίβδηλός ἐστι καὶ εἰ μή. καὶ ἵνα κατὰ τοὺς γεωμετρικοὺς ὅρους καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐνταυθοῖ τὸ ἀνάλογον ἀποδῶμεν, ὅπερ αὕτη πρὸς χρυσόν, τοῦτο τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ πάντα δι' ἀλλήλων ἀλλήλων πρὸς ἄλληλα· ἔλεγχος γὰρ ἀεὶ γίνεται καὶ βάσανος ἁπάντων διὰ πάντων ἅπαντα. ὁρῶμεν γὰρ ὡς ἄλλοι ἄλλων ἐφίενται καὶ ἄλλη ἄλλῳ ὄρεξις καὶ οὐδαμῇ τῶν πολλῶν ἡ αὐτὴ περὶ τὰ αὐτά, ἀλλ' ὁ μέν τις τῷδε μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνῳ προστέτηκεν, ὁ δέ τις τούτῳ μέντοι ἥκιστα, ἐκείνῳ δὲ καὶ μάλα μάλιστα· καὶ ὁ μὲν τῆς αἱρέσεως ἁπλῶς ἐπαινεῖται, ὁ δὲ μετὰ τῆς τοῦ μᾶλλον προσθήκης, ὁ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ μηδετέροις κοινωνεῖν, πολλοῦ γε δεῖ καὶ τοῦ θαυμάζεσθαι. τοῦτο κἂν λόγοις κἂν πράγμασιν εὕροι τις ἂν πανταχοῦ, καὶ ὀλιγαχοῦ παρὰ τοῦτο. ἔστι γὰρ ὁμοίως ἐν ἅπασι χρήμασι φύσις συνάπτουσα καὶ φύσις διϊστῶσα, καὶ οἷον εἰπεῖν, γένη ὁμόφυλα καὶ γένη ἑτερόφυλα.

Ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τοῖς πάλαι τὰς πάλαι δόξας χώραν οἶομαι σχεῖν, οἷς ὁμοῦ μὲν ἅπαντα γίνονται χρήματα· *νείκους* δ' ἔπειτα παρεισελθόντος καὶ *φιλίας*, ἔκ γε τοῦ μὴ συγγενοῦς διὰ τοῦ *νείκους* ἕκαστ' ἀποκρίνεται, διὰ *φιλίας*

1 sqq. cf. Bacchyl. fr. 14 Snell ; Suid. I, 456, 28 Adler ; Hesych. s.v. *βασανίτης λίθος* (= *β* 270 Latte) = An. Bekk. 225, 19 ; schol. Plat. Gorg. 486[d] 151 Greene ; Tz. schol. Ar. ran. 616 a 8 Koster ; hist. VII, 247 sqq. Leone ‖ *3 τοὺς γεωμετρικοὺς ὅρους* : cf. Synes. ep. 31 ‖ *18* sqq. cf. Emped. fr. 17, 7 sq. D.-K. et passim ; Plat. soph. 243[a] ; Arist. met. 985[a] 14 ; Clem. Alex. protr. 5

A [(BG=zC=) yL=] a ‖ Inscr. *ὁ παρὼν λόγος* A : *ὁ λόγος οὗτος* a | *ἡμῶν* om. zL | *τὸν — ἔρωτα*] *τὸν πρὸς πλάτωνα τοῦ βασιλέως ἔρωτα* C | *δεικνύειν* A : *δεῖξαι* a | *καὶ* om. G | *πρὸς — λόγους* A : *τοῖς ἐκείνου λόγοις* a (ante *συγγενῆ* transp. L) ‖ 2 post *αὕτη*] *γὰρ* add. G | *αὐτοῖς* C[s1] 3 *τοὺς* om. G ‖ 5 *ἀλλήλων*[2] om. z ‖ 6 *ἀεὶ* L[s1] ‖ 7 *διὰ*] *δι' ἃ* y ‖ 8 *ἡ αὐτὴ* omissa inser. C[1] ‖ 13 *τοῦ* A[s1] ‖ 18 *χρήματα* omissum add. G[m]

δ' αὖθις πρὸς τὸ συγγενὲς τὸ συγγενὲς συνάγεται. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξετάζων ἴδοι τις ἂν καὶ ἀστράσιν ἀστέρας, κἂν τῇ θέσει παραλλάττωσιν, ἀλλ' οὖν γε τὸν μὲν τῇ ποιότητι τῷδε, τὸν δὲ τῇ ποσότητι τῷδε, τὸν δὲ καὶ ἀμφοῖν παραπλήσιον ἄλλῳ, ὁμοίως καὶ φυτὰ φυτοῖς, καὶ πτηνὰ πτηνοῖς καὶ ὁμοίοις ὅμοια καὶ ἑτέροις ἕτερα καὶ ἑκάστοις ἕκαστα καὶ τοῖς ἅπασιν ἅπαντα, λόγοις τῆς προνοίας ἀπορρήτοις. τὸν αὐτὸν δή μοι δοκεῖ τρόπον καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἀνθρώπους ὁμοιότητι δή τινι συνιέναι καὶ ἀπιέναι ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων· οὓς γὰρ αἷμα συνήγαγεν, ἔσθ' ὅτε τρόπος ἀπήγαγε, καὶ οὓς χρόνος διέστησε, τούτους ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου συνέστησε γνώμη καὶ λόγος καὶ πρᾶξις ἢ τούτων ἕν τι ἢ τῶν ἑτέρων ἁπάντων ἕτερόν τι, ὅσα ἐξετάζων ἔχει τις ἐξευρίσκειν.

Ταῦτα δὴ πάντα κἀμὲ πείθει νυνὶ συγγένειαν ἔχειν τὴν σὴν πρὸς τὴν Πλάτωνος οἴεσθαι φύσιν, θειότατε βασιλεῦ. εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ συνῆψεν αἷμα μηδὲ χρόνος συνέστησεν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐξ ἀντιρρόπου καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ τρόπων καὶ πλειόνων ἄλλων ὁμοιότης συνδεῖ καὶ συνάπτει· ὅ τε γὰρ ἔρως ὢν πρὸς τὰ ἐκείνου τρέφεις τὸ συγγενὲς ἐναργῶς ἡμῖν ὑποφαίνει τῆς ἀμφοτέρων μεγαλονοίας, ἥ τε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον αὖ συγγένεια ἐραστήν σε τῶν ἐκείνου ποιεῖ καὶ ἀπόδειξις ἑκάτερον ἑκατέρου γίνεται· καὶ θαυμαζόμενος μὲν τῆς αἱρέσεως ὅτι τοῖς σοφοῖς προστέτηκας, θαυμάζῃ μᾶλλον ὅτι τοῖς μᾶλλον. οἶμαι δὲ κἀκεῖνος εἰ παρῆν, ἐραστὴς ἂν ἐγεγόνει τῶν σῶν λαβυρίνθων τῆς γνώσεως, καὶ τῆς σῆς ἂν ἑάλω μᾶλλον γλώττης ἢ σὺ τῆς ἐκείνου, καὶ διεκόσμει ἂν μᾶλλον πρὸς τὰ σὰ βλέπων πράγματα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν καὶ πολιτείαν, καὶ πλείους γε οὕτω τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ νόμοις τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐξεπόριζεν.

Ἀλλὰ φέρε δὴ θεωρήσωμεν εἰ ἐφάμιλλα τὰ σὰ τοῖς ἐκείνου καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου τοῖς σοῖς. λέγεται τοίνυν ἐκεῖνον πυθομένου τινός, τί τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐκεῖνος ὥνατο, « τὸ — αὐτὸν φάναι — ἐν

39 τῆς ... μεγαλονοίας : cf. Nic. Chumn. = An. Boiss. II, p. 35, 20 τῆς σῆς (scil. Andronici imperatoris) ὑψηλῆς μεγαλονοίας ‖ *44* τῶν σῶν λαβυρίνθων ; cf. Nic. Greg. hist. Byz. III, 1 = p. 31 Schopen ; Luc. bis accus. 21 ; Icaromen. 29 ; al. ‖ *44-45* τῆς σῆς ... γλώττης : cf. Nic. Greg. hist. Byz. VIII, 8 = p. 330, 7 Schopen ‖ *50* sqq. Stob. p. 226 M.

21 τὸ συγγενὲς² om. C ‖ 22 ἀστράσιν scripsi : ἄστρασιν codd. ‖ 29 ante ἀλλήλοις] ἐν add. L ‖ 32 τούτων ἕν τι ἢ om. C ‖ 36 ἐξ ἀντιρρόπου] ἐκ τοὐναντίου y ‖ 48 φέρε om. B ‖ 50 αὐτὸ B

εὐδίᾳ ἑστῶτα χειμαζομένους ἄλλους ὁρᾶν, καὶ πρὶν γενέσθαι τὰ δυσχερῆ, προνοῆσαι ὅπως μὴ γένηται, καὶ γενόμενα εὖ διαθέσθαι». τριῶν δὴ τούτων ὄντων ἀγαθῶν, ἃ λόγῳ Πλάτων φιλοσοφεῖ, οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν ὃ μὴ τοῖς ἔργοις τετέλεκας σὺ τελεώτατα καὶ ἔτι γε τελῶν ἀεὶ διατελεῖς, καὶ πολλῷ γε κρεῖττον ἢ ὡς ἐκείνῳ γε ἐπὶ νοῦν ἀναβεβηκέναι καὶ ἀνάθημα ἐνθυμήσεως γεγενῆσθαι. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ὑπερβολὴν ἐδόκει πᾶσαν εἶναι τῇ ὠφελείᾳ ταύτῃ· διὸ καὶ ὥσπερεί τι τῶν ἀπορρήτων ἐνόμισε λέγειν τοῦτο λέγων, καὶ συγγνώμη γε τἀνθρώπῳ. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἤνεγκεν ὁ μέχρις ἐκείνου χρόνος παράδειγμα κατὰ σέ. ἦ γὰρ ἂν κἀκεῖνος ἤθελε γαλήνην ἄλλων τὸν ἐκείνου γίγνεσθαι χειμῶνα, ὅπερ ἀεὶ σὺ ποιεῖς καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τὴν ἡμέραν χειμάζῃ, ὡς ἂν ἐν εὐδίᾳ διάγοιεν ἕτεροι, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ δι' ἄλλους καὶ μὴ διὰ σαυτὸν γεγενημένος εἴης γε τῷ βίῳ· ὡς τοῖς σοῖς μᾶλλον πράγμασιν ἢ τοῖς ἐκείνου λόγοις τὴν ὄντως ὑποπτεύεσθαι φιλοσοφίαν· τὸ δ' ὅπως μὴ γένηται τὰ δεινά, προνοήσασθαι πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι καὶ αὖ τὰ φθάσαντα εὖ διαθέσθαι, εἰ μὲν πρότερος ἦσθα τοῦ Πλάτωνος σύ, σοῦ γε μᾶλλον ταυτὶ καὶ οὐ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐφάμην τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπόνασθαι· πάντας γὰρ ἰχνηλατῶν τῷ νῷ τοὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἥττους τῆς σῆς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει προνοίας εὑρίσκω. νῦν δὲ πολλῷ τῷ χρόνῳ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ὕστερος ὤν, θαυμάζειν καὶ διαπορεῖσθαί με παρέχεις, τίς ἂν εἴη ὁ τὴν τοσαύτην φιλοσοφίαν ἔργοις διδάξας σε, ἢ πάντως αὐτοδίδακτος εἶ καὶ φύσει σοφός;

Ἀλλὰ ἄλις μέν γε τούτων· τὰ δ' ἑξῆς ἐχέτω μνήμην· ὁ αὐτὸς αὖθις πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον πῶς ἂν ἄριστα διοικοῖντο αἱ πόλεις, ἐὰν οἱ φιλόσοφοι βασιλεύσωσιν, ἀπεκρίνατο, ἢ φιλοσοφήσωσιν οἱ βασιλεῖς· σὺ δ' οὐ λόγῳ μόνῳ φιλοσοφεῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐπίσης καὶ λόγῳ

73 sq *πάντως — σοφός* : cf. Nic. Chumn. = An. Boiss. II, p. 36, 11 sqq. *ὃ καὶ τὰ διὰ χρόνου μακροῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιμελῶς σπουδαζόμενα, καὶ μόλις εἰς ἐπιστήμην ἥκοντα, μόνος αὐτοδιδάκτως θεοσόφως ἐξεπιστάμενος.* De Andronici sapientia ac doctrina cf. etiam Greg. Cypr. = An. Boiss. I, p. 386, 17 sqq. ; Nic. Chumn. = *ibid.*, II, p. 4, 16 sqq. ; p. 38, 6 ‖ *75 Ἀλλὰ — τούτων* : cf. Plat. polit. 287ᵃ ; al. ‖ *77* sq. Plat. resp. V, 18 = 473ᵈ ; cf. Greg. Cypr. = An. Boiss. I, p. 387 sq. ; Stob. IV, 1, 107 = IV, p. 54 W.-H.

57 *ὑπερβολὴν ἐδόκει*] inv. ord. z ‖ 60 *κἀκεῖνος*] *ἐκεῖνος* B ‖ 62 *ὅπερ*] *τοὐναντίον* coni. Bezdechi ‖ 74 *φύσει* A^{sl} ‖ 79 *μόνῳ* A : *μόνον* a

καὶ πράξει. σὺ γὰρ ὄντως τὰς φύσεις τῶν ὄντων ἐμεμαθήκεις ἐς τἀκριβὲς πεῖραν μεγάλην καὶ βάσανον τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ δοὺς καὶ λαβών, καὶ τὰ τῇ γλώττῃ σοι προφερόμενα οὐκ ἀπὸ στοχαστικῆς τινος τῆς διανοίας προίασι, γεγυμνασμένης δ' ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ λόγον πρακτικὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς προϊείσης καὶ ἔγκαρπον. ἄχθομαι δ' ὅτι πρὸς ἐλλιπῆ τὴν ἐρώτησιν ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ διὰ τοῦτό γε καὶ ἧττον ἢ κατὰ τὸ σοὶ προσῆκον ἀπεφήνατο· τῶν γὰρ πραγμάτων καλῶς τῇ τοῦ χρόνου διακειμένων φορᾷ, καὶ βασιλέως φιλοσοφοῦντος οὐκ ὄντος, ἄριστ' ἂν αἱ πόλεις διοικοῖντο. εἰ δὲ προσετίθετο τῇ ἐρωτήσει, πῶς ἂν ἄριστα διοικοῖντο αἱ πόλεις, τῶν πραγμάτων κακῶς τε καὶ ἀνωμάλως διατεθέντων τῇ φορᾷ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως μυρίοις συνειληθέντος δεινοῖς, παραπλησίως ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις κυβερνήτης ἐν νηὶ μυρίοις περιαντλουμένῃ δεινοῖς ἁλοίη, ζεούσης μὲν καὶ ταραττομένης κάτωθεν τῆς θαλάττης, τῶν κυμάτων δ' ὑπὲρ πάντα Καύκασον ὑψουμένων, νυκτὸς δὲ βαθείας πᾶσαν καλυπτούσης τὴν γῆν, ὑετοῦ δ' ἄνωθεν καταρρηγνυμένου βιαίου, πνευμάτων δ' ἀλλεπαλλήλων ἀντιπνεόντων, τῶν ναυτῶν δ' ἐκπολεμωθέντων κατ' ἀλλήλων τε καὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ γε δὴ τοῦ κυβερνήτου· εἰ ταῦθ' ὁ ἐρωτῶν προσετίθει τῇ ἐρωτήσει, ἀχανῆ ἂν οἶμαι καθίστα τὸν γῆν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν τῇ γλώττῃ ἀναμοχλεύοντα Πλάτωνα. εἰ δὲ προφητικός τις ἦν ἐκεῖνος, ἔφησεν ἂν πρὸς μόνον σὲ βλέψας, ὡς ὅτε τοιοῦτος εἴη ὁ βασιλεύων, κἂν ἀντιβαίνωσι τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλ' οὖν τότ' ἂν ἄριστα διοικοῖντο αἱ πόλεις καὶ ὡς οἱ φιλοσοφίας θεμιστεύουσι θεσμοί, εἰ δ' οὖν τότ' ἂν εἴη ἀνάλυσις ἀνθρώπων καὶ πραγμάτων ἐς ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖαν καθ' Ὅμηρον. τὰ γὰρ τῆς φρονήσεως κράτιστα παρὰ τῆς φύσεως εἰληφὼς ὡς τῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος οὐδεὶς ἄμεινον, καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τὸ εὐμετάβολον ῥᾷστα περιτρέπεις ἐς τὴν τοῦ βελτίονος μοῖραν, ὡς τῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος οὐδεὶς ἄμεινον. ὃ γὰρ ἐν σώματι ψυχή, τοῦτ' ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι φρόνησις, ὥσπερ τοὐναντίον ἀφροσύνη, τῶν πραγμάτων νέκρωσις καὶ διάλυσις καὶ φορὰ πλημμελής.

105 sq. Hom. *H* 99 ‖ *106* sqq. cf. Nic. Greg. hist. Byz. VIII, 8 = p. 330, 5 sq. Schopen ; Greg. Cypr. = An. Boiss. I, p. 387, 3 sqq. ; p. 384, 14 ; Nic. Chumn. = *ibid.*, II, p. 19, 19 sqq. et passim

82 προφερόμενα a : προσφερόμενα A ‖ 83 στοχαστικῆς a : σχολαστικῆς A | προίασιν Az ‖ 98 τε om. z ‖

Δι' αὐτό γέ τοι τοῦτο καὶ Πλάτων ἐξαίρων τὸ τῆς φρονήσεως ἀγαθόν, τάδε πρὸς τὸν ὅστις ἄρα καὶ εἴη ὁ προσδιαλεγόμενος διεξέρχεται· «ὦ μακάριε, μὴ οὐχ αὕτη ᾗ ὀρθὴ ἀλλαγὴ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἡδονὰς πρὸς ἡδονὰς καὶ λύπας πρὸς λύπας καὶ φόβον πρὸς φόβον καταλλάττεσθαι καὶ μείζω πρὸς ἐλάττω ὥσπερ νομίσματα, ἀλλ' ᾗ ἐκεῖνο μόνον τὸ νόμισμα ὀρθόν, ἀντὶ οὗ δεῖ πάντα ταῦτα καταλλάττεσθαι, φρόνησις, καὶ τούτου μὲν πάντα καὶ μετὰ τούτου ὠνούμενά τε καὶ πιπρασκόμενα τῷ ὄντι ᾗ καὶ ἀνδρία καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ συλλήβδην ἀληθὴς ἀρετή, μετὰ φρονήσεως, καὶ προσγιγνομένων καὶ ἀπογιγνομένων καὶ ἡδονῶν καὶ φόβων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων· χωριζόμενα δὲ φρονήσεως καὶ ἀλλαττόμενα ἀντὶ ἀλλήλων μὴ σκιαγραφία τις ᾗ ἡ τοιαύτη ἀρετὴ καὶ τῶν ὄντι ἀνδραποδώδης τε καὶ οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς οὐδ' ἀληθὲς ἔχῃ». «τὰς γὰρ ἀνομοιότητας, φησί, τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν πράξεων καὶ τὸ μηδέποτε μηδέν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων μηδὲν ἐᾶν ἁπλοῦν ἐν οὐδενὶ <περὶ> τῶν ἁπάντων καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἀποφαίνεσθαι τέχνην οὐδ' ἡντινοῦν».

Καὶ δι' αὐτό γέ τοι τοῦτο καὶ ποικίλην τινὰ καὶ πολύτροπον εἶναι δεῖ καὶ τὴν διοικοῦσαν φρόνησιν ἵνα καὶ ποικίλους δή τινας καὶ πολυτρόπους τοὺς κανόνας ἐπάγῃ καὶ τοὺς θεσμοὺς ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνομοιότησιν. ὅπερ ἀεὶ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὁρῶμεν τοῖς ἡμετέροις πράγμασιν ἔκ γε τῆς σῆς φρονήσεως τελούμενον κάλλιστά τε καὶ ὡς ἂν οὐδ' εἰ πάντες συνέλθοιεν Λυκοῦργοι καὶ Σόλωνες καὶ Δράκοντες καὶ οἱ τὴν Πνύκα διέποντες δυνηθεῖεν ἄν· ὥστε μείζω καὶ τῶν Πλάτωνος λόγων τὰ σὰ πράγματα, ὅπου γε καὶ εἰ τὸ ἴσον ἔχειν ἐδόκουν,

115 sqq. Plat. Phaed. 69^{a-c} || *132* sqq. Plat. polit. 294^{b}

119 ᾗ] ἢ vel ἤ y | *ἐκεῖνον* B || 121 *τούτων* G || 132 *ἔχει* G || 136 *περὶ* ex loco Platonico addidi

ἀλλ' οὖν καὶ οὕτω γε τὸ πλέον αὖθις εἶχον ἄν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἴσον τὸ τῇ γλώττῃ τὰ χρηστὰ νομοθετεῖν καὶ χρῆσθαί γε τῇ πρακτικῇ τὸ μὲν γὰρ εἰ μὴ τοῦ παντός, ἀλλ' οὖν γε τῶν πλειόνων · τὸ δὲ τῶν πάνυ τοι βελτίστων. εἰς μὲν γὰρ κρίσιν ἀπὸ γλώττης καταστάς τις, τοῦ καλοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ χείρονος τὰ βέλτιστα φήσειεν ἄν · εἰς δὲ πρᾶξιν, οὐ μέντ' ἂν ῥᾳδίως πάντα πράξειε τὰ λελεγμένα · τὸ μὲν γὰρ ῥᾴδιον παντί, τὸ δ' οὐ παντί.

Ἔτι φασὶν ἐκεῖνον ὀργιζόμενον τῷ οἰκέτῃ καὶ μαστιγοῦν ἐθέλοντα, ἐπανατεῖναι μὲν τὴν βακτηρίαν, στῆναι δ' ἐφ' ἱκανὸν μετέωρον ταύτην ἔχοντα · Ξενοκράτους δ' ἐπιστάντος καὶ ἐρομένου τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ μέλλειν, φάναι κολάζειν πρότερον τὸν θυμόν, μὴ ἀσχημονῶν καταισχύνοι τὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας σεμνόν · εἶτ' αὐτὸν μὲν ἐκστῆναι τοῦ δι' ἑαυτοῦ κολάσαι, προτρέψαι δ' οὖν τέως ἑτέρῳ τὰ τῆς τοῦ οἰκέτου μάστιγος, αὐτὸν γὰρ φάναι ὀργίζεσθαι. νὴ τοὺς λόγους, ἄγαμαι μὲν καὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν εἰ τοιαῦτα πείθοι, ἄγαμαι δ' οὐχ ἧττον καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον, εἰ οὕτω πείθοιτο ἐν τοσούτῳ κύματι καὶ κλύδωνι θυμοῦ, ὁπότε ὑπὸ σφοδρᾶς οἱονεί τινος πλημμύρας ὑβρίζον καὶ ἀναβράττον τὸ τῆς καρδίας αἷμα περιφέρεσθαι καὶ ἀστατεῖν ἀναγκάζει τὸν λογισμὸν καθάπερ πάλαι τὰ τῆς Σκύλλης κύματα τὸν Ἰθακήσιον. σὺ δὲ τί πρὸς ταῦτα, βασιλεῦ ; μὴ πρὸς ἀπορίαν τοὺς τὸ σὸν ὑποδύντας γυμνάσιον ἐμβάλλεις ἡμᾶς οὐχ ὑποβάλλων ὕλην ταῖς παραβολαῖς τοῦ σοῦ Πλάτωνος ; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ · πρότερον τὴν θάλατταν ἰκμάδων ἀπορεῖν φήσειεν ἄν τις ἢ σὲ τοιαῦθ' ὑποβάλλειν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ μέχρι τοσούτου τὸν θυμὸν ἐκόλασε, μέχρι τοῦ μὴ χεῖρας ἀφεῖναι τῷ δούλῳ, τὴν δ' οὖν ὀφειλομένην αὖθις ἐπήνεγκε κόλασιν ἑτέρᾳ χειρὶ χρησάμενος. εἰ γοῦν καὶ σοὶ προσάγοι τις τὸ μὴ χειρὶ κολάζειν εἰς ἐπαίνου μοῖραν, ὅμοιον ἂν ποιοίη ὡς εἴ τις ἀκροθίνια Πυγμαίων κολοσσῷ ἐφαρμόζοι. τοῦτο γὰρ πρό γε φιλοσοφίας καὶ ἡ τῆς βασιλείας ὑφηγεῖται σεμνότης, εἰ μὴ ταὐτὸν φιλοσοφία καὶ βασιλεία καλῶς ἀγομένη. τοῦτο δέ σου μᾶλλον θαυμάσειεν ἄν τις δικαίως, ὅτι μηδὲ δι' ἑτέρου κολάζειν ἐθέλεις, οὐδ' ἐπὶ σφόδρα μεγάλοις τοῖς πταίσμασι.

155 sqq. cf. Stob. III, 20, 57 = III, p. 551 W.-H. ; cf. etiam III, 20, 42 = III, p. 548 W.-H. ‖ 167 *καθάπερ — Ἰθακήσιον* ; cf. Hom. *M* 234 sqq. ‖ *176 εἴ τις — ἐφαρμόζοι* ; cf. Philostr. v. soph. 19

151 τοι om. B ‖ 158 φᾶναι zL‖ 161 τοῦ om. G ⎪ φᾶναι a ‖ 169 ἐμβάλλης Bezdechi ‖ 170 γε om. CG ‖ 172 ἐκόλασεν z ‖ 175 τὸ] τῷ z

πῶς γὰρ ὃς καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἀλόγων παρατείνεις τὸ σὸν φιλάνθρωπον καὶ ἄχθη εἴ τι κακοπραγοίη; ἢ πῶς ὅς γε μὴ μόνον μήτε χεῖρας μήτε τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων ὄψεις ἀφαιρεῖς, ὅτι μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον δίδως ἐκ περιουσίας, μὴ ὅτι γε τοῦ κολάζειν θυμόν, ὅτι μὴ τοῦ φιλανθρωπεύεσθαι μᾶλλον; ὁ γὰρ οὕτω γε κολάζειν τῇ τῶν νόμων ἐξουσίᾳ τοὺς εἰς τὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἁμαρτόντας πράγματα δίκαιος ὤν, ἔπειτ' ἀφιεὶς καὶ παροχεὺς ἀκούειν δίκαιος ἂν εἴης τῶν τοιούτων· τοσοῦτόν σοι μᾶλλον ἢ Πλάτωνι περίεστι τοῦ κολάζειν εἰδέναι θυμόν. σὲ γάρ, εἴ τις ὥσπερεί τινι πέμπτῳ στοιχείῳ τῷ οἴκτῳ φήσειε συγκεκρᾶσθαι, πολλοῦ μέντ' ἂν δεήσειεν ἀποπεσεῖν τοῦ δέοντος· οὕτως αὐτόχρημα οἰκτος εἶ.

Ἔτι τε πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν αὐτάρκη μὲν εἶναι τὴν μετὰ φρονήσεως ἔλεγεν ἀρετήν, ὀργάνων δὲ προσδεῖσθαι τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα πλεονεκτημάτων· ὥστ' εὐδαιμονέστατος μὲν ἂν εἴης γε σὺ τῶν ἁπάντων, εὐδαίμονες δ' ἂν εἴημεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ τοιαύτης ἀγόμενοι δεξιᾶς. ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ πάντα ὡς διαρκῶς ἔχεις, ὡς ἅπασι δῆλα, τοῖς ἅπασι λέγειν παρίημι· οἶμαι γὰρ εἰ ζήτησίς τις ἐγεγόνει παγκόσμιος, εἰ τῶν ὑφ' ἥλιον εἴη σοί τις παραπλήσιος ἐπί τε φρονήσει καὶ κάλλει καὶ εὐεξίᾳ καὶ ἁρμονίᾳ μελῶν, πάντως ἂν πάντας μάλα ἀσμένως σοὶ τὴν νικῶσαν χαρίσασθαι. ἐμέμψατο δ' ἂν οἶμαι καὶ ὁ Ἀρίστωνος αὐτὸς ἑαυτόν, εἰ παρόντι συμπαρῆν σοι, ὅτι μὴ αὐτάρκως τὸ αὐταρκες τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ὡρίσατο· ἃ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐνόμισε διαρκῆ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν αὐτάρκη, ταῦτα πάντα μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ βελτίονος ἔχεις· ἃ δ' ἐπὶ μᾶλλον σὺ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως ἔσχηκας πλεονεκτήματα, ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνος οὐδ' ἐν ὀνείροις ἐπὶ νοῦν εἰλήφει, καὶ εἰκότως· ἐχρῆν γὰρ ὅσον τῇ δόξῃ, τοσοῦτον καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι τῆς διαρκοῦς εὐδαιμονίας πλεονεκτήμασι τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ὑπερέχειν· οὐ γὰρ ὀρθῶς ἔχειν δοκεῖ τῷ σῷ Πλάτωνι τὸν χείρω τῶν βελτιόνων ἐπιστατεῖν οὐδὲ τὸν ὅμοιον· ὁ γὰρ ὅμοιος ἡμῖν ὅμοια καὶ

181 τὸ σὸν φιλάνθρωπον: cf. Nic. Chumn. = An. Boiss. II, p. 44 sqq. ‖ *200* κάλλει — μελῶν: cf. Greg. Cypr. = An. Boiss. I, p. 369, 3 sqq.; Nic. Chumn.= *ibid.*, p. 40, 12 sq. ‖ *210* sqq. Plat. Prot. 338ᵇ

185 τοῦ om. z ‖ 188 τῶν om. G ‖ 196 δ'εἴημεν ἂν CL ‖ 197 μὲν om. y del. L^{prob} ‖ 212 καὶ om. G.

ποιήσει, φησίν· ἀλλὰ βελτίονα πάντως δεῖ. τοιγαροῦν καὶ ξυνελήλυθεν· οὕτως ἐπιεικῶς συγγενῆ καὶ ὁμόστοιχα τοῖς Πλάτωνος λόγοις τὰ σὰ πράγματα, καὶ οὕτως εἰκότως ἐραστὴς τῶν ἐκείνου καθίστασαι.

Πολλῶν δ' ἑτέρων ἐπιρρεουσῶν ἀφορμῶν ἑκατέρωθεν εἰς τὸ λέγειν, ἐκ σοῦ γε δηλαδὴ καὶ τοῦ Πλάτωνος, ἔδει καὶ τοῖς λέγουσιν ἡμῖν, σοῦ μὲν τὸ πολύστροφον τῆς συνέσεως κτήσασθαι καὶ τὸ τῆς γλώττης διαρκές, ἐκείνου δὲ τὴν ἡδεῖαν καὶ ἔντεχνον τοῦ λόγου πλοκήν. οὕτω γὰρ ὡς ἔδει γε καὶ τὸ βουλόμενον ἡμῖν ἀνύσιμον ἂν ἦν· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἔνεστι τὸ κτήσασθαι, ἄμεινον ἐνταῦθα σιωπῇ τὸν λόγον κατακλείειν.

214 sqq. cf. Greg. Cypr. = An. Boiss. I, p. 388, 1 sqq. ‖ *219* σοῦ — συνέσεως ; cf. Nic. Chumn. = An. Boiss. II, p. 38, 6 ‖ *220* τὸ — διαρκές : cf. *supra* 44-45.

Oratio II

Εἰς τὸν βασιλέα
— κατὰ διάλεκτον Ἰωνικήν —

Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν ἐκ Μακεδονίης φασὶν ἐκεῖνον — δεῖ γὰρ ἡμέας ἐς ἀξιόχρεως καὶ μεγάθει μεγίστας εἰκόνας ἀγινέειν τὰς σὰς ὑποθέσιας — ἐπεὶ ὦν ἐκεῖνος ἐς τὰ τῆς Ἀσίης βασιλήια διεπέρησε τὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης πρήγματα καὶ λαφυρέων ἐμπέπλητο, τά περ δὴ Μηδίης καὶ Βαβυλωνίης ἔβοσκε μεσόγαια, καὶ ὑπέραντλος ὑπ' ὧν ἡ τύχη δωρέεται χρηστέων ἐγεγόνεε, τότε δὴ ὦν ἐκεῖνόν φασι βασιληίου μεγαλοπρεπηίης ἀπόδεξιν ποιέεσθαι βουλόμενον, πάντας ὁκόσοι τῆς θωϋμαστῆς ἐκδημίης ἐκείνης ἐκθύμως συμμετεσχήκεσάν οἱ, τό περ αἱρέεται ἕκαστος κελεῦσαι αἰτέειν. καὶ δὴ ὦν ὁ μέν τις ἤτεε στρεπτόν, ὁ δὲ κιθῶνα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ψέλλια καὶ ὁκόσα τοῖσι Μήδοισι καὶ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσιν ὑπῆν τρυφὴ πολυτελής.

Καί μοι ἐδόκεε τὸ φιλότιμον αὐτοῖο ἐνταῦθά οἱ ἀφιλότιμον εἶναι, καὶ οὔτε τῷ διδέοντι μακρὴν ἀποσιεύμενον δόξην οὔτε χυδαίης καὶ βαναύσου τούς γε αἰτέοντας ἔξω θέον φαυλότητος.

1 sqq. cf. Arrian. Alex. an. VII, 5 ; Plut. v. Alex. 39

A (BG = zC =) y ‖ 3 εἰς C ‖ 6 ὑπ' ὧν Bezdechi : ὑπῶν AC ὑπῶν z | χρηστῶν z ‖ 7 μεγαλοπρεπίης z

σφίσι μὲν γὰρ οὔτ' εἰς ἀθάνατον εὐκληΐην ἐχώρησεν ὁκόσα τῆς προαιρέσιος αὐτέων ἦν, οὔτε μέν κου δόξης ἐπαινευμένης τῇ τε μνήμῃ τῷ τε χρόνῳ παρέσχον οὐδὲν ἀπ' ὧν προηρέαται. ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς πιθανῶς κως ὑποδὺς τῆς ἀποδέξιος τὴν ἐγχείρησιν, ἐλελήθεέν οἱ μᾶλλον ἢ σφι τὴν ὄνησιν ποιεύμενος. ἐπώρεγε μὲν ὅμως καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτὴν βραχηΐην, καὶ οὐ μὲν ἐς τὸ μέλλον μακρῷ τῷ χρόνῳ συμπαρατεινεῦσαν τὴν μνήμην. προσχρησάμενος γὰρ ὁκόσα καὶ καθαρτηρίῳ φαρμάκῳ χυμοῦ τινος ἐπισφαλῆος καὶ ἀτακτεύσης ὕλης καὶ πονήρως φλεγμαινεύσης, τῇ γε αἱρέσει καὶ τῇ γε γνώμῃ τῶν οἱ ὑπὸ χεῖρα ἐόντων, ῥηϊδίως ἀφειδέων ἦν καὶ προιέμενος μοχθηρῆς συναγωγῆς φόρτον οὐκ ἥκιστα ἀνόνητον, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἑστιασέων ἐκάλεε κορώνας καί γε κολοιοὺς ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ τραπέζῃσι τοῖσι καρποῖσι τοῖσι νεοβλάστοισιν, ἀφειδέως ἡπλωμένην ὀρέων τὴν κάμπην, καὶ τοὺς μυελοὺς ἐκμυζῶσαν τῇ γεωργίης, καὶ ἀθύμως λίην ἔχειν παρασκευαζεῦσαν τοὺς τῆς γῆς ἀθλητάς, ἢ ὥσπερ εἴ τις ὀνυχέων καὶ τριχέων ἐξαιρέων τά περ ἔασι περιττά, κόσμον οἱ ἐς τὸ παρεὸν προξενέει. ἐκεῖνα δέ σφεων οὐ πάνυ ἀνεμέσητα παριέναι δυνέαταί μου τὴν μνήμην, ὡς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῦ τέως χρόνου παρέχοντος Ἀριστοτέλεα καὶ τὴν Ἀριστοτέλευς σοφίην, ὁκοίης οὐκ ἔασιν ἀντίρροπα ὁκόσα Βαβυλὼν καὶ Ἐκβάτανα ἐκτέατο πρήγματα, καὶ ὁκόσα τὰ Πάρθων ἐν τοῖσι Καβείροισιν εἶχε βασιλήια. οὔκουν οὔτ' ἐκεῖνοι προὐθυμεῦντο αἰτέειν, οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνος προὐτίθεεν, ὅτι μὴ καὶ λίην πολλοῖσι τοῖσι σκώμμασιν ἔβαλλέ μιν, ἐπεὶ τὴν οἰκηΐην σοφίην βίβλοισι παρατιθέμενος, φάρμακον βοηθείης τοῖσιν ἐσομένοισιν ἀνδράσι παρέπεμπεν. οὕτως ἡ τύχη καὶ ὁ τῆς τύχης πλάνος ἐπισκοτέει τὠληθὲς τῶν ἀνθρωπηΐων λογισμῶν, καὶ οὔκων ἀπίησι δεξιέως προνοέεσθαι τῶν περ προϊστέαται πρηγμάτων. καὶ δόξην προϊσχομένη ἐπίκηρον καὶ ψευδέα, ἐλελήθεεν ἔσθ' ὅτε μέζω τὴν ἀδοξίην περιαμπίσχουσα. ὅστις δὲ τὰς τῆς τύχης οὔκων εὐφυέως κινευμένας φορὰς ξύν γε λόγων ἀτρεκίῃ βασανίζειν οἶδε καὶ ἐπισκοπέειν ἀξιαπηγητότατα,

34 sqq. cf. e.g. Plut. v. Alex. 7 || *39* τοῖς — μιν : cf. Ael. ep. 1 || *42* ὁ τῆς τύχης πλάνος : cf. Men. cith. fr. 8 = I p. 109 Koerte πλάνον τύχη

16 σφίσιν G || 18 ἀπ' ὧν Bezdechi : ἀπῶν codd. || 20 σφίσι G || 22 παραχρησάμενος C || 23 καθαρτηρίῳ scripsi : καταρτηρίῳ codd. an Gregoras? || 25 γε om. B || 28 τραπέζῃ C|| 33 δυνήαται B δυνήσεται C$^{pc\ prob}$ || 35 ἀριστοτέλους G || 38 οὔκουν superscr.-ων B | προθυμεῦντο C || 46 ξὺν] σὺν z

καὶ τὸ μὲν παρεὸν διατίθεσθαι εὖ, τοῦ δὲ μέλλοντος τὴν πρόνοιαν τοιήνδε ποιέεσθαι, ὁκοίην εἰκὸς διὰ μακροῦ τοῦ χρόνου πομπεύευσαν, πλεῦνας ἐπ' ἑωυτὴν τοὺς ὑμνητῆρας ἀγινέειν λόγους, οὗτος ὡς ἀληθέως ἔμοιγε δοκέει τῶν φρονιμέων τυγχανέειν ὁ κρατιστεύων καὶ τῶν ὑμνουμενέων ὁ βέλτιστος. ὁκοῖος διεπεφύκεις νητρεκέως αὐτός, βασιλεῦ· πάντα γὰρ ἐναργέως τὰ τῆς βασιληίου μεγαλοπρεπηίης διατηρέεις τεκμήρια μόνος αὐτός.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν νῦν τουτέων λεγόντων ὁκόσοι ἕτεροι. εἰρέαται δ' οὐκ ἥκιστα καὶ ἡμῖν γε πολλάκις ὀλίγα πολλῷ τῶν πολλῶν ἀπολεξαμένοις καὶ ὁκόσα σοὶ τὴν ἀπόδεξιν ἔρδεσκε μάλα σαφῆ τῆς ἐμεῦ ἀκραιφνεστάτης εὐνοίης. ὃ δέ μοι νῦν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι φραζέειν ἔαδε καὶ ἐπαγινέειν αἴτησιν, ἣ τὰ πάντα καλῶς διοικεῦσα πρόνοια εὖγε ποιεῦσα σοὶ τῷ φρονιμωτάτῳ τῶν ὁκόσοι τὴν ἀνθρωπηίην βιοτὴν διοικεῦσι φέρουσα διδοῖ τὸν σοφίῃ τῇ πάσῃ ὁκόση τε αἰθερίη καὶ ὁκόση χθονίη χρεώμενον μάλιστα πάντων ὁκόσοι σοφίην ἐκτέαται· ἔδεε γὰρ τοσούτῳ βασιλῆι τοσοῦτον παρεῖναι καὶ τὸν ὑπηρετεύμενον· ἤδεε δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ὁ ταῦτα σοφέως οἰκονομέων ὅκως διανεμεῖς εὖ τε καὶ εὐμενέως καὶ οὐ φθόνῳ ὀτεῳδὴ κατορύξεις θησαυρέων, οὕτω μεγάθει μέγιστον ὁκοῖον οὐδὲ διὰ πάνυ πολλέων ἤδη τῶν ἐτέων ἠέλιος ἐθηήσατο. μάρτυρες μέν γε σαφέες ὁκόσοι ἔασι πρό γε ἡμέων σοφίῃ μεγάλῃ χρεώμενοι καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν Ἑλλάδα ἐβώσθησαν ταύτης εἵνεκα, ὡς καὶ φύσιος οὗτος ὢνὴρ παρεληλύθεε τὰ θεσμά. τά περ γάρ σφεων ἕκαστοι διενειμέατο εἴδεα παρὰ μέρος σοφίης ὡς καθάπαξ ἕνα διενεγκεῖν ἀμήχανα, ταῦτ' ἔχει συναθροίσας οὗτος εἷς γ' ἐών, τέῳ τῆς σοφίης μετέσχομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁκόσα σοί γε οὐκ ἀνεθέλητα ἦν. νῦν γὰρ ἴδμεν σαφέως ὅκως *οὐρανοὶ μὲν διηγεῦνται τὴν δόξην τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ, νυκτὶ δὲ νὺξ ἀναγγελλέει γνῶσιν* καὶ ὁκόσα μετεξέτερα οὐ μηκυνέειν ὥρη.

Λείπεται δ' ἔτι, καὶ εἴ τί κου ἐλελείπαται, τό περ προσδεῖται

75 sqq. Septuag. ps. 19 (18) 2-3

51 *ἐμοί γε* AC ‖ 54 *μεγαλοπρεπείης* z ‖ 58 *ἀπόδειξιν* z ‖ 62-63 *τῷ... χρωμένῳ* Bezdechi ‖ 63 *χρώμενον* C ‖ 63-64 *μάλιστα πάντων*] inv. ord. z ‖ 66 ante *ὁ*] *καὶ* additum del. B | *διανεμέεις* B ‖ 67 *ὀτῳδὴ* z | ante *μεγάθει*] *σε* add. Bezdechi fort. recte ‖ 69 *ἐθηήσατο* A : *ἐθειήσατο* y ‖ 74 *γ'* A : *γε* y ‖ 77 *ἀναγγελέει* C

μαθήσιος πρός τευ προσλαβεῖν, ὅκως κινεόμενον ᾖ τἀγαθὸν 80
ἐπὶ πλήϊον μηδὲ παραρρυέντος τοῦ κατ' ἡμέας αἰῶνος, ζητη-
σέωσιν οἱ τοῖσιν ἐσομένοισι συνεσόμενοι χρόνοισι, καὶ πρὸς
οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων καρπωσαίατο καὶ ζημίην ζημιωθέωσι ζημίης
ἁπάσης χαλεπωτέρην. τοῦτο δὲ ῥηϊδίως γίγνοιτ' ἂν κατανεύσαν-
τος σεῦ. κατάπερ γάρ τευ μέζον ἕτερον ἡμῖν οὐδὲν ἐς ὠφελείης 85
λόγον, οὕτω σοί γε δὴ τουτέω ῥᾷον ἕτερον οὐδὲν ἐς εὐποιίης
λόγον. καὶ μὲν δὴ Διονύσιος ὁ τῆς Σικελίης τύραννος ψυχροτέρην
πολλὸν τὴν καρδίην ἐπλούτεε πρός γε δὴ τὴν ὁμιλίην τῶν ὁκόσοι
ἔασι σοφοί. καὶ μέντοι κἀκ τῆς οἰκηίης Σικελίης ἐξώθεε τὸν
Ἀρίστωνος γόνον μάψ, ἀτὰρ οὐ κατὰ κόσμον. 90
οὐ γάρ πω κατὰ τὸν φάμενον ἤδεεν ὡς εἷς ὅδ' ἀνὴρ πολλῶν
ἀντάξιος ἄλλων βροτέων φέρτατος ἀτρεκέως ἦ κεν πάντες
πρό τ' ἐόντες καί τε μεθύστερον ἀνδρὸς τοῦδ' ἄρα γεινάμενοι.
διὸ καὶ προσετίθεεν ἑαυτέῳ δευσοποιούς τινας τὰς νεμέσιας καὶ
οὐ κάρτα σβεννυμένας τῷ χρόνῳ, παρεὸν ἐκ τοῦ ῥᾴστευ ἑλέσθαι 95
ὁκόσα βελτίω ἐπεφύκεεν. σὺ δ' οὕτως ἠγάσαο ξυνιεὶς τὴν [τεῦ]
τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐφυίην, ὥστε καὶ ὑπό γε ἐαριζούσῃ τῇ ἡλικίῃ κρυ-
πτόμενον ἤδεες ὁκοῖον ὁ ἐν ἡλικίῃ ἐγκυμονέει τὸν ἥρωα τὸν
πρεσβυγενέα, καί γε προσειλήφεες καί γ' ἐτετιμήκεες ἰθέως
καί γε διαδόσιμα ὁκόσα τουτέω προσέασι τὰ καλὰ τοῖσι χρῃ- 100
ζεῦσιν ἔπειτα ὑπεθήκαο, ἔργῳ δῆλον ποιέων τίς φιλοτιμίη ἁρμοτ-
τεῦσα βασιλεῦσι· καίτοι καὶ αὐτοῖσι τοῖσιν ὑπαιθρίοισι καί γε
διακεκηρυγμένοισιν ἀγαθοῖσιν, οὐ πάνυ πιστευέειν οἱ πλεῦνες
ἐθελεῦσιν, εἰ μή γε καὶ χρόνον κτησαίατο διδάσκαλον. σὺ δ'
οὐδέ κω οὐδένα διδάσκαλον περιμείνας μήτε χρόνον μήτ' οὐδα- 105
μῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα, μόνος ἐκ μόνου σαυτέῳ τὴν ἐκλογὴν
ἐποιήσαο, ἔργοισιν αὐτοῖσιν ἀποφήνας ὡς μόνος τῇ ἀληθείῃ σοφός,
ὅστις ἐξ ἑαυτέω σοφός. ὥστ' ἐπεί περ ὁ μὲν Δημιουργὸς Θεὸς
ἐκ μήτρης μητρικῆς ποιέεται τὴν ἐκλογήν, σὺ δ' ἐκ παίδων καὶ 110
μειρακιέων τοσοῦτον ἄρα ψαύεις τοῦ θήιος νομίζεσθαι πρὸς
ἡμέων, ὁκόσον πάντας παρέρχεαι ὁκόσοι ἔασιν ἐν χθονὶ συνετοί.
οἷσι μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀμυδρέων τῶν σημηίων τεκμαίρεαι τὴν τῆς μελ-

87 sqq. cf. Diog. L. III, 18 sq. || 90 Hom. *E* 759 || *91-92* Hom. *A* 514 || *96* cf. orat. I, 205 sqq. || *104* sqq. cf. orat. I, 72 sqq.

80 *πρός τευ* Bezdechi : *πρὸς τεῦ* codd. || 85 *ὠφελειήης* B *ὀφελείης* G || 88 *πολλῷ* C || 91-93 *οὐ — γεινάμενοι* om. C || 92 *βροτέων* scripsi : *βροτοῖς* codd. || 96 *τεῦ* secl. Bezdechi || 107 *ἀληθείᾳ* G || 112 *παρέρχεται* C || 113 *τεκμαίρεαι* y : *τεκμέρεαι* A

λούσης ἕξιος σύμπηξιν, ἑκάστευ πάντων βροτέων ὑπέρκεισαι. οἷσι δ' οὐκ ἐκ κοιλίης μητρὸς ποιέεις τουτί, ἀπόδεξιν αὖθις ποιέεις ὅτι βροτὸς καὶ οὐ μὲν Θεὸς εἶ. ὥστ' εἴ τίς ἐστι φύσις μεσιτευεῦσα Θεοῦ καὶ βροτέων, τοῦτ' αὐτὸς ἄντικρυς εἶ. ἵλεως δ' εἴης αὐτός μοι, θειότατε βασιλεῦ, οὕτωσὶ σὺν παρρησίῃ σοι προσαγινέοντι τὰς αἰτήσιας· τὸ γάρ τοι τῆς εὐνοίης κάρτα ἀκίβδηλον μακράν κου τὸν φόβον ὠθέει τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς προθυρέων, ἄλλως τε καὶ σύ τευ αἴτιος. εἴρηται γὰρ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ ἐκ Μακεδονίης παρά τευ τῶν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς σοφιστέων ἐρομένῳ ὅκως ἄν τις φιληθείη τὰ μάλιστα, ὡς ἐὰν κράτιστος ἐών, εὐμενής τις ὀρέηται τοῖσιν ὑπηκόοισιν, ὁκοῖος αὐτὸς ἐναργέστατα εἶ. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐκ φύσιος ἐπεφύκεις τοιουτοσί, βαβαὶ τῆς φυσικῆς ἁρμονίης καὶ τύχης· εἰ δ' ἐξ ἀρετῆς ἐξεπίτηδες ἀσκεομένης καὶ πρὸς ἕξιν βεβαιευμένης, βαβαὶ τῆς μεγαλοφυίης καὶ τοῦ τοῦ ἤθεος ὑγροῦ καὶ εὐπλάστοιο πρὸς τὰς τῶν χρηστέων ἀκραιφνέας σφραγῖδας.

Ἀρεταὶ μὲν γὰρ ἅπασαι ὁκόσαι ἔασι καὶ χάριτες. κύκλον ἀμφὶ τὴν σεῦ ψυχὴν κάλλιστον ἐξελιττεῦσαι, πᾶσάν σοι τὴν ἔνδον καλλονὴν ἐξυφαινεῦσιν. ἔξωθεν δὲ τὸ παράπαν ἀνενδεέας τοὺς χαρακτῆρας ἡ φύσις δημιουργεῦσα, καὶ κάρτα ἐμμελέως κιρνῶσα τὴν ἁρμονίην, μονονοὺ διατρανοῖ λαλεῦσα τοῖς θεαταῖς τὴν ἔνδον ἱλαρότητα καὶ χάριν, οἱονεί τις αὐγὴ πρωϊνὴ τῇσιν ἀκρωρηίῃσι κάλλιστον οἷον ἐπιλαμπεῦσα. ἀλλὰ Φειδίαι μὲν ἐκεῖνοι καί γε Πραξιτέλεες καί γε Λύσιπποι, ὁκότε πρόσω τῶν γε Ὀλυμπιέων ἢ καὶ ὅκῃ τύχοι τοῖσιν Ἕλλησι βουλοίατο γράφειν, τοὺς αὐτέων θεοὺς σοβαρούς τινας σφέας ἐποίεον καὶ ἐμβριθέας καί γε μεγάθει μεγίστους καί γε κάλλει καλλίστους καὶ πᾶσαν ἰδέαν ἐκπλήξιος ἐνετίθεον τοῖσι σχήμασι καὶ τοῖσι χρώμασι.

Σοὶ δ' ἰθέως ἡ φύσις δίκᾳ τευ γραφέως καὶ πλάστεω βασιλήιόν τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπηΐης μεστὸν τὸ εἶδος ἐνήρμοσε, κατάπερ στήλην κατεσκευακυῖα αἰδοῦς παιδεύευσαν κἀκ μόνης ὄψιος κάλλει τε καὶ σεμνότητι κεκραμένον καὶ ἐμβριθηίῃ τῇ προσηκεούσῃ χρεώμενον οἷσιν ἅπασιν ἐπιπρέπει κἀπικοσμέει τό τε

117 *μεσιτεῦσα Θεοῦ καὶ βροτέων*: cf. N.T. I ep. Tim. 2, 5 *μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων* || *120* sqq. cf. Plut. v. Alex. 34 ||

125 *καὶ*[a] om. B || 126 *τοῦ τοῦ*] *τὸ τοῦ* B *τοῦ* G || 133 *μονονοῦ* z || 142 *καθάπερ* AC || 143 *ὄψεως* B[ac] || 144 *προσηκούσῃ* z || 145 *κἀπικοσμεῖ* z

ἱλαρὸν τό τ' εὐμενὲς ὅλον χαριτέων γέμον καί, ἵν' εἴπω, ὅλον μεστὸν ἀνθέων ἠρινέων · ὥστ' οὐκ ἄν κού τις ἐν μέσῳ σὲ τῶν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων ἰδών, ἄλλον ἀντὶ σεῦ προσκυνήσειε, κατάπερ ἀντ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν Ἡφαιστίωνά κοτε ἡ Περσέων βασιλίς.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἴη Κύριος ἔς γε μήκει μηκίστους ἐνιαυτέων διατηρέων σὲ κύκλους, ὡς ἂν καὶ ἡμῖν ἐπὶ μακρότερον εἴη μακρήν τινα τὴν εὐφροσύνην τρυγᾶν τῇ γε ὄψει καὶ τῇσιν ἀκοῇσι καί, τό γε μέζον εἰπεῖν, αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ.

148 sqq. cf. Diod. XVII, 37, 5 ; Arrian. Alex. an. II, 12, 6.

146 τ'] τε C ‖ 151 ἐνιαυτῶν B ‖ 154 μεῖζον z

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Orationum summaria Italice conscripta (1)

Orazione I

Prendendo spunto dall'amore che l'imperatore (Andronico II) nutre per Platone, (Niceforo Gregora) cerca di dimostrare come le azioni del sovrano s'accordino perfettamente con le teorie del filosofo.

Nell'esordio, artificioso e lontano dai moduli tradizionali del *λόγος βασιλικός* (2), l'oratore s'industria di rilevare certe affinità elettive che legano il filosofo antico all'imperatore. I vincoli di sangue sono talvolta sciolti dal *τρόπος*, mentre la *γνώμη*, il *λόγος* e la *πρᾶξις* valgono spesso ad unire persone divise dal tempo. È questo appunto il caso di Andronico e Platone : pur appartenendo ad epoche tra loro così lontane e diverse, essi sono legati dalla stretta affinità della *φρόνησις* e dei *τρόποι*. E che codesta affinità vi sia tra i due, lo dimostra assai chiaramente l'amore che l'imperatore porta al filosofo. Anzi, se Platone fosse vissuto ai tempi di Andronico, avrebbe certamente ammirato la profondità del suo pensiero e la sua abilità oratoria ; quindi, osservando l'operato dell'imperatore, avrebbe addirittura perfezionato la sua concezione politica (ll. 1-47).

« Ma consideriamo se effettivamente le tue azioni sono paragonabili a quelle di Platone e le azioni del filosofo alle tue ». Interpellato una volta sui vantaggi della filosofia, si dice che Platone abbia risposto : il primo vantaggio è quello di vivere in serenità e guardare gli altri oppressi dalle intemperie della sorte ; il secondo consiste nel prevenire le sciagure ; il terzo infine è quello di saper ben disporre della situazione, quando esse si siano verificate. Naturalmente queste sono mere speculazioni teoriche ; l'imperatore invece

(1) A proposito di questi sunti o parafrasi, seguo il criterio adottato da un illustre filologo italiano, A. Garzya ; cf. NICEFORO BASILACE, *Encomio di Adriano Comneno*, a cura di A. Garzya, Napoli, 1965, p. 6.

(2) Circa lo schema tradizionale dell'encomio « regio », cf. J. VERPEAUX, *Nicéphore Choumnos, homme d'État et humaniste byzantin (ca 1250/1255-1327)*, Paris, 1959, p. 84 sqq. con cenno bibliografico.

ha messo in pratica — e continua a metterle — le teorie formulate dal filosofo antico, tanto che se il sovrano fosse vissuto prima di Platone, si sarebbe potuto concludere che fosse proprio lui a suggerire queste riflessioni al filosofo. Ma poichè Andronico vive molti secoli dopo Platone, è lecito chiedersi chi possa avere a lui insegnato tale filosofia; o egli è autodidatta e sapiente per natura? (ll. 48-74).

Passando ad altro tema, l'oratore si sofferma ad esaminare l'asserzione platonica, secondo cui gli stati allora si reggerebbero nella maniera migliore, quando i filosofi fossero re o i re filosofi. Se così è, l'imperatore realizza pienamente l'ideale platonico del principe, non solo in teoria, ma anche in pratica. E c'è di più. Platone presuppone uno stato tranquillo e non uno stato scosso profondamente da tempeste impetuose (allusione chiara alla difficile situazione politica del tempo di Andronico); in questo caso la sua affermazione perderebbe di validità. Nondimeno sarebbe stato sufficiente al filosofo contemplare, in veste di profeta, l'opera di Andronico, per scorgere in lui la più concreta e valida incarnazione del suo ideale politico, proprio in un frangente così grave, in una situazione politica così precaria. Il fatto è che la saggezza dell'imperatore sa imporsi sulle circostanze (ll. 75-112).

A questo punto l'oratore definisce meglio e più compiutamente la φρόνησις del sovrano, servendosi proprio di definizioni o citazioni platoniche. Il tema comunque è topico. Gregora insiste nel rilevare il vario dispiegarsi di essa e la sua concreta attuazione. Ed anzi proprio nella pratica realizzazione di Andronico opposta all'astratto pensamento di Platone, l'oratore fa consistere la superiorità del primo sul secondo (ll. 113-154).

Ma anche da altro emerge la superiorità di Andronico su Platone. Questi infatti, apprestandosi a battere col bastone uno schiavo, s'arrestò di botto e a Senocrate presente che gliene chiedeva il motivo, rispose che non voleva disonorare la santità della filosofia e perciò affidò ad un altro l'incarico di punirlo. Tanto può la filosofia! Ma Andronico è superiore a Platone; questi invero s'astenne dal battere lo schiavo, ma lo fece poi fustigare da un altro; l'imperatore invece, pur avendone il potere legale, non ama punire nè personal-

mente nè per mezzo d'altri i colpevoli, ma usa verso di essi benevolenza e comprensione (anche qui è forse un'allusione, vaga ed incerta, ad una situazione reale) (ll. 155-192).

Secondo Platone, la felicità consiste nell'unione della virtù con la saggezza e la prestanza fisica. Se così è, nessuno è più felice di Andronico; nessuno di quanti vivono sulla terra può reggere il confronto del sovrano quanto ad intelligenza, bellezza e prestanza fisica (anche questi temi sono topici). Se Platone fosse ancora in vita, senza dubbio rimpiangerebbe di non aver dato una definizione più esatta della virtù. Dopo aver ribadito ancora una volta l'affinità stretta fra Platone e Andronico e la perfetta conformità dell'azione di questo alle teorie dell'altro, l'oratore s'arresta. Egli non può procedere oltre, perchè non possiede l'intelligenza e l'eloquenza di Andronico, nè la piacevole scorrevolezza dello stile platonico (ll. 193-223).

Orazione II

Alessandro il Macedone, dopo la vittoriosa spedizione asiatica, si mostrò assai liberale verso gli amici e i commilitoni, concedendo quanto ognuno di essi desiderava. Ma siffatta liberalità non poteva da sola procurare e assicurare la gloria all'illustre principe, che tuttavia disponeva di Aristotele e della sua sapienza, che valeva forse più di tutte le ricchezze di Babilonia e di Ecbatana o di altro stato asiatico. La sorte è però spesso infida e ingannevole e si diverte ad allettare gli uomini con una fama falsa e caduca. Colui che sa fare uso di saggio discernimento nel predisporre bene il presente e nel prevedere il futuro, è certo il più saggio e il più degno di essere celebrato. E tale è senza dubbio Andronico, l'espressione più eloquente di magnificenza regale (ll. 1-55).

Molti ne hanno già celebrato le lodi (1), e fra questi, più

(1) Allude naturalmente agli encomi di Giorgio (Gregorio) di Cipro = *An. Boiss.*, I, p. 359 sqq. (cf. R. GUILLAND, *Essai*, p. 152 sgg.; J. VERPEAUX, *o.c.*, p. 35 sg. 117), di Niceforo Chumno = *An. Boiss.*, II, 1 sgg. (cf. R. GUILLAND, *ibid.*; J. VERPEAUX, *o.c.*, p. 85 sqq.), di Teodoro Metochita (cf. R. GUILLAND, *ibid.*, p. 153 sgg.; I. ŠEVČENKO,

d'una volta (1), lo stesso Gregora. Il quale, nel presente discorso, vorrà dimostrare come la Provvidenza divina aiuti e protegga il più intelligente e colto fra tutti sovrani della terra (ll. 56-78).

A differenza di Dionisio il tiranno, il quale scacciò via dalla Sicilia Platone, Andronico ha compreso appieno il genio del grande filosofo antico. Sin da giovane ha mostrato di possedere tutte quelle virtù che Platone voleva possedesse il suo principe ideale. E una volta salito sul trono (a. 1282), Andronico ha dato prova di essere un sovrano veramente illuminato. Egli non ha avuto alcun maestro : è un autodidatta, e questo esalta vieppiù la sua sapienza. La sua smisurata potenza non gl'impedisce di essere benevolo verso i suoi sudditi ed è per questo oggetto di venerazione da parte di essi : egli è insomma la reale testimonianza di quella risposta che un sapiente dell'India dette una volta ad Alessandro Magno (ll. 79-128).

Alla bellezza interiore del sovrano fa riscontro un'aggraziata armonia di forme. Andronico ha ricevuto dalla natura un volto regale e maestoso ; egli assomiglia ad una colonna che fa convergere gli sguardi ed ispira al tempo stesso venerazione ; si contemperano in lui grazia e dignità. Nessuno mai potrà confonderlo con altri nè a lui accadrà quel che una volta accadde ad Alessandro il Macedone : la regina dei Persiani s'inchinò davanti ad Efestione, che ella scambiò per il re. Conceda dunque il Signore vita lunga al sovrano, perchè i suoi sudditi possano a lungo gioirne (ll. 129-154).

Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos, Bruxelles, 1962, p. 137 sgg.).

(1) Allusione all'encomio precedente e a quello inserito nella *Storia Bizantina* (VIII, 8, p. 328 sgg. Schopen) ; cf. praef.

CHRONIQUE

LA BYZANTINOLOGIE SOVIÉTIQUE EN 1968-1969

La célébration solennelle du cinquantenaire de l'État soviétique a fourni l'occasion de dresser le bilan de cinquante années d'activité des byzantinistes soviétiques. Dans son ouvrage, *Sovetskoe vizantinovedenie za 50 let*, « Cinquante ans de byzantinologie soviétique » (M., 1969), Z. V. Udalcova distingue trois étapes dans l'histoire de la byzantinologie soviétique : la première va jusqu'aux années 35 ; la deuxième s'étend approximativement jusqu'en 1955, et la troisième couvre la période 1955-1967. C'est en fonction de celles-ci que sont conçus les chapitres du livre, les matériaux y étant groupés par sujets et une place toute spéciale étant réservée aux problèmes relatifs à l'histoire socio-économique. (Voir également du même auteur les articles, *Razvitie sovetskogo vizantinovedenija*, « Le développement de la byzantinologie soviétique », dans *VI*, 1968, n° 6, 79-94, et *Pjatidesjatiletie Velikoj Oktjabr'skoj revolucii i sovetskoe vizantinovedenie*, « Le Cinquantenaire de la Grande Revolution d'Octobre et la Byzantinologie soviétique », dans *VV*, 28, 1968, 3-14). La byzantinologie et ses problèmes sont aussi très largement présents dans le livre d'O. L. Weinstein, *Istorija sovetskoj medievistiki*, 1917-1966, « Historique des travaux des médiévistes soviétiques : 1917-1966 » (L., 1968), où se rencontre une division en périodes analogue à celle adoptée par Udalcova. Le byzantiniste tirera encore profit du répertoire bibliographique intitulé *Istorija srednich vekov. Bibliografičeskij ukazatel' literatury, izdannoj v SSSR*, t. I : 1918-1957, « Histoire du Moyen Âge. Index bibliographique de la littérature parue en URSS », t. I : 1918-1957 (Sous la rédaction de K. R. Simon et de E. E. Nersesova, M. 1968).

Assez peu de travaux sont consacrés à l'histoire politique de Byzance. Dans ce domaine, c'est l'empereur Julien qui, relativement, a retenu le plus l'attention. A côté d'une étude de vulgarisation d'I. A. Stučevskij sur l'œuvre de Julien, *Julian-Otstupnik*, « Julien l'Apostat », VI, 1968, n° 1, 216-220, il faut citer la thèse

de doctorat de D. E. FURMAN, *Vnutrennjaja politika imperatora Juliana* (361-363), « La politique intérieure de l'empereur Julien (361-363) ». — Compte rendu de thèse, M., 1968. Cf. du même auteur les articles : *Bor'ba imperatora Juliana s korrupciej gosudarstvennogo apparata*, « L'empereur Julien et sa lutte contre la corruption dans les rouages de l'État », dans *Vestnik* MGU, ser. XII : *Istorija*, 1968, n° 6, 65-71, et *K istorii religioznoj bor'by v Rimskoj imperii v četvertom veke n. e.*, « A propos des luttes religieuses dans l'Empire romain au IVe s. de notre ère » (*Tezisy dokladov naučnoj konferencii molodych učenych*, MGU, 1968, où il s'efforce de démontrer que les réformes administratives de Julien n'étaient radicales qu'en apparence. Cf. encore T. V. POPOVA : *Allegoričeskoe tolkovanie antičnoj mifologii v sočinenijach imperatora Juliana*, « Interprétation allégorique de la mythologie antique dans les œuvres de l'empereur Julien », dans *IV konferencija po klaassič. filol. Tezisy dokladov*, IVe Conférence pour l'étude des questions de philologie classique, résumés des sujets traités, Tb., 1969, 38-40. Signalons, en outre, les publications suivantes : I. A. STUČEVSKIJ, *Attila*, dans *VI*, 1968, n° 12, 208-213 (en édition populaire) ; R. A. GUSEJNOV, *Posledstvija sraženija pri Mancikerte (1071 g.) dla Zakavkaz'ja*, « Conséquences de la bataille de Mantzikert (1071) pour la Transcaucasie », dans *VV*, 29, 1968, 148-152 (essai de réinterprétation des conséquences entraînées par la conquête seldjoucide, laquelle, selon l'auteur, mit un terme à la politique égoïste de Byzance et fit passer la Transcaucasie dans le système économique instauré au Proche Orient) ; N. P. SOKOLOV, *Dogovor o perevozke kak istočnik dla rešenija voprosa o prednamerennosti izmenenija napravlenija Četvertogo krestovogo pochoda*, « Le 'Traité du Passage' en tant qu'élément de réponse à la question de la préméditation du changement de direction imprimé à la Quatrième Croisade », dans *UZ Gor'kovskogo univ.*, 88, 1re part., 1968, 5-21. (Le Traité de 1201 conclu entre Venise et les Croisés n'était pas un piège tendu par la première aux seconds : en 1201, les Vénitiens étaient vraiment intéressés par une expédition en Égypte et c'est la situation politique réelle qui les amena à modifier leurs plans) ; I. G. SENKEVIČ, *Georgij Skanderbeg-rukovoditel' osvoboditel'noj bor'by albanskogo naroda v XV veke*, « Georges Skanderbeg, chef de la lutte pour la libération du peuple albanais au XVe siècle », dans *VI*, 1968, n° 3, 71-82.

Les problèmes de l'histoire interne ont requis davantage l'attention des chercheurs. M. Ja. SJUZJUMOV, dans son article, *Istoričeskaja*

rol' Vizantii i ee mesto vo vsemirnoj istorii, « Rôle historique et place de Byzance dans l'histoire mondiale » (*VV*, 29, 1968, 32-44), souligne le caractère progressiste de Byzance, particulièrement aux premiers stades de son histoire, et il en voit la raison dans le fait que, à Byzance, l'écroulement de la société esclavagiste ne s'accompagna pas de la destruction des valeurs fondamentales du monde antique. Ce caractère progressiste de Byzance, SJUZJUMOV, l'attribue également à l'existence d'un État et d'une bureaucratie puissants et centralisés, d'un droit unifié, de centres urbains évolués et industrialisés et d'un niveau culturel élevé (Byzance était notamment le véhicule d'une idéologie nouvelle, le christianisme). A. P. KAŽDAN tente d'appréhender globalement les traits caractéristiques de la société byzantine dans son livre, *Vizantijskaja kul'tura* (X-XII vv.), « La culture byzantine (x^e-xiie s.) », (M., 1968), divisé en 6 chapitres : L'Appropriation du monde ; Les Relations sociales ; Le Pouvoir ; La Conception du monde ; L'Idéal artistique ; Le Nouveau contre l'Ancien (cf. les recensions de I. ŽERNEVSKAJA, dans *NiR*, 1969, n° 7, 94-95 ; R. M. BARTIKJAN, dans *VON AN Arm. SSR*, 1969, n° 8, 100-104 (en armén.) ; O. ČAJKOVSKAJA dans *Novyj Mir*, 1970, n° 1, 253-258 ; Ja. N. LJUBARSKIJ dans *Voprosy literatury*, 1970, n° 8, 237-240). Des extraits de cet ouvrage ont été publiés dans le courant de 1968 dans *NiR* : n° 7, 55-62, n° 8, 80-87, n° 10, 42-47, n° 11, 56-61. (Voir également A. P. KAŽDAN, *Vizantijskaja sem'ja*, « La famille byzantine », dans *VI*, 1969, n° 5, 212-215).

I. F. FICHMAN poursuit l'étude des relations sociales dans l'Égypte byzantine. Dans son article, *K razvitiju patrociniev v vizantijskom Egipte*, « Développement du patrocinium dans l'Égypte byzantine » (*VV*, 29, 1968, 45-52), il aboutit à la conclusion que le vi^e siècle ne fut pas une époque de lutte contre les « patrons » et que, au contraire, on assista alors à un renforcement de la puissance des gros propriétaires fonciers. A noter également du même auteur l'article, *Ješče raz o remeslennom proizvodstve v pozdnerimskom Egipte*, « Encore toujours à propos de la production artisanale dans l'Égypte romaine du Bas-Empire », (*VDI*, 1968, n° 3, 143-146).

Le livre de Ks. V. CHVOSTOVA, *Osobennosti agrarnopravovych otnošenij v pozdnej Vizantii* (XIV-XV vv). *Istorizo-sociologičeskij ocerk*, « Particularités des rapports régis par le droit rural dans la Byzance des xive-xve s. Essai de sociologie historique » (M., 1968. Recension : G. G. LITAVRIN, dans *VI*, 1969, n° 7, 174-176),

comporte deux parties : 1) Les particularités de l'exploitation des paysans dans la Byzance de basse époque, 2) Les traits spécifiques de la propriété, du domaine foncier et de l'immunité fiscale dans la Byzance de basse époque. D'après l'auteur, l'originalité du droit rural byzantin, c'est d'être resté très perméable à l'influence des institutions antiques, ce qui explique par ailleurs l'état d'inachèvement du système féodal à Byzance, où l'État s'ingérait activement dans les rapports entre propriétaires privés et où l'immunité se développait lentement. D'une portée plus particulière est l'article de G. A. Dmitriev, *Položenija o krest'janach v svodach feodal'nogo zakonodatel'stva na latinskom Vostoke*, « Ordonnances sur les paysans dans les recueils de législation féodale en Orient latin », dans *Narody Azii i Afriki*, 1969, n° 1, 66-75. V. P. Kurylev, dans un article intitulé *K istorii zemledelija v Maloj Azii*, « Observations sur l'histoire de l'agriculture en Asie Mineure », dans *Geografič. obščestvo SSSR. Doklady vost. komissii*, 4, 1967, 15-32, texte polycopié), étudie les formes prises par la charrue turque « karasaban » et en conclut que les Turcs ont assimilé les techniques agricoles non point par le canal de l'Asie centrale, mais bien par celui de l'Asie Mineure et de Byzance.

Les relations sociales dans la ville byzantine ont fait l'objet de nombreux travaux. R. M. Bartikjan (*Enikion v Vizantii i stolice armjanskich Bagratidov Ani v epochu vizantijskogo vladyčestva (1045-1064 gg.)*, « L'« enoikion » à Byzance ainsi qu'à Ani, capitale des Bagratides arméniens, à l'époque de la domination byzantine (1045-1064) », dans *IFZ*, n° 2, 119-128), indique que, aux xe-xie s., le terme « enoikion » ne désigne pas le fermage, mais qualifie un impôt perçu sur le revenu des ateliers et des boutiques. Les autres études se rapportent à une période beaucoup plus récente. Le caractère du mouvement des Zélotes à Thessalonique continue à susciter des discussions. M. Ja. Sjuzjumov (*K voprosu o charaktere vystuplenija zilotov v 1342-1349 gg.*, « Sur le caractère de l'action des Zélotes dans les années 1342-1349 », dans *VV*, 28, 1968, 15-37) s'élève contre la conception selon laquelle le soulèvement des Zélotes serait la résultante de tendances antagonistes et contradictoires ; à son avis, il s'agit d'un conflit lié à l'évolution de l'État féodal, placé devant l'alternative du morcellement ou de la centralisation. G. L. Kurbatov et V. I. Rutenburg (*Ziloty i Čompi*, « Les Zélotes et les Ciompi », dans *VV*, 30, 1969, 3-37) soulignent la complexité, sur le plan social, du mouvement des Zélotes et l'impossibilité qu'il

y a de lui découvrir des analogies directes avec les soulèvements survenus dans les villes italiennes au XIVe siècle. I. P. MEDVEDEV (*Nekotorye voprosy obščestvenno-ekonomičeskich otnošenij v pozdnevizantijskoj Mistre*, « Quelques problèmes de relations socio-économiques dans la Mistra byzantine de basse époque », dans *VV*, 29, 1968, 77-87) montre que, comme centre de production et d'échanges, le rôle de Mistra fut extrêmement limité : les marchands de Mistra ne mettaient pratiquement en vente sur le marché que des produits agricoles.

M. M. ŠITIKOV poursuit ses recherches sur le commerce de Constantinople au XVe siècle et fait état de nombreuses données concrètes sur les relations mutuelles existant entre la compagnie de Giacomo Badoer et les marchands locaux (*Konstantinopol' i venecianskaja torgovlja v pervoj polovine XV v. po dannym knigi sčetov Džakomo Badoera*, « Échanges commerciaux entre Constantinople et Venise dans la première moitié du XVe s., d'après les livres de comptes de Giacomo Badoer », dans *VV*, 30, 1969, 48-62). L'auteur s'attache également à montrer que les bénéfices commerciaux élevés étaient fonction des fluctuations de prix d'un centre à l'autre et qu'ils prenaient encore plus d'ampleur lors de la vente de denrées chères et de volume réduit (*Nakladnye i transportnye raschody i uroven' pribyli venecianskogo kupečestva v Vizantii v pervoj polovine XV veka*, « Frais généraux, frais de transport et marges bénéficiaires des marchands vénitiens à Byzance dans la première moitié du XVe siècle », dans *UZ Moskovskogo gos. ped. inst.*, 294, 1969, 225-249).

Le byzantiniste sera naturellement fort intéressé par les travaux relatifs à l'histoire des villes et du commerce dans les pays limitrophes de Byzance : L. V. GORINA, *Nekotorye voprosy terminologii srednevekovogo bolgarskogo goroda*, « Quelques problèmes de terminologie quant à l'appellation de la ville bulgare du Moyen Âge », dans *Sov. slavjanovedenie*, Minsk, 1969, 580-585 (l'auteur rejette l'opinion de P. KOLEDAROV pour qui il n'y a aucune norme dans l'emploi des termes servant à désigner les villes bulgares des XIIIe-XIVe s.) ; M. M. FREUDENBERG, *Dalmatijskij gorod i ego sel'skaja okruga v XIII-XIV vv.* (*po materialam iz Severnoj i Central'noj Dalamacii*), « La ville dalmate et son environnement villageois aux XIIIe-XIVe s. (d'après des sources provenant de Dalmatie centrale et septentrionale) ». Compte rendu de thèse, M., 1969 ; M. B. SVERDLOV, *Tranzitnye puti v Vostočnoj Evrope IX-XI vv.*, « Routes de transit en Europe

orientale aux IXe-XIe s. », dans *Izv. Vsesojuznogo geografič. obščestva*, 101, 1969 ; nº 6, 540-545, où l'auteur, polémiquant avec G. F. KORZUCHINA et V. B. VILINBACHOVYI, prouve que la « route menant des Varègues chez les Grecs » avait une importance capitale.

La notion d'État et les problèmes de droit ont relativement peu retenu l'attention. A cet égard, on peut citer : K. I. NOVICKAJA, *Otraženie social'noj struktury pozdnerimskogo obščestva na sudoproizvodstve*, « Les structures sociales du Bas-Empire romain reflétées dans la procédure judiciaire de l'époque », dans *VDI*, 1968, nº 4, 137-146 ; E. E. LIPŠIC, *K istorii «Zemledel'českogo zakona» v Vizantii i srednevekovych balkanskich gosudarstvach*, « Histoire de la « Loi agraire » à Byzance et dans les États balkaniques du Moyen Âge », dans *VV*, 29, 1968, 53-62 (l'auteur estime que la « Loi agraire », telle qu'elle a été remaniée par Harménopoulos, révèle une tendance à défendre plus efficacement les droits de la propriété ; à son avis, le texte en grec moderne de 1498 et le texte roumain remontent à la rédaction de Harménopoulos, tandis que les traductions serbe et russe reposent sur une version grecque beaucoup plus ancienne) ; D. GENNADIJ, *Drevnejšee pravo v srednevekovoj Palestine i v Kilikijskom carstve*, « Le droit ancien dans la Palestine médiévale et dans le royaume de Cilicie », dans *VON AN Arm. SSR*, 1968, nº 9, 71-72 (en arm.) (à propos du contrat de servage volontaire et du servage pour dettes). Les sources relatives à l'art militaire à Byzance sont de nouveau examinées. Z. V. UDAL'COVA s'intéresse de près à une série de questions touchant au « Strategicon » : la paternité de l'œuvre, l'époque de sa composition et les idées politiques qu'elle contient (*Ešč'o raz o Strategikone Psevdo-Mavrikija*, « Encore le Strategicon du Pseudo-Maurice », dans *SV*, 32, 1969, 61-70). V. A. KUČMA (*Taktika L'va v istoričeskoj literature*, « La « Tactique de Léon » dans la littérature historique », dans *VV*, 30, 1969, 153-165) donne un compte rendu critique des vues défendues par les chercheurs à propos de cette œuvre.

L'histoire des conceptions sociales de Byzance est abordée, sur un plan toutefois assez général, dans des ouvrages tels que *Istorija filosofii SSSR*, « Histoire de la philosophie en URSS », t. I, M., 1968, et *Očerk istorii etiki*, « Étude sur l'histoire de l'éthique », M., 1969. Une part plus importante est dévolue à Byzance dans le livre de V. K. ČALOJAN, *Vostok-Zapad (preemstvennost' v filosofii antičnogo i srednevekovogo obščestva)*, « Orient-Occident (héritage philosophique du monde antique et de la société médiévale) » (M., 1968), dont

un chapitre spécial éclaire le problème de l'héritage philosophique venu de l'« Orient byzantin » ou plutôt, comme le dit l'auteur, de la « civilisation caucaso-byzantine ». Selon ČALOJAN, au moment où, à Byzance, apparaît un système capitaliste embryonnaire, la philosophie chrétienne se caractérise par son syncrétisme et repose sur l'héritage de la société esclavagiste antique. Le petit ouvrage de A. P. KAŽDAN, *Vozniknovenie i suščnost' pravoslavija*, « Apparition et essence de l'orthodoxie » (M., 1968) traite de l'histoire de l'Église byzantine jusqu'en 1204. Un article de feu N. N. KEČAKMADZE, *Iz istorii obščestvennoj mysli Vizantii v XI v.*, « Quelques aspects du mouvement des idées à Byzance au XIe s. » (*VV*, 29, 1968, 170-176), confronte l'enseignement de Jean Italos sur les genres et les espèces avec celui d'Aristote pour conclure qu'Italos fut le représentant de la renaissance byzantine et l'annonciateur de la Renaissance italienne, G. M. PROCHOROV (*Isichazm i obščestvennaja mysl' v Vostočnoj Evrope v XIV v.*, « L'hésychasme et le mouvement des idées en Europe orientale au XIVe s. », dans *TODRL*, 23, 1968, 86-108) démontre que l'hésychasme byzantin, monastique et individualiste (« claustral ») au départ, n'a cessé d'évoluer tout au long du XIVe s., pour déboucher finalement sur un large mouvement social. Deux ouvrages sont consacrés à l'histoire des courants hérétiques : E. G. TER-MINASJAN, *Iz historii proizchoždenija i razvitija srednevekovych sekt*, « Aperçus sur l'histoire des origines et de l'évolution des sectes médiévales », Er., 1968 (en armén.), et Ju. K. BEGUNOV, *K izučeniju istorii teksta « Besedy na novojavivšujusja eres' bogomilu » bolgarskogo pisatelja X v. Kozmy Presvitera*, « Historique du texte « Propos sur l'hérésie nouvelle des Bogomiles » de l'écrivain bulgare du Xe s. Cosmas le Prêtre », dans *VV*, 30, 1969, 166-189. Les activités en Italie de l'éminent savant grec Jean Argyropoulos sont passées en revue dans l'article de L. M. BRAGINA, *Argiropulo*, « Argyropoulos » (*SV*, 31, 1968, 237-255).

Un des traits distinctifs de la byzantinologie soviétique de ces deux années, c'est un intérêt plus marqué pour l'histoire de la littérature byzantine. Au premier chef, il convient de relever la sortie de presse d'une chrestomathie en deux volumes (en traduction russe) : *Pamjatniki vizantijskoj literatury IV-IX vekov*, « Textes de la littérature byzantine des IVe-IXe siècles » (M., 1968. Cf. la recension de A. P. KAŽDAN dans *Novyj Mir*, 1969, n° 6, 254-260), et *Pamjatniki vizantijskoj literatury IX-XIV vekov*, « Textes de la littérature byzantine des IXe-XIVe siècles » (M., 1969), œuvre

collective publiée sous la direction de L. A. FREIBERG, rédacteur responsable. Il faut mentionner également l'édition des épigrammes de Paul le Silentiaire et de Makedonios, dans des traductions dues à F. A. PETROVSKIJ, L. V. BLUMENAU, D. S. USOV, Ju. F. ŠUL'C, A. G. ČELPANOV (*VV*, 30, 1969, 292-311). Z. V. UDAL'COVA, dans une série d'articles, se consacre à l'analyse des conceptions de quelques auteurs latins et grecs des IVe-VIe s. En Ammien Marcellin, elle voit l'initiateur de la tendance oppositionnelle en historiographe, favorable aux intérêts de l'aristocratie sénatoriale et hostile à la centralisation étatique (*Mirovozzrenie Ammiana Marcellina*, « Les conceptions d'Ammien Marcellin », dans (*VV*, 28, 1968, 38-59) ; Evagre est, pour elle, le représentant des privilégiés de l'intelligentsia à Antioche, adversaires des masses populaires (*K voprosu o mirovozzrenii vizantijskogo istorika VI v. Evagrija*, « A propos des conceptions de l'historien byzantin du VIe s. Evagre », dans (*VV*, 30, 1969, 63-72) ; en Agathias, elle reconnaît un conservateur modéré qui, dans sa critique du régime établi, se montre plus discret que Procope (*Mirovozzrenie vizantijskogo istorika VI v. Agafija Mirinejskogo*, « Les conceptions de l'historien byzantin du VIe s. Agathias de Myrina », dans (*VV*, 29, 1968, 153-169). Un point plus particulier est examiné par K. M. MURADJAN dans son article, *Vasilij Kesarijskij i armjane*, « Basile de Césarée et les Arméniens » (*VON AN Arm. SSSR*, 1968, n° 9, 49-61, en armén.).

Z. G. SAMODUROVA poursuit ses recherches sur la chronique de Pierre d'Alexandrie (*Istočniki chroniki Petra Aleksandrijskogo iz grečeskoj rukopisi Moskovskogo universiteta*, « La chronique de Pierre d'Alexandrie : sources extraites du manuscrit grec de l'Université de Moscou », dans *Archeografič. ežegodnik za 1967 g.*, M., 1969, 3-12). R. M. BARTIKJAN, pour sa part, poursuit l'étude de l'épopée de Digénis Akritas en s'attachant aux détails concrets de l'œuvre dans lesquels il voit un reflet de la géographie et de l'histoire du peuple arménien (*O nekotorych voprosach vizantijskogo eposa o Digenise Akrite*, « Quelques problèmes posés par l'épopée de Digénis Akritas », dans *Vestnik Erev. univ. Obšč. nauki*, 1968, n° 1, 201-208 ; *Epos o Digenise Akrite i zavoevanie Južnoj Armenii Vizantiej*, « L'épopée de Digénis Akritas et la conquête par Byzance de l'Arménie méridionale », dans *Vestnik Erev. univ. Obšč. nauki*, 1969, n° 2, 238-245). Dans un article intitulé *Zur Erklärung der Entstehungsgeschichte der Legende von Barlaam und Joasaph*, « Pour expliquer la genèse de la légende de Barlaam et Joasaph », dans *Trudy po*

vostokovedeniju, t. I, Tartu, 1969, 123-139, U. MASING met en doute les vues de D. LENG sur la provenance du récit relatif à Barlaam et Joasaph : à son avis, l'aspect des noms géorgiens repris dans la version grecque donne à penser que cette dernière repose sur un texte syrien.

L'histoire de la littérature byzantine des XIe-XIIe siècles a fait l'objet de recherches minutieuses. Ja. N. LJUBARSKOJ (*Michail Psell, ličnost' i mirovozzrenie*, « Michel Psellos, sa personnalité et ses idées », dans *VV*, 30, 1969, 73-93) montre la nécessité absolue de réviser la conception traditionnelle que l'on se fait d'un Psellos, penseur dépourvu d'originalité et esprit courtisan. Il souligne la liberté de pensée et la tolérance de Psellos, et estime que, pour être de quelque profit, une étude de la personnalité et des idées du génial Byzantin doit procéder non pas dans l'abstrait, en fonction de critères choisis a priori, mais bien se situer dans le contexte des rapports et des oppositions politiques, idéologiques, religieuses et littéraires à Byzance au XIe siècle. G. G. LITAVRIN affirme que le Vichkatci (et non pas Kichkatci !) cité dans l'inscription d'Egrek ne peut être l'ancêtre de Kékauménos l'écrivain et qu'une nouvelle lecture du nom remet en question la conclusion de P. LEMERLE quant à la parenté supposée entre Kichkatci et Kékauménos (« *Ὁ πάππος τοῦ Κεκαυμένου- ὁ ἐχθρὸς τῆς Ῥωμανίας* », dans *VV*, 28, 1968, 151-158). R. M. BARTIKJAN, revenant sur un passage obscur de Kékauménos dans lequel V. G. VASIL'EVSKIJ croyait trouver une mention de l'Angleterre, présume qu'il s'agit en fait d'Angel, localité du district d'Amida (*Ob odnoj važnoj kon'ekture v « Sovetach i rasskazach Kekavmena* », « Sur une conjecture importante dans les « Conseils et Récits » de Kékauménos », dans *VON AN arm. SSR*, 1968, n° 8, 116-119) (1).

Notons la parution d'une traduction en vers, due à F. A. PETROVSKIJ, avec un avant-propos d'A. D. ALEKSIDZE, du « Récit de Drosilla et Chariclès » de Nicétas Eugenianos (*Povest' o Drosille i Charikle*, M., 1969). A la lumière de ses dernières recherches sur le roman de Macrembolite, S. V. POLJAKOVA conclut que ce n'est pas Macrembolite qui a emprunté une série de passages

(1) Sur l'article de G. G. LITAVRIN et celui de R. M. BARTIKJAN qui viennent d'être mentionnés, voyez les observations de P. LEMERLE dans la *Revue des Études arméniennes*, nouvelle série, t. V (1968), pp. 143 sq.. *N.d.l.R.*

aux œuvres de Basilakes, mais que, au contraire, c'est ce dernier qui a parfois trouvé son inspiration chez le premier (*K voprosu o datirovke romana Evmatija Makremvolita*, « À propos de la date du roman d'Eumathios Macrembolite », dans *VV*, 1969, 113-123). Du même auteur : *Iz istorii antičnogo romana v Vizantii*, « Aperçus sur l'histoire du roman antique à Byzance », IVe Conférence pour l'étude des questions de philologie classique. Résumés des sujets traités, Tb., 1969, 37-38) où se trouve étudiée la transposition symbolique et allégorique qu'a faite Alexis Macrembolite (XIVe s.) du thème de «Lucius». T. M. Sokolova dégage les rapports rattachant Haplouchir à la tradition antique (*Michail Apluchir i ego Δραμάτιον*, «Michel Haplouchir et son « *Δραμάτιον* », dans *VV*, 30, 1969, 124-131). A. P. Každan analyse les conceptions d'Eustathe de Thessalonique (*Vizantijskij publicist XII v. Evstafij Solunskij*, « Eustathe de Thessalonique, publiciste byzantin du XIIe s. », dans *VV*, 28, 1968, 60-84, 29, 1969, 177-195) dans les domaines suivants : idées sociales, principes éthiques (par une inadvertance due à l'auteur, ce paragraphe a été reproduit deux fois !), manière d'envisager le devenir historique, vues esthétiques. Il examine également les œuvres encore inédites de Léon Valianit en tant que sources propres à éclairer l'histoire des relations mutuelles entre Byzance et l'Italie du XIIe siècle. (*Neizvestnij vizantijskij pisatel' XII v. Lev Valianit*, « Léon Valianit, un écrivain byzantin inconnu du XIIe s. », dans *SV*, 32, 1969, 259-261). Enfin, dans un article intitulé : *Nikifor Chrisoverg i Nikolaj Mesarit. Opyt sravnitel'noj charakteristiki*, « Nicéphore Chrysoberge et Nicolas Mésaritès, essai de stylistique comparative » (*VV*, 30, 1969, 94-112), le même auteur s'efforce de préciser les traits de style particuliers aux deux rhéteurs en comparant les discours qu'ils consacrent à un même épisode : la rébellion de Jean le Gros en 1200.

Deux travaux concernent des auteurs du Bas-Empire byzantin. G. M. Prochorov (*Publicistika Ioanna Kantakuzina*, « L'œuvre de publiciste de Jean Cantacuzène », dans *VV*, 29, 1968, 313-341) publie le texte grec et la traduction russe de l'introduction écrite par Cantacuzène pour la « Réfutation de Prochore Cydonès », ainsi que les traductions d'une série d'autres œuvres de cet auteur, en les faisant précéder d'un article qui étudie le déroulement de la lutte politique et idéologique à Byzance au cours des années 1367-1371. Dans son livre, *Pozdnie grečeskie chroniki i ich russkie i vostočnye perevody*, « Les chroniques grecques tardives et leurs traductions

russes et orientales », (*PS*, 18, 1968), I. N. LEBEDEVA analyse les chroniques du Pseudo-Dorothée et de Matthieu Kigalas et leurs traductions en russe, en roumain et en arabe, ainsi qu'une traduction du Pseudo-Dorothée en géorgien.

Un des thèmes de prédilection de la byzantinologie soviétique est l'histoire des relations politiques et culturelles de Byzance avec les pays voisins et, singulièrement, avec le monde slave et la zone nord des territoires proches de la Mer Noire. M. F. MUR'JANOV (*Andrej Pervozvannyj i Povesti vremennych let*, « L'Apôtre André dans la Chronique des temps passés », dans *PS*, 19, 1969, 159-164) admet que le témoignage de la Chronique des temps passés sur la mission de l'apôtre André n'est pas dénué de fondement historique. Une œuvre collective, *Istorija južnych i zapadnych slavjan*, « Histoire des Slaves occidentaux et méridionaux » (M., 1969), comporte trois chapitres recouvrant, dans leur substance, des thèmes byzantins : *Drevnie slavjane*, « Les anciens Slaves » (auteur : A. E. MOSKALENKO), *Bolgarija v VII-XIV vv.*, « La Bulgarie du VIIe au XIVe s. (S. P. BOBROVA, A. E. MOSKALENKO), et *Jugoslavjanskie narody v VIII-XV vv.*, « Les peuples yougoslaves aux VIIIe-XVe s. » (Ju. V. BROMLEJ, A. E. MOSKALENKO). Pour l'histoire des Protobulgares, relevons deux articles particulièrement intéressants de A. V. GADLO (*Problema Priazovskoj Rusi i sovremennye archeologičeskie dannye o Južnom Priazov'e VIII-X vv.*, « La Russie de la région d'Azov et les données archéologiques récentes relatives à la partie méridionale de cette région au cours des VIIIe-Xe s. », dans *Vestnik LGU*, 1968, n° 14 : hist., fasc. 3, 55-65 ; *O černych i vnutrennich bolgarach*, « Bulgares noirs et Bulgares de l'intérieur », dans *Geografič. obščestvo. Doklady po etnografii*, 6, 1968, 3-23, en édit. polycopiée). L'auteur formule la conclusion que la Bulgarie Noire est, selon toute vraisemblance, non pas la région d'Azov, mais bien une contrée située au nord du Danube et intégrée au premier Empire bulgare, qui, aux alentours de l'année 940, était entrée dans la sphère d'influence de la Russie kiévienne et dont l'activité potentielle, à en croire le gouvernement byzantin, s'étendait déjà, vers 950, jusqu'à la zone nord des territoires proches de la Mer Noire. Quant à la partie méridionale de la région d'Azov, aux VIIIe-Xe s., elle devait être peuplée de descendants des tribus hunno-bulgares. (Cf. également GADLO : *Rannesrednevekovoe solnce na beregu Kerčenskogo proliva*, « Le soleil du Haut Moyen Âge sur la rive du détroit de Kertch' », dans *KSIA*, 113, 1968, 78-84 ; *Raskopki rannesredne-*

vekovogo selišča u derevni Geroevki v 1964 g., « Fouilles effectuées en 1964 dans un site du Haut Moyen Âge à proximité du village de Heroevskoe », dans *SA*, 1969, n° 1, 160-168). A. S. L'vov (*Po povodu upominanija o Mefodii v kalendare Ochridskogo apostola*, « A propos d'une mention de Méthode faite dans le calendrier de l'apôtre d'Ohrid », dans *Izučenie rus. jazyka i istočnikovedenie*, M., 1969, 40-54) relève le fait que, chez l'apôtre d'Ohrid, il y a des informations sur Méthode inconnues des autres sources. T. A. Ivanova (*Ešče raz o russkich pis'menach.* « Encore les « caractères russes », dans *SSL*, 1969, n° 4, 72-75), reprenant une question depuis longtemps controversée, réfute catégoriquement l'hypothèse d'E. Georgiev sur l'origine russe de l'évangile et du psautier trouvés par Constantin le Philosophe à Cherson ; elle se range au point de vue défendu par A. Vajan qui estime que les caractères d'écriture sont syriens et elle se réfère à l'exemple de la langue de l'Adam biblique dénommée « rousski ».

Se fondant presque exclusivement sur des matériaux archéologiques, feu I. I. Ljapuškin examine la préhistoire de l'État russe ancien dans son livre, *Slavjane Vostočnoj Evropy nakanune obrazovanija Drevnerusskogo gosudarstva* (*VIII-pervaja polovina IX v.*), « Les Slaves de l'Europe orientale à la veille de la naissance de l'État russe ancien (VIIIe — première moitié du IXe s. » (*MIA*, 152, 1968). Les relations mutuelles de la Russie ancienne avec les peuples voisins, notamment avec Byzance, sont décrites dans l'ouvrage de V. T. Pašuto, *Vnešnjaja politika Drevnej Rusi*, « La politique extérieure de la Russie ancienne » (M., 1968. Recensions : Ju. A. Limonov, V. V. Mavrodin, I. A. Frojanov dans *VI*, 1969, n° 12, 157-159 ; S. M. Troickij dans *Novyj Mir*, 1969, n° 11, 267-269 ; S. Skazkin, L. Bezkrovnyj dans *Izvestija*, n° 180, 31-VII-1970). Du même auteur, un article, *Drevnjaja Rus' i Vengrija*, « La Russie ancienne et la Hongrie » (*Slavjane i Rus'*., M., 1968, 345-351), dans lequel est envisagée l'histoire des relations russo-hungaro-byzantines. M. F. Mur'janov (*Morskoj pochod Olega na Car'grad*, « L'expédition maritime d'Oleg contre Byzance », dans *Sudostroenie*, 1968, n° 4, 72-73) montre le caractère légendaire des faits rapportés par la chronique, à savoir que, pendant le siège, Oleg aurait monté ses vaisseaux sur roues et qu'il se serait ainsi approché à la voile jusqu'au pied des remparts de Constantinople. Dans un petit article de vulgarisation, *Dobrovol'no li krestilas' Rus'*, « La Russie s'est-elle convertie volontairement ? » (*Nir*, 1969,

nº 1, 48-51), V. Vilinbachov souligne la résistance des païens au baptême. G. G. Litavrin (*Ešče raz o pochode russkich na Vizantiju v ijule 1043 g.*, « Encore à propos de la campagne des Russes contre Byzance en juillet 1043 », dans *VV*, 29, 1968, 105-107) montre, sur la base de la collation de cinq manuscrits de Skylitzès, que la bataille entre les Russes et les Byzantins aux abords de Constantinople a eu lieu non en juin, mais en juillet 1043. V. G. Brjusova (*K voprosu o proischoždenii Vladimira Monomacha*, « Sur les origines de Vladimir Monomaque », dans *VV*, 28, 1968, 127-135) s'appuie sur la synodique du monastère Vydubitski de Kiev pour conclure que ce n'était pas l'archontissa Marie qui fut le mère de Vladimir Monomaque, comme le pensaient G. G. Litavrin et V. L. Janin, mais bien « Anastasie, fille de l'empereur grec Constantin Monomaque ».

Le livre de feu M. N. Tichomirov, *Russkaja kul'tura X-XVIII vekov*, « La culture russe du xe au xviiie siècle », M., 1968 (cf. la recension de V. P. Adrianova-Perec, VI, 1969, 172-175) aborde en passant le problème des liens culturels entre la Russie ancienne et Byzance. A. N. Robinson (*Mesto i značenie drevnerusskoj literatury v literaturnom processe srednevekov'ja*, « La place et l'importance de la littérature russe ancienne dans le développement de la littérature au Moyen Âge », dans *Izv. AN SSSR, ser. lit. i jaz.*, 27, 1968, fasc. 4, 301-313) attire l'attention sur le fait que la Russie ancienne a accueilli les textes classiques de la littérature byzantine chrétienne des ive-vie s., mais pas les œuvres des xie-xiiie siècles. L'explication en est, selon l'auteur, que la littérature byzantine de ces siècles subissait déjà l'attraction des courants précurseurs de la Renaissance tendant à libérer du dogme officiel la conscience religieuse de l'homme, tandis que la société russe se trouvait aux prises avec d'autres problèmes sociaux à résoudre. L. P. Žukovskaja (*Drevnie slavjanskie perevody vizantijskich i sirijskich pamjatnikov v knigochraniliščach SSSR*, « Traductions en vieux-slave d'œuvres littéraires byzantines et syriennes, en dépôt dans les bibliothèques de l'URSS », dans *PS*, 19, 1969, 171-176) passe en revue les manuscrits visés dans le titre de son article. La traduction en vieux-slave de la Chronique de Jean Malalas fait l'objet de deux études de E. M. Šustorovič (*Drevneslavjanskij perevod chroniki Ionna Malaly. Istorija izučenija*, « La traduction en vieux-slave de la Chronique de Jean Malalas et les études qu'on en a faites », dans *VV*, 30, 1969, 136-152 ; *Chronika Ioanna Malaly i antičnaja*

tradicija v drevnerusskoj literature, « La Chronique de Jean Malalas et la tradition antique dans la littérature russe ancienne », dans *TODRL*, 23, 1968, 62-70). T. A. SUMNIKOVA (*K probleme perevoda Istoričeskoj palei*, « A propos de la traduction de l'Histoire sainte », dans *Izučenie russkogo jazyka i istočnikovedenie*, M., 1969, 27-39) en arrive à la conclusion que, à l'origine des copies russes de l'Histoire sainte, il y a un modèle slave méridional de l'époque vieux-bulgare (première moitié du XIIIe s.). Les traditions byzantines dans la littérature slave sont examinées aussi dans l'article de M. F. MUR'JANOV, *Aleksej Čelovek Božij v slavjanskoj recenzii vizantijskoj kul'tury*, « Alexis, homme de Dieu, dans un récit slave inspiré de la culture byzantine », dans *TODRL*, 23, 1968, 109-126. A. S. L'VOV (*Issledovanie Reči filosofa*, « Étude sur le « Discours du philosophe », dans *Pamjatniki drevnerusskoj pis'mennosti*, M., 1968, 333-396) pense que ce qu'on appelle le « Discours du philosophe », tel qu'il est repris dans la « Chronique des temps passés », représente en fait une œuvre autonome de la littérature russe ancienne, traduite du grec. O. P. LICHAČEVA et Ja. S. LUR'E publient trois rédactions de la traduction russe de « Stéphanit et Ichnilat » (*Stefanit i Ichnilat. Srednevekovaja kniga basen po russkim rukopisjam XV-XVII vekov.*, « Stéphanit et Ichnilat. Livre de fables médiévales composé d'après des manuscrits des XVe-XVIIe siècles », L., 1969). En annexe sont repris la traduction du texte grec, due à E. E. GRANSTREM et à V. S. ŠANDROVSKA, ainsi que des articles de Ja. S. LUR'E et de O. P. LICHAČEVA sur le sujet. Cf. également de Ja. S. LUR'E : « *Mirovye sjužety* » *srednevekovoj belletristiki v russkoj i južnoslavjanskich literaturach* (« *Aleksandrija* » *i* « *Stefanit i Ichnilat* »), « 'Thèmes universels' des lettres médiévales dans les littératures des Russes et des Slaves méridionaux (« Alexandrija » et « Stéphanit et Ichnilat ») », dans *TODRL*, 23, 1968, 16-26.

E. P. NAUMOV (*Ob avtorstve anonimnoj bolgarskoj chroniki XV v.*, « A propos de l'auteur de la chronique bulgare anonyme du XVe s. », dans *SSI*, 1969, n° 3, 41-42) indique, à l'encontre de K. MEČEV, que la chronique bulgare anonyme, dont il fixe la date vers 1450-1452, est la traduction d'une courte chronique byzantine et qu'on ne peut en attribuer la paternité à Isaïe de Serres.

L'attention des chercheurs a continué à se porter spécialement sur la personnalité et l'ensemble de l'œuvre de Maxime le Grec. Citons notamment les travaux de N. A. KAZAKOVA (*Voprosy o pričinach osuždenija Maksima Greka*, « Pour quels motifs Maxime

le Grec fut-il condamné ? », dans *VV*, 28, 1968, 109-126 ; 29, 1968, 108-147 ; «*O sudnom spiske*» *Maksima Greka*, « Le « Casier judiciaire » de Maxime le Grec », dans *Archeografič. ežegodnik za 1966* g., M., 1968, 25-36) ; et d'A. I. IVANOV (*Literaturnoe nasledie Maksima Greka. Charakteristika, atribucii, bibliografija*, « L'héritage littéraire de Maxime le Grec : traits spécifiques, champ d'action, données bibliographiques », L., 1969 ; *Maksim Grek i Savanarola*, « Maxime le Grec et Savonarole », dans *TODRL*, 23, 1968, 217-226).

Une série de recherches porte sur la pénétration des produits de l'artisanat byzantin dans la zone nord des territoires proches de la Mer Noire et dans la Russie ancienne : K. M. SKALON, *Ob odnom rannevizantijskom kuvšine iz Moldavii*, « Une cruche byzantine de l'époque du Haut-Empire trouvée en Moldavie », dans *Antičnaja istorija i kul'tura Sredizemnomor'ja i Pričernomor'ja*, L., 1968, 257-264 ; F. D. GUREWITCH, R. M. DJANPOLADIAN, M. W. MALEWSKY, *Oriental glass in Ancient Russia*, L., 1968 ; F. D. GUREVIČ, *Bližnevostočnye izdelija v drevnerussikich gorodach Belorussii*, « Produits de l'artisanat du Proche-Orient trouvés dans les villes médiévales de la Biélorussie », dans *Slavjane i Rus'*, M., 1968, 34-36 ; R. DŽANPOLADJAN, *Stekljannaja čaša iz Staroj Ladogi*, « Une coupe en verre trouvée à Staraïa Ladoga », dans *Soobščenija Gos. Ermitaza*, 28, 1967, 49-50 (1).

L'histoire des relations politiques et culturelles entre Byzance et la Transcaucasie suscite un vif intérêt chez les savants soviétiques. Les liens qu'entretenait Byzance avec l'Arménie sont évoqués dans l'article d'A. A. TER-GEVONDJAN, *Proischoždenie titula «išchan Armenii» i Armjanskoe gosudarstvo VII v.*, « La résurgence du titre d'« Ichkhan d'Arménie » dans l'État arménien du VIIe s. » (*Vestnik Erevan. univ. Obšč. nauki*, 1969, n° 1, 241-247, en armén.) : l'auteur montre que le titre d'« Ichkhan d'Arménie » était connu dès la fin du IVe s., mais qu'il disparaît des documents à l'époque de l'empereur Maurice, pour reparaître après l'année 629. Dans un ouvrage, *Vaspurakanskoe carstvo Arcunidov, 908-1021*, « Le royaume des Artsounides du Vaspurakan, 908-1021 », Er., 1969, en armén.), V. VARDANJAN donne un aperçu de l'histoire politique et socio-économique du royaume de Vaspurakan, ainsi que du règne des Artsounides à Sébastée, en territoire byzantin. Cf. également A. G. SUKIAS-

(1) N'avait pas été repris dans la chronique bibliographique précédente.

JAN, *Istorija Kilikijskogo armjanskogo gosudarstva i prava (XI-XIV vv.)*, « Histoire de l'État et du droit arméniens en Cicilie (XIe-XIVe s.) », Er., 1969.

Les monographies et les publications de textes d'écrivains arméniens médiévaux retiendront l'attention du byzantiniste : E. G. TUMANJAN, *Ešče raz o Mesrope Maštoce, sozdatele armjanskogo alfavita*, « Encore à propos de Mesrop Machtots, créateur de l'alphabet arménien », dans *Izv. AN SSSR. Ser. lit. i jaz.*, 27, 1968, 439-451 ; A. N. TER-GEVONDJAN, *Novaja arabskaja redakcija Agafangela*, « Une nouvelle version arabe d'Agathange », Er., 1968, (l'auteur publie le texte arabe et lui consacre une étude ; selon lui, l'original arménien a paru aux Ve-VIe s., la traduction grecque en a été effectuée au VIe s., et, quant à la version arabe, traduction du grec, elle date au plus tôt des IXe-Xe s.-FAUSTE DE BUZANTA, *Istorija Armenii*, « Histoire de l'Arménie », Er., 1968 (en armén.) ; EZNIK DE KOŁB, *Kniga oproverženij (O dobre i zle)*, « Le livre des réfutations (Du bien et du mal) », traduit par V. K. ČALOJAN, Er., 1968. (Pour rédiger son œuvre, l'apologiste du Ve s., Eznik de Kolb, a eu recours à Méthode d'Olympe, Épiphane de Salamine, Basile de Césarée et autres auteurs grecs) ; MOÏSE DE KHORÈNE, *Istorija Armenii*, « Histoire de l'Arménie », Er., 1968. (On continue à discuter de la crédibilité du système chronologique adopté par MOÏSE DE KHORÈNE. L. P. SAGINJAN penche pour la crédibilité, *Chronologičeskaja sistema Istorii Armenii Movsesa Khorenaci i eo dostovernost'. Avtoreferat*, « La crédidilité du système chronologique de « L'histoire de l'Arménie » de Moïse de Khorène ». Compte rendu de thèse », Er., 1968. Un point de vue opposé est défendu par G. Ch. SARKISJAN, *O vosstanovlenii chronologičeskoj sistemy «Istorii» Movsesa Khorenaci*, « De la reconstitution du système chronologique de « L'Histoire » de Moïse de Khorène », dans *IFZ*, 1968, n° 1, 119-146, en armén. Toujours à propos du même historien, voir M. M. MKRJAN, *Mirovozzrenie Movsesa Khorenaci*, « Les idées de Moïse de Khorène », dans *Vestnik Erevan. univ. Obšč. nauki*, 1968, n° 1, 32-50, en armén.). S. T. EREMJAN et M. M. CHAČATRJAN arrivent à la conclusion que l'auteur de la « Géographie d'Arménie » du VIIe s. n'est ni Moïse de Korène ni Ananias Širakaci (S. T. EREMJAN, *«Ašcharcujc» (Armjanskaja geografija VII veka)*, *«Ašcharcujc»* (Géographie d'Arménie du VIIe siècle) », dans *VON AN Arm. SSR*, 1968, n° 5, 43-60 ; M. M. CHAČATRJAN, *Ob Ašcharcujce VII veka*, « A propos de l'« Ašcharcujc » du VIIe siècle », dans *IFŽ*, 1968, n° 4, 81-100). Cf. également T. M.

MAMEDOV, *Istorii Kirakosa Gandzakeci i ich otnošenie k Istorii strany Albanskoj Moiseja Kalankajtukskogo*, « Les « Histoires » de Kirakos de Gandzak envisagées dans leur relation avec l'« Histoire du pays des Albanais » de Moïse de Kałankatuk », dans *Doklady AN Azerb. SSR*, 25, 1969, n° 9, 96-99.

Z. N. ALEKSIDZE donne du « Livre des Épîtres », monument littéraire arménien du début du VIIe siècle, une édition assortie d'une traduction et d'une étude du texte en langue géorgienne (Tb. 1968). L'auteur critique la présence dans le recueil de l'épître III d'Abraham (celle qui attribue à Mesrop Machtots l'invention de l'alphabet géorgien), qu'elle considère comme une interpolation tardive. Cette prise de position provoque les objections de P. M. MURADJAN (*K kritike teksta III poslanija katolikosa Avraama*, « Réponse à une critique textuelle de l'épître III du catholicos Abraham », dans *VON AN Arm. SSR*, 1968, n° 10, 41-64).

Parmi les textes de la littérature byzantine publiés au cours des deux années qui nous intéressent, il en est un qui retiendra particulièrement l'attention du byzantiniste, à savoir le *Povestvovanie vardapeta Aristakesa Lastivertci*, « Le récit du vardapet Aristakès de Lastivert », édité en traduction russe avec un article introductif et des commentaires de K. N. JUZBAŠJAN (M., 1968) (1). M. A. ZABOROV s'attache à montrer l'importance de la Chronique de Matthieu d'Édesse pour l'histoire de la Première Croisade (*K voprosu o značenii izvestij vostocnych sovremennikov krestovych pochodov*, « De l'importance des faits rapportés par les auteurs orientaux, contemporains des Croisades », dans *IFZ*, 1968, n° 3, 153-162). Dans le même ordre d'idées, R. M. BARTIKJAN (*O nekotorych vizantijskich terminach v « Chronografii » Matfeja Edesskogo*, « A propos de certains termes byzantins dans la « Chronographie » de Matthieu d'Édesse », dans *VON AN Arm. SSR*, 1969, n° 3, 72-77, en armén.) élucide deux passages obscurs de la Chronique de Matthieu : les termes « timaci » et « tašchamataci », que l'on rencontre dans la lettre de Jean Tzimiscès à Ašot III, correspondent aux mots grecs θεματικοί et ταγματικοί ; 2) l'expression « le grand prince des Romées, que l'on avait appelé Téliarque », désigne l'hétériarque eunuque Constantin. N. K. TAGMIZJAN (*Grikor Gyrzik i armjano-vizantijskie*

(1) Signalons à nos lecteurs qu'une nouvelle traduction française de l'ouvrage d'Aristakès, due à notre éminent collaborateur Marius Canard, paraîtra très prochainement dans la « Bibliothèque de *Byzantion* », *N.d.l.R.*

muzykal'nye svjazi, « Grikor Gyrzik et les liens unissant l'Arménie à Byzance dans le domaine musical », dans *Vestnik Erevan. univ. Obšč. nauki*, 1968, n° 3, 198-211, en armén.) met en lumière l'activité de Grégoire Gyrzik, musicien arménien de la première moitié du VIIIe s. qui contribua à répandre les mélodies de Romanos le Mélode.

Les relations politiques entre la Géorgie et l'Empire byzantin font l'objet d'un article de V. KOPALIANI, *Iz istorii vnešnich političeskich vzaimootnošenij Gruzii (II polovina XI veka)*, « Histoire des relations politiques extérieures de la Géorgie (IIe moitié du XIe siècle) », dans *Trudy Tbil. univ.*, 127, 1968, 135-160, en géorg. Cf. également le livre de N. N. ŠENGEL', *Sel'džuki i Gruzija v XI veke*, « Les Seldjoucides et la Géorgie au XIe siècle », Tb., 1968.

Les rapports littéraires entre Byzance et la Géorgie sont évoqués dans une série de travaux. Au premier chef, il faut citer le recueil d'articles (en russe et en géorgien) de feu K. S. KEKELIDZE, *Etjudy po istorii drevnegruzinskoj literatury*, « Études sur l'histoire de la littérature géorgienne ancienne », t. X, Tb., 1968, ainsi que le manuel, destiné aux étudiants de l'enseignement supérieur, d'E. CHINTIBIDZE, *Vizantijsko-gruzinskie literaturnye vzaimootnošenija*, « Les rapports littéraires entre Byzance et la Géorgie », Tb., 1969 (en géorg.). Le même thème est encore traité dans des publications le plus souvent à caractère monographique : E. G. CHINTIBIDZE (*Gruzinskie redakcii « Knigi upražnenij » Vasilija Kappadokijskogo*, « Les versions géorgiennes du « Livre des exercices » de Basile de Cappadoce », Tb., 1968, en géorg.) relève quatre rédactions de la traduction en vieux-géorgien de l'*Asceticon* de Basile le Grand. En ce qui concerne la version reprise dans le manuscrit n° 35 du Sinaï, il attribue cette traduction à un certain Procope et la date d'une époque qui n'est pas postérieure au Xe siècle ; il s'agit là d'un document essentiel pour la reconstitution de l'original grec de l'*Asceticon*. Les rapports philosophiques entre Byzance et la Géorgie sont abordés dans une étude de Š. CHIDAŠELI, *Estetičeskie vozzrenija neoplatonizma (Areopagitika i Petrici)*, « Les conceptions esthétiques du néo-platonisme (tradition de l'Aréopagite et Petritsi », dans *Očerki iz istorii gruz. filosofskoj mysli*, 1re partie. Tb., 1969, 86-114, et dans la publication de la traduction d'un traité pseudo-aristotélicien, *Kniga pričin*, « Le livre des causes » (traduit du latin par N. NUCUBIDZE, *ibid.*, 133-157, en géorg.). Cf. également Ioane PETRICI, *Lestnica dobrodetelej*, « Jean Petritsi, L'échelle des vertus », dont l'édition est assurée par les soins

d'I. A. Lolašvili (Tb., 1968, en géorg.). L'histoire des moines géorgiens du Mont Athos est examinée dans un article de Dž. Apciauri, *K date napisanija «Žitija Georgija Atoneli»*, « A propos de la date à laquelle fut écrite la « Vie de Georges Atoneli », dans *Vestnik Otd. obšč. nauk AN Gruz. SSR*, 1967, n° 1, 172-187.

Les relations entre Byzance et d'autres pays ne sont guère étudiées. M. L. Abramson traite du commerce entre l'Italie méridionale et Byzance (*Vlijanie torgovli na formirovanie feodal'nych otnošenij v Južnoj Italii IX-XIII vv*, « Incidence du commerce sur la formation des rapports féodaux dans l'Italie méridionale au cours des IXe-XIIIe s. », dans *SV*, 31, 1968, 155-179). Un article de feu N. Pigulevskaja établit que l'auteur de la Chronique syrienne du pseudo-Denys de Tellmahré a utilisé les mêmes sources que Jean Malalas et Théophane (*Sirijskaja chronika ps. Dionisija Tel'machrskogo i vizantijskaja istoriografija*, « La Chronique syrienne du pseudo-Denys de Tellmahré et l'historiographie byzantine », dans *PS*, 19, 1969, 118-126). Dans son livre, *Posle Marko Polo*, « Après Marco Polo » (M., 1968), Ja. M. Svet édite, traduites du latin et du vieil italien, les notes de voyage de quatre moines de la fin du XIIIe — première moitié du XIVe s. (Montecorvino, Jourdain de Séverac, Odorico de Foro Julio, et la chronique de Giovanni Marignoli), notes qui comportent, entre autres, des descriptions des régions byzantines.

Dans un article intitulé *Grečeskaja paleografija v Rossii*, « La paléographie grecque en Russie » (*Vspomogatel'nye istorič. discipliny*, t. II, L., 1969, 121-134), E. E. Granstrem donne un aperçu du développement de cette science. Elle poursuit également la publication du « Catalogue des manuscrits grecs conservés à Léningrad » : le fascicule 6 de *VV*, 28, 1968, 238-255, reprend des manuscrits du XIVe s. Le même auteur consacre une étude à « L'époque de l'onciale dans l'écriture byzantine » (*Uncial'nyj period vizantijskoj pis'mennosti*, dans *VV*, 29, 1968, 232-243), dans laquelle elle distingue les différentes époques de l'onciale grecque (une époque archaïque — IVe-VIe s., une deuxième époque — VIIe-VIIIe s. — extrêmement pauvre en documents, une dernière époque — IXe-XIIe s. — durant laquelle domine l'onciale liturgique) et où elle fait ressortir la diversité des tracés. B. L. Fonkič s'attache davantage à des questions particulières portant sur des manuscrits pris isolément ou par groupes. Dans son article, *Perevodčeskaja dejatel'nost' Evfimija Svjatogorca i biblioteka Iverskogo monastyrja na Afone v načale*

XI v., « L'activité de traducteur d'Euthyme l'Athonite et la bibliothèque du monastère d'Iviron, de l'Athos, au début du XIe siècle » (*PS*, 19, 1969, 165-170), il fait l'inventaire des particularités de 13 manuscrits dus au calligraphe Théophane, ami et collaborateur d'Euthyme d'Iviron. FONKIČ pense, contre l'avis de P. A. BERADZE, que ce Théophane est un Grec, et non un Géorgien. Dans un autre article (*Ierusalimskij patriarch Dosifej i ego rukopisi v Moskve*, « Manuscrits du patriarche de Jérusalem Dosithée conservés à Moscou », dans *VV*, 29, 1968, 275-299), FONKIČ note les caractéristiques du groupe de manuscrits grecs envoyés à Moscou par Dosithée en 1692. Il poursuit également ses investigations sur les scribes grecs de l'époque de la Renaissance (*Grečeskie piscy epochi Vozroždenija*, « Les scribes grecs de l'époque de la Renaissance », II, dans *VV*, 28, 1968, 283-285). Enfin, dans *Moskovskaja rukopis' Fukidida*, « Le manuscrit moscovite de Thucydide » (*VDI*, 1969, n° 3, 150-152), FONKIČ détermine, en examinant l'écriture, que deux des trois copistes qui ont recopié le manuscrit GIM 216/510 (vers 1470-1480) appartenaient à l'entourage de Michel Apostolis. Relevons encore un article d'un grand intérêt pour éclairer l'histoire du livre médiéval : celui de B. V. SAPUNOV, *Sebestoimost' i cena russkich knig v XI-XIII vv.*, « Prix de revient et prix de vente des livres russes durant les XIe-XIIIe s. », (*Tezisy dokladov naučnoj sessii, posv. itogam raboty Gos. Ermitaža za 1967 g.*, L., 1968, 28-30).

Le domaine de l'épigraphie est beaucoup moins exploré par les savants soviétiques que celui de la paléographie. T. S. KAUCHČIŠVILI publie une inscription grecque des VIIe-IXe s. provenant de Géorgie (*Grečeskaja nadpis' iz Kazreti*, « Une inscription grecque trouvée à Kazreti », dans *VV*, 29, 1968, 269-274) ; S. A. BELJAEV donne des inscriptions fragmentaires relevées sur des amphores des IVe-VIe s. (*Pozdneantičnye nadpisi na amforach iz raskopok Chersonesa. 1961 g.*, « Inscriptions antiques tardives figurant sur des amphores trouvées au cours des fouilles effectuées en 1961 à Chersonèsos », dans *Numizmatika i epigrafika*, 7, 1968, 127-143) ; A. A. KALANTORJAN fait état d'une ampoule, revêtue de l'effigie de l'apôtre André et portant une inscription grecque, découverte à Dvin, dans la couche des Ve-VIe s. (*Ampula s izobraženiem sv. Andreja iz Dvina*, « Une ampoule revêtue de l'effigie de St André, trouvée à Dvin », dans *SA*, 1968, n° 1, 274-276). De l'avis de V. I. KADEEV (*Srednevekovye graffiti iz Chersonesa*, « Graffiti médiévaux de Chersonèsos », dans *S.A.*, 1968, n° 2, 288-290), les graffiti alains

de Chersonèsos témoignent de ce que les Alains séjournèrent dans cette ville à partir du IXe siècle.

Parmi les documents historiques byzantins, le « Règlement » édicté par Grégoire Pakurian à l'usage du monastère de Pétritson qu'il avait fondé a particulièrement retenu l'attention. Il fait l'objet d'une thèse de V. A. ARUTJUNOVA qui, sur la base de données biographiques, s'attache à montrer que Pakurian est un Arménien de Chalcédoine (*Tipik Grigorija Pakuriana i nekotorye voprosy istorii Vizantijskoj imperii*, « Le Typikon de Grégoire Pakurian et certains problèmes d'histoire relatifs à l'Empire byzantin ». Compte rendu de thèse, Er., 1968). Cette conclusion est partagée par P. M. MURADJAN, *K voprosu ob ocenke grečeskich i gruzinskich redakcij Tipika Grigora Bakuriana*, « De la manière dont il convient d'apprécier les rédactions grecque et géorgienne du « Typikon » de Grégoire Pakurian », dans *IFZ*, 1968, nº 1, 103-118. Par contre, elle est remise en question par A. ŠANIDZE, *Velikij domastik Zapada Grigorij Pakurianis-dze i gruzinskij monastyr', osnovannyj im v Bolgarii*, « Le grand Domesticos d'Occident Grégoire Pakurianis-dze et le monastère géorgien qu'il fonda en Bulgarie », Tb., 1970. Dans une autre étude, ARUTJUNOVA identifie Pakurian avec ce « serviteur impérial », non cité nommément, qui fut, d'après Attaliate, expédié à Ani par Constantin X (*K istorii padenia Ani*, « A propos de l'histoire de la chute d'Ani », dans *VON AN arm. SSR*, 1967, nº 9, 97-103) (1). Le même auteur tire également parti du « Règlement » de Pakurian pour étudier les rapports de vassalité existant à Byzance (*K voprosu ob ἄνθρωποι v Tipike Grigorija Pakuriana*, « La question des ἄνθρωποι dans le « Typikon » de Grégoire Pakurian », dans *VV*, 29, 1968, 63-76). I. P. MEDVEDEV (*O poddelke vizantijskich dokumentov i XVI v.*, « De la falsification des documents byzantins au XVIe siècle ». — *Vspomogatel'nye istorič. discipliny*, t. II, L., 1969, 277-286) indique que le chrysobulle de Jean Cantacuzène daté de l'an 1341 et figurant dans le manuscrit de Léningrad BAN SSSR appartient à la série des documents falsifiés par Macaire Melissène.

Le byzantiniste prendra connaissance avec intérêt de quelques travaux ayant trait à l'archéologie et concernant principalement la Crimée médiévale et le Caucase : *Chersones Tavričeskij. Putevo-*

(1) N'avait pas été repris dans la chronique bibliographique précédente.

ditel' po muzeju i raskopkam, « La Chersonèse Taurique. Guide du musée et des fouilles », Simferopol', 1969 ; G. D. Belov, *Chersonesskaja ekspedicija Ermitaža*, « L'expédition de l'Ermitage en Chersonèse », dans *Archeologič. otkrytija, 1967 g.*, M., 1968, 218-219 ; *Bašnja Zenona, Issledovanija 1960-1961 gg.*, « La tour de Zénon. Recherches effectuées durant les années 1960-1961 », dans *Soobščenija Chersonesskogo muzeja*, fasc. IV, Simferopol', 1969 (cf. la recension d'A. N. Ščeglov dans *VDI*, 1970, n° 3, 172-178) ; G. D. Belov, *Steklodelatel'naja masterskaja v Chersonese*, « Un atelier de fabrication du verre en Chersonèse », dans *KSIA*, 116, 1969, 80-84 (atelier du IVe s. Cf. du même auteur, *Steklodelie v Chersonese*, « La fabrication du verre en Chersonèse », dans *Tezisy dokladov naučnoj sessii, posv. itogam raboty Gos. Ermitaža za 1967 god.*, L., 1968, 7-8) ; S. A. Beljaev, *Krasnolakovaja keramika Chersonesa IV-VI vv.*, « La céramique rouge vernissée dans la Chersonèse des IVe-VIe s. », dans *Antičnaja istorija i kul'tura Srediземnomor'ja i Pričernomor'ja*, L., 1968, 31-38 ; V. I. Kadeev, *O vremeni pojavlenija tokarnogo metallorežuščego stanka v Chersonese*, « Époque de l'apparition du tour à métaux en Chersonèse », *ibid.*, 149-152 (L'auteur estime que les premières données dignes de foi relatives à l'usinage sur tour des métaux non ferreux en Chersonèse nous reportent aux IXe-Xe s.).

E. I. Solomonik et O. I. Dombrovskij (*O lokalizacii strany Dori*, « Où localiser le pays de Dori ? » — *Archeologič. issledovanija srednevekovogo Kryma*, Kiev, 1968, 11-44) situent le pays de Dori sur la côte méridionale de Crimée avec un léger empiètement en direction du sud-est, derrière de long remparts dont les vestiges se sont conservés aux abords des cols des Monts de Crimée. A. K. Ambroz (*Dunajskie elementy v rannesrednevekovoj kul'ture Kryma*, « Les éléments danubiens dans la civilisation criméenne du haut Moyen Âge », dans *KSIA*, 113, 1968, 10-23) montre que la parure féminine des jours de fête présente, aux Ve-VIIe s., des traits communs sur un territoire embrassant les régions du Danube moyen, la Crimée, l'Italie et l'Espagne, et, à l'origine de cette parure, il voit l'influence des Gots. Cf. à ce sujet E. V. Vejmarn, *O dvuch nejasnych voprosach srednevekov'ja Jugo-Zapadnogo Kryma*, « Deux points obscurs dans l'histoire médiévale de la Crimée du sud-ouest », dans *Archeologič. issledovanija srednevekovogo Kryma*, Kiev, 1968, 45-82 ; M. A. Frondžulo, *Raskopki srednevekovogo poselenija na okraine s. Planerskoe*, 1957-1959. « Fouilles dans une bourgade

médiévale en bordure du village de Planerskoïe, 1957-1959 ». *Ibid.*, 99-132.

Des traces de l'influence byzantine sont également perceptibles dans une série de monuments mis au jour en Transcaucasie : S.V. ARUTJUNJAN, *Krepost' Anberd i ee raskopki*, « La forteresse d'Anberd : résultats des fouilles », Er., 1969 ; V. LEKVINADZE, *Po povodu Anakopijskoj kreposti*, « A propos de la place forte d'Anakopi », dans *Vestnik Gos. Muzeja Gruzii*, XXV-V, 1968, 89-104 ; du même auteur, *O nekotorych sooruženijach drevnego Pitiunta*, « A propos de certaines constructions de l'ancienne Pityonte », dans *KSIA*, 113, 1968, 53-58 ; R. M. RAMISVILI, *Raskopki v Erco*, « Fouilles à Ertso », dans *Archeologič. otkrytija* 1967 *g.*, M., 1968, 303-305.

Les découvertes de pièces de monnaie byzantines se sont poursuivies et il en est question dans des travaux déjà cités plus haut (G. D. BELOV, S.V. ARUTJUNJAN, R. M. RAMIŠVILI). On peut mentionner encore quelques publications sur le sujet : T. ABRAMIŠVILI, *Vizantijskie zolotye monety (Klad iz sela Čibati)*, « Pièces d'or byzantines (Trésor du village de Tchibati) », dans *Vestnik Gos. muzeja Gruzii* XXV-V, 1968, 159-176 ; A. P. RUNIČ, *Katakombnyj mogil'nik VII-VIII vv. okolo g. Kislovodska*, « Sépulture de catacombe des VIIe-VIIIe s. près de la ville de Kislovodsk », dans *SA*, 1968, n° 3, 208-214 ; A. T. SMILENKO, *Nachodka 1928 g. u g. Novye Senžary*, « Les découvertes faites en 1928 près de la ville de Novye Senžary », dans *Slavjane i Rus'*., M., 1968, 158-166. Certains travaux de numismatique, consacrés aux antiquités de Crimée, sont d'une portée plus générale. I. V. SOKOLOVA (*Nachodki vizantijskich monet VI-XII vv. v Krymu*, « Pièces de monnaie byzantines des VIe-XIIe s. trouvées en Crimée », dans *VV*, 29, 1968, 254-264) nous apprend que, sur 12.000 pièces byzantines découvertes en Crimée, il n'y en a que 80 qui l'ont été à l'extérieur des vestiges de la ville de Cherson. On voit par là que, aux VIIIe-Xe s., l'agriculture de la presqu'île fonctionne sans recours au numéraire et que l'économie de Cherson est axée sur le commerce extérieur. SOKOLOVA aborde quelques points particuliers dans un autre article, *Datirovka nekotorych monet Chersona*, « De la date de certaines pièces de monnaie provenant de Cherson » (*Numizmatika i sfragistika*, 3, 1968, 86-98). V. A. ANOCHINYM tente de dater les époques où l'on frappe monnaie à Cherson (*Obzor monetnogo dela srednevekovogo Chersona*, « Aperçu sur la frappe de la monnaie dans la Cherson médiévale », *ibid.*, 99-113). Cf. A. M. GILEVIČ, *Antičnye inogorodnie monety*

iz raskopok Chersonesa, « Pièces de monnaie antiques, en provenance de villes étrangères, mises au jour lors des fouilles de Chersonèsos », *ibid.*, 3-61. Un livre intéressant pour le byzantiniste est celui de D. G. KAPANADZE, *Gruzinskaja numizmatika*, « La numismatique géorgienne » (Tb., 1969, en géorg.), dans lequel il est, en particulier, question de l'influence byzantine sur la monnaie géorgienne du XIe s.

Les problèmes de sigillographie n'ont guère été abordés par les byzantinistes soviétiques. Relevons seulement le tour d'horizon auquel se livre V. S. ŠANDROVSKA dans son article *Pamjatniki vizantijskoj sfragistiki v Ermitaže*, « La sigillographie byzantine représentée à l'Ermitage », dans *VV*, 29, 1968, 244-253 (cf. son ouvrage de même titre dans *Tezisy dokladov naučnoj sessii, posv. itogam raboty Gos. Ermitaža za 1967 god.*, L., 1968, 36-39).

L'influence du grec sur les langues slaves est étudiée dans le cadre de plusieurs travaux : M. M. KOPYLENKO, *Opyt issledovanija idiomatičeskich otnošenij meždu grečeskim, staroslavjanskim i gotskim jazykami*, «Recherches sur les rapports idiomatiques existant entre les langues grecque, vieux-slave et gotique, dans *Tipologija i vzaimodejstvie slavjanskich i germanskich jazykov*, Minsk, 1969, 68-85 ; du même auteur, *O grečeskom vlijanii na jazyk drevnerusskoj pis'mennosti. Semantičeskie i frazeologičeskie kal'ki*, « De l'influence grecque sur la langue de la littérature vieux-russe. Calques sémantiques et phraséologiques », dans *Russkaja reč*, 1969, n° 5, 96-103 ; V. F. DUBROVINA, *O leksičeskich grecizmach v original'nych i perevodnych žitijnych tekstach po russkim spiskam*, « Les hellénismes lexicaux dans les récits hagiographiques composés en russe ou traduits dans cette langue », dans *Pamjatniki drevnerusskoj pis'mennosti*, M., 1968, 117-136.

Ne sont pas repris dans la présente chronique les travaux consacrés aux arts plastiques.

(*Traduit du russe par R. Hotterbeex*). A. P. KAŽDAN.

LISTE DES ABRÉVIATIONS

Er = Erevan
IFZ = *Istoriko-filologičeskij žurnal*
Izv = *Izvestija*
KSIA = Kratkie soobščenija Instituta archeologii

L = Leningrad
LGU = Leningradskij gosudarstvennyj universitet
M = Moskva
MGU = Moskovskij gosudarstvennyj universitet
MIA = *Materialy i issledovanija po archeologii SSSR*
NiR = *Nauka i religija*
PS = *Palestinskij sbornik*
SA = *Sovetskaja archeologija*
SSL = *Sovetskoe slavjanovedenie*
SV = *Srednie veka*
Tb = Tbilisi
TODRL = *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury*
UZ = *Učenye zapiski*
VDI = *Vestnik drevnej istorii*
VI = *Voprosy istorii*
VON = *Vestnik obščestvennych nauk*
VV = *Vizantijskij vremennik*

NOTES ET INFORMATIONS

LE XIVe CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DES ÉTUDES BYZANTINES

Le XIVe Congrès International des Études Byzantines s'est tenu à Bucarest, du 6 au 12 septembre 1971. Les byzantinistes revenaient ainsi dans la ville qui avait eu l'honneur de recevoir, en 1924, leur premier Congrès. Le Secrétaire, M. Berza, ne manqua pas de rappeler ces débuts et le rôle qu'y avaient joué le grand savant roumain Nicolas Jorga et notre compatriote Henri Grégoire. Cette première réunion internationale fut d'ailleurs liée à la naissance de *Byzantion*, et il ne serait pas impossible que l'on puisse retrouver dans la correspondance de Nicolas Jorga de précieux renseignements sur la gestation de notre revue.

Les travaux du Congrès devaient se dérouler autour de quatre thèmes principaux :

1. Société et vie intellectuelle au XIVe s.
2. Problèmes de géographie historique à Byzance : les frontières et les régions frontières du VIIe au XIIe s. (sujet centré sur les frontières asiatiques de l'empire).
3. L'art profane à Byzance.
4. Byzance et la Roumanie.

Pour chacun de ces thèmes, des rapports avaient été imprimés et distribués avant l'ouverture du Congrès, et, en séance, les auteurs se bornèrent à les résumer, puisque chacun avait pu en prendre connaissance au préalable. Ils laissaient ainsi plus de temps libre pour des échanges de vues, qui furent souvent très animés.

1. *Premier thème* : la société et la vie intellectuelle au XIVe s. y furent envisagées sous divers aspects : origine sociale et nombre des écrivains, leurs relations avec leurs protecteurs,

la manière dont leur niveau social influe sur la vision qu'ils ont d'eux-mêmes et de la société de leur temps, leur manque d'intérêt pour la condition du peuple, l'absence inévitable de toute littérature « contestataire », le rôle des salons littéraires, enfin les répercussions sur la vie intellectuelle de l'appauvrissement progressif de l'empereur et de l'empire (I. Ševčenko).

En ce qui concerne les questions économico-sociales, auxquelles nos collègues des pays de l'Est sont particulièrement attentifs, l'accent fut mis sur les progrès réalisés dans ce secteur de nos études, au cours des vingt dernières années. L'empire byzantin a enfin été replacé dans l'histoire générale du Moyen Âge et rattaché à la féodalité occidentale, mais son contexte politique différent et notamment la constante menace de conquête qui pesait sur lui ont paralysé l'évolution socio-économique intérieure, tandis que les guerres civiles provoquaient la disparition de la petite propriété au profit des nobles et des monastères. Le rôle des villes, l'activité commerciale et industrielle dans le système féodal byzantin, ainsi que les mouvements d'agitation sociale, ont fait l'objet de nombreuses études, mais beaucoup de points devront encore être élucidés. Les mouvements populaires antiféodaux, qui éclatèrent à diverses reprises dans les grandes villes, furent voués à l'échec par suite de circonstances extérieures et de l'attitude des classes dirigeantes, qui, au lieu de faire appel aux forces intérieures de l'empire, cherchèrent en vain l'appui de l'Occident (E. Werner).

Tout au long de l'histoire de Byzance, les mouvements religieux furent intimement liés à la vie politique, sociale et intellectuelle de l'empire. Il n'en fut pas autrement au XIVe s., où l'influence du mouvement palamite, lié aux débats entre partisans et adversaires de l'union avec les Latins, touche aussi au domaine intellectuel et artistique. Toute cette période fut marquée par des efforts presque constants de rapprochement avec l'Ouest, souhaité pour des raisons politiques évidentes, mais aussi justifié par l'attrait ressenti par certains intellectuels envers l'Occident latin, qui, bien plus que les zélotes athonites, leur paraissait l'héritier de la Grèce antique. Mais, si le XIVe s. est une époque où s'amenuise de plus en plus l'importance politique de l'empire, il

n'en est pas de même de son action religieuse, qui reste prépondérante : le patriarcat garde, parfois grâce à une grande souplesse de manœuvre, son autorité juridique et morale dans tout le domaine oriental qui avait été gagné à l'orthodoxie (J. Meyendorff).

Dans cette Byzance complexe du XIVe s., la littérature accuse des tendances divergentes, liées à une diglossie de plus en plus marquée. À côté de la littérature savante, écrite dans une langue chaque jour plus étrangère à la masse, naissent des œuvres qui usent d'une syntaxe et d'un vocabulaire moins compliqués : écrites en une démotique littéraire, elles s'adressent à des couches plus larges de la population, bien qu'elles trouvent leur origine dans les cercles cultivés de l'empire : ainsi en est-il, par exemple, du roman, nourri à ses débuts de modèles antiques. Issue tout d'abord des milieux lettrés, cette littérature se rapproche de la langue vulgaire, tandis que des œuvres véritablement nées du peuple : ballades, chants funèbres, chants d'amour, etc., n'apparaissent que tardivement dans le XIVe s. (H. G. Beck).

Mais, parallèlement, fleurit une littérature classique qui continue la tradition antique, tant par la forme que par le fond. L'activité philologique, entre autres, connaît un plein épanouissement sous les premiers Paléologues, mais cet humanisme avait déjà été préparé pendant la période nicéenne de l'empire, où la politique culturelle d'un Jean Vatatzès était basée sur le platonisme et l'aristotélisme, et, comme il se doit à Byzance, sur la théologie chrétienne (H. Hunger).

Dans la peinture aussi on relève à cette époque des courants contradictoires, qui poussent, d'un côté, à un classicisme libéré de toute servilité d'imitation, et, de l'autre, à un réalisme novateur, qui s'exprime dans des œuvres exécutées aussi bien dans la capitale qu'en province (M. Chatzidakis, empêché par des circonstances indépendantes de sa vol onté de venir à Bucarest, n'a pu présenter oralement son rapport).

2. *Deuxième thème*: il convient d'envisager plusieurs espèces de frontières qui ne se superposent pasnécessairement : les frontières politiques ou administratives, les frontières fiscales ou militaires, sans oublier les frontières idéologiques ; liées à la notion

chrétienne de l'oecuménicité de l'empire, elles resteront toujours idéales. Enfin, il faut compter aussi avec les frontières maritimes et leur défense. Beaucoup de questions sont posées, mais il faudra encore de nombreuses recherches avant de pouvoir y répondre de manière tout à fait satisfaisante (H. Ahrweiler).

Le problème des frontières orientales, envisagé tout d'abord dans ses structures sociales (Z. V. Oudaltsova, A. P. Každan, R. M. Bartikian), devait nécessairement amener à traiter des circonscriptions militaires et civiles des marches de l'empire : les thèmes acritiques, puis à parler des acrites et des apélates du côté byzantin, des ghazis et des saʿalik du côté arabe d'abord, turc ensuite, et enfin à s'aventurer sur le terrain des romans épiques musulmans et chrétiens, qui, les uns et les autres, nous entraînent dans la population mixte, byzantino-musulmane, des régions frontalières. Bien longtemps après la disparition des akrites, leur souvenir survivait parmi les populations de l'Anatolie dans l'épopée de Digénis Akritas et dans les chants akritiques.

L'oppression fiscale que faisait peser sur les marches de l'empire l'administration byzantine, attestée déjà sous le règne de Constantin Monomaque (1042-1055), et la turquisation des troupes mercenaires cantonnées aux frontières devaient conduire peu à peu à la conquête complète de l'Anatolie par les Turcs (A. Pertusi).

Un document très important, le *Taktikon* du *Scorialensis* R II-11 (XIe s.), publié en 1964 par N. Oikonomides, a fourni de très nombreux renseignements sur l'administration des régions frontalières orientales au IXe s. Étayé par les sources narratives et documentaires, il éclaire la manière dont l'empire a réagi devant la situation créée par les conquêtes des IXe-Xe s. (N. Oikonomides).

Enfin, les frontières byzantines furent considérées d'une manière plus générale au point de vue des échanges culturels, et envisagées sous un triple aspect : a. la distinction entre les différentes zones frontalières ; b. le rôle joué par l'environnement géographique et physique ; c. la classification des différents types de diffusion. De cet exposé plein d'intérêt il ressort que cet aspect du rôle des frontières devrait être approfondi par une équipe de différents spécialistes : sociologues, géographes et historiens (D. Obolensky).

3. *Troisième thème.*

L'expression « art profane » s'applique, à Byzance, à toute œuvre qui n'est pas au service de la foi chrétienne, même si elle touche par certains aspects au domaine religieux. L'art profane, le plus souvent inspiré et même réalisé par le Palais, est beaucoup moins riche que l'art religieux. En général, il se rattache à la tradition des derniers siècles de l'Antiquité, et semble avoir peu évolué au cours des âges, pour autant qu'on en puisse juger d'après ce qui en reste, car beaucoup de ses réalisations ont disparu, à commencer par les palais impériaux. Il convient d'y distinguer trois thèmes principaux : a. les thèmes politiques et sociaux (palais impérial et son art ; architecture militaire, architecture civile), b. thèmes scientifiques et littéraires, c. thèmes décoratifs. a. L'architecture des palais a été l'objet de nombreux ouvrages : on la connaît, en partie, grâce à des fouilles et, en partie, grâce au témoignage de textes assez succincts. L'art politique s'y exprimait par des images qui magnifiaient l'empire et l'empereur, en mettant l'accent sur le caractère divin de sa charge. Toutes celles qui décoraient les palais impériaux ont disparu avec eux, mais, heureusement, les thèmes de cet art se retrouvent aussi sur des monuments triomphaux, des stèles, des médailles, des monnaies, des sceaux, des couronnes, des étoffes brodées, des manuscrits illustrés, etc.

Les images du cycle impérial se rencontrent à toutes les époques de l'empire, mais ont été plus abondantes dans la période préiconoclaste, car, dans la suite, l'art profane a subi un recul dans le monde chrétien, devant l'influence grandissante de l'Église ; celle-ci n'est cependant pas arrivée à le faire disparaître et a même toujours regardé d'un œil favorable les représentations qui mettaient en relief le caractère sacré du souverain.

En dehors des images officielles, les palais contenaient des œuvres d'art luxueuses, des mosaïques notamment, dont les sujets reprenaient des thèmes antiques : sujets champêtres ou idylliques, luttes de fauves, combats de rapaces, etc. De plus les arts de luxe étaient favorisés par les empereurs ou des membres de la famille impériale, qui commandaient des pièces d'orfèvrerie, des tissus précieux, des ivoires, des

pierres gravées, etc. A côté de cette production, il en existait probablement une autre, plus ordinaire, destinée à des classes sociales moins aisées.

L'architecture militaire byzantine nous a légué de nombreuses réalisations, fortifications de villes, murs d'enceinte, etc., mais elle n'a pas encore fait l'objet d'une étude approfondie.

b. L'antiquité avait connu des manuscrits littéraires et scientifiques décorés de miniatures : ces thèmes étaient parfois utilisés aussi pour des peintures murales. Les artistes byzantins ont hérité de ce genre, mais s'en sont généralement tenus à des imitations, parfois fort réussies, qui illustraient ou ornaient des manuscrits scientifiques (traités sur la chasse et la pêche, Dioscoride de Vienne, etc.). Plus originales sont les illustrations des Conciles de l'Église et celles de certaines chronographies byzantines : ainsi, on ne pourrait nier l'importance artistique et historique de quelques manuscrits fameux : le Skylitzès de Madrid (XIIIe s.), le Georges Hamartolos, en traduction russe, de Moscou (XIIIe s.), le Manassès, en traduction bulgare, du Vatican (XIVe s.), particulièrement intéressants par l'illustration de la partie de leur texte qui traite de l'histoire byzantine. Enfin, nombre de manuscrits renferment les portraits des auteurs dont ils transmettent les œuvres ou les portraits des donateurs ou des propriétaires du livre, qui sont, parfois, l'empereur ou l'impératrice. A cela s'ajoutent les portraits impériaux qui figurent sur des actes de donation, sur des sceaux d'empereurs ou de dignitaires, sans compter ceux qui décoraient les murs des palais ou des églises : si les premiers ont disparu, certains des seconds sont justement célèbres. *c.* Enfin, l'art profane byzantin est encore connu par les thèmes décoratifs qui ornent des objets de luxe : vêtements, exécutés en ivoire, en pierres précieuses, métaux ou tissus ; certains de ces motifs ont trait à l'empereur, d'autres sont d'un caractère essentiellement ornemental (A. Grabar).

Des domaines spécialisés de l'art profane devaient être étudiés dans des communications détaillées, ayant trait, l'une aux tissus byzantins (J. Beckwith), l'autre, aux objets en métal et en ivoire (W. F. Volbach), une troisième, à l'illustra-

tion des chroniques dans le manuscrit de Georges Hamartolos de Moscou (O. I. Podobedova).

4. *Quatrième thème.* La Roumanie commence à s'affirmer, entre les Carpathes et le Danube, aux IXe-Xe s., quand elle prend conscience de sa personnalité ethnique, et son histoire est étroitement mêlée à celle de Byzance, soit que le pays, dont le territoire varie suivant l'évolution des frontières byzantines, s'oppose à l'empire, soit, au contraire, qu'une communauté d'intérêts politiques, ecclésiastiques ou économiques le pousse à s'entendre avec lui. L'histoire de ce pays se complique par la formation, entre le Xe et le XIIIe s., d'états féodaux dans une région dont l'empire ne pouvait se désintéresser et où il étendit toujours, à défaut de son autorité politique, du moins son influence culturelle et religieuse. Jouant, en 1186, un rôle important dans l'insurrection valacho-bulgare dirigée contre Byzance, la Roumanie verra son rôle politique et militaire grandir dans les Balkans, au fur et à mesure que l'importance de Byzance décroît. L'Église constantinopolitaine, au contraire, garde son autorité intacte, malgré la ruine de l'empire, et son prestige ne cessera de s'affirmer. Les relations multiples qui ont uni ou opposé le jeune État roumain à l'empire décadent ne cesseront qu'après 1453 et après la disparition des derniers lambeaux de l'empire, mais l'influence byzantine, même après la conquête turque, a laissé des traces durables dans les institutions, la littérature et l'art roumain (E. Stănescu).

L'étude de l'apport byzantin dans les institutions roumaines aboutit à des conclusions peu sûres et parfois contradictoires, car beaucoup de points restent à élucider, et la documentation comporte de nombreuses lacunes ; cependant, l'influence de Byzance s'est certainement fait sentir, principalement sur le droit privé, par le canal de l'Église, et l'État féodal roumain doit beaucoup à l'idéologie impériale, qui est parvenue en Valachie et en Moldavie, surtout par l'intermédiaire des Slaves du Sud. Ce droit s'est heurté à des coutumes locales, et le droit roumain semble avoir subi nombre d'influences, parfois difficiles à cerner, provenant d'origines très diverses (Val. Al. Georgescu).

Les relations culturelles avec Byzance ont été peu dévelop-

pées pendant des siècles, et le fait que les Roumains aient, au xe s., adopté le slavon comme langue de l'Église, puis de l'État, a imposé un intermédiaire slave entre Byzance et la Roumanie. Des textes slavons ont été copiés en Roumanie, d'autres, d'origine inconnue, y ont été apportés : ce sont, pour la plupart, des manuscrits liturgiques, ou de caractère religieux, mais on y relève aussi des écrits juridiques et des chroniques byzantines qui ont servi de modèles aux premiers historiographes roumains, annonciateurs des grands chroniqueurs du xviie s. (R. Mircea).

L'art roumain, dans ses diverses manifestations : architecture, peinture murale, icônes, tissus brodés, manuscrits enluminés, a été très marqué par Byzance, soit directement, soit indirectement (I. D. Stefănescu).

L'influence artistique byzantine dans les Balkans a commencé très tôt et a duré tout au long du Moyen Âge, et même après la prise de Constantinople. La Roumanie, dès ses débuts, l'a subie dans le domaine de l'art impérial, mais surtout, sans doute au xvie s., au niveau moins élevé de l'artisanat populaire où les éléments d'origine byzantine se sont fondus avec des éléments populaires roumains pour donner naissance à un art original (M. A. Musicescu).

Outre les quatre centres d'intérêt dont nous venons de parler, six sections spéciales étaient ouvertes aux membres du Congrès :

1. Une section de codicologie, paléographie et diplomatique.
2. Une section de papyrologie, épigraphie, géographie historique.
3. Une section de numismatique et de sigillographie.
4. Une section d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie.
5. Une section de musicologie.
6. Une section d'histoire des sciences.

Les séances de ces sections furent souvent très vivantes, très variées, mais la diversité même des sujets qui y furent traités rend impossible tout compte rendu général. On trouvera un aperçu de ces communications dans le volume « stencilé » intitulé « Communications-Résumés», qui, en même temps

que les « Rapports », fut offert aux congressistes.

Ajoutons que ceux-ci eurent pendant toute une semaine l'occasion d'apprécier l'amabilité des Roumains, leur amicale hospitalité, ainsi que les beautés naturelles et artistiques de leur pays.

Alice LEROY-MOLINGHEN.

Le Souvenir de Honigmann

Dans le numéro du 25 juin 1971 de *Litseratsuruli Saqarthvelo* (« La Géorgie littéraire »), hebdomadaire paraissant à Tiflis, M. V. Tchatchanidze consacre un article aux travaux d'Ernest Honigmann (1892-1954), et particulièrement à l'important mémoire *Pierre l'Ibérien et les écrits du pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite*, publié en 1952 dans les *Mémoires* de l'Académie Royale de Belgique.

Maurice LEROY.

COMPTES RENDUS

La « Théologie Platonicienne » de Proclus

PROCLUS, *Théologie Platonicienne*. Livre I. Texte établi et traduit par H. D. SAFFREY et L. G. WESTERINK. Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1968, in-8°, CXCV + 173 pp.

La *Théologie Platonicienne* est probablement le dernier des écrits du philosophe Proclus (412-485). L'*editio princeps* d'Emile Portus, faite sur un manuscrit unique, aujourd'hui perdu, de Gottorp, paraissait à Hambourg, en 1618. Depuis trois siècles et demi, traductions ou études, p. ex. celles de Taylor, de Kroll, de Turolla, restaient essentiellement tributaires de Portus. En 1968, H. D. Saffrey et L. G. Westerink nous offrent l'édition critique et la traduction française du premier des six livres de la *Théologie Platonicienne*. Les fondements de l'édifice, tels qu'ils apparaissent dans une dense introduction de 195 pages, laissent bien augurer de l'œuvre d'ensemble.

Les auteurs décrivent 26 manuscrits contenant le *texte complet ou des copies accidentellement mutilées* : d'abord, *les deux manuscrits principaux* sur lesquels est basée l'édition, les *cod. Paris gr.* 1813 (P) et *Vatican gr.* 237 (V) ; en deuxième lieu, *les manuscrits secondaires descendants de P* : à savoir le *cod. Oxford Bodl., Laud. gr.* 18 (o) et ses copies (*Paris BN gr.* 1830 et 1829 ; Munich, *Staatsbibl. gr.* 98 ; *Vatican gr.* 1739), le *cod. Munich, Staatsbibl. gr.* 547 (n) et sa postérité (Venise, *B. Marc., Fondo Antico* 192 ; Vienne, *Phil. gr.* 38 ; Berlin, *Staatsbibl., Phillipps* 1505 ; *Paris BN*, gr. 1828), le *cod. Florence, B. Riccard. gr.* 70 (f), le *cod. Paris, BN, gr.* 2018 (g), le groupe des *codd. Munich, Staatsbibl. gr.* 413 + 433 ; Milan, *B. Ambr. gr.* E.9.inf. (1010) et I.86.inf. (1052) ; *Escurial* Σ.II.4 (84) + Φ II.13 (210) ; *Escurial* Φ.II.12 (209) ; Padoue, *Univ. gr.* 2247 ; le manuscrit perdu de Gottorp, assez marginal, utilisé par Portus, auquel se rattache le *cod. Madrid, B. Nac. gr.* 4757 ; enfin le *cod. Naples, B. Naz.* 14* (ex-*Vindob. gr.* 14) (s) et ses dérivés (Naples, *B. Naz.* II.E.22 et III.E.20).

Les éditeurs décrivent en troisième lieu *les manuscrits secondaires descendants de V* : Venise, *B. Marc., Fondo antico* 193 et *Madrid, B.Nac. gr.*4744. Le stemma, dessiné à la p. CLI, rend compte des liens de parenté entre tous ces manuscrits : une inexactitude : lire Padoue, *Univ. gr.* 2247, et non pas 1247. L'introduction signale de surcroît (p. XCVIII) 25 *autres manuscrits grecs contenant le texte incomplet* (livres ou fragments isolés) : *Escurial Σ.*II.12 (92) et T.III.15 (175) ; Florence, *B. Laur.* 85, 8 ; Leyde, *B.Univ., Voss.gr. F.* 21 ; Madrid, *B.Nac.gr.*4744 ; Milan, *B.Ambr.* A.171.inf. (812), C.258. inf. (898), et S.99.sup. (740) ; Munich, *Staatsbibl. gr.* 11, 304, 403, 425 et 502 ; *Oxford, Bodl. libr., Barocci gr.* 212 ; *Paris, BN, gr.* 1837 et *Suppl. gr.* 450 ; *Vatican, Barber. gr.* 231 ; *Vatican gr.* 323, 463 et 1206 ; *Vatican, Rossian.* 962 ; Venise, *B. Marc., App.* IV, 42 ; Vienne, *Nationalbibl., Phil. gr.* 40, 71 et 175. Un seul manuscrits est demeuré inaccessible : *cod. Hambourg Universitätsbibl. gr.* 24.

On lira (pp. CL-CLX) un intéressant chapitre sur *l'histoire du texte* de la Théologie Platonicienne : ouvrage cité par Damascius au VIe s., dans des scholies qui ont été transmises dans la marge du Paris, BN, *Coislin* 322, puis recopié à Constantinople aux XIIIe et XIVe s., enfin tiré du silence au XVe s. par Georges Gémiste Pléthon.

Les auteurs ont consacré plusieurs pages (pp. XCIX et CXXIV sqq.) à la *traduction latine* de la *Théologie Platonicienne*, faite par l'humaniste Pietro Balbi sur un manuscrit grec proche du *cod.* n (Munich gr. 547). Elle a été transmises par 3 manuscrits. latins : Bergame, *Bibl. Civ.* IV, 19 ; *Cues, Hospital* 185 ; Londres *BM, Harl.* 3362.

L'apparat critique retient les manucrits dont nous avons mentionné les sigles : les deux principaux P et V, f (*cod. Camariotis* et *Ficini*), g, n (*cod. Bessarionis*), o (*cod. Contostephani et Pici*), s (*cod. Aegidii Viterbiensis*). On mesure les progrès réalisés par la présente édition sur celle de Portus, qui n'était basée que sur un manuscrit unique, manifestement secondaire, comme il apparaît dans le stemma. L'évocation des noms illustres de plusieurs possesseurs de ces manuscrits laisse soupçonner ce que l'introduction apporte sur l'histoire de l'érudition philosophique, à l'époque de la Renaissance italienne.

D'autres loueront la sûreté du texte établi, l'exactitude de la traduction, la richesse des notes complémentaires (35 pages). On trouvera en fin d'ouvrage un précieux *index nominum* et *auctorum*.

Félicitons les patients ouvriers de leur succès et souhaitons qu'ils nous donnent bientôt la suite de la *Théologie Platonicienne*.

Michel AUBINEAU.

Le schisme oriental

Oktawiusz JUREWICZ, *Schizma wschodnia* (Le schisme d'Orient). Warszawa, « Książka i Wiedza », 1969, 270 [-280] pp.

M. Jurewicz est connu comme auteur d'une monographie sur Andronic Ier Comnène, parue en 1962, et comme traducteur de l'*Alexiade* (Wrocław, 1968) ; il a donné, en outre, une version résumée de l'*Histoire secrète*. La maison d'édition varsovienne *Książka i Wiedza* (« Le livre et la science ») a publié dans sa collection *Światowid*, analogue au « Livre de poche historique », cette nouvelle monographie sur le schisme d'Orient, mise au point synthétique d'un problème traité précédemment et d'une manière brillante par tant de byzantinologues, dont le plus illustre est peut-être M. Steven Runciman. Ce qui distingue l'ouvrage de M. Jurewicz des autres monographies sur ce thème, c'est le fait que l'auteur s'est interdit toute attitude polémique au sujet des querelles suscitées par les dogmes, et que ces pages se caractérisent par la plus parfaite objectivité. Les douze chapitres du livre, ayant comme pivot les chapitres 6 (*Le patriarche Photius*), 7 (*Deux grands adversaires*), 8 (*L'hostie et le célibat*) et 9 (*L'affaire de la suprématie*), sont vigoureusement brossés et évoquent les aspects les plus significatifs du sujet, à partir du premier schisme de Photius jusqu'au schisme de Michel Cérulaire, tout en suivant les méandres du conflit entre Rome et Byzance sous son double aspect idéologique et politique, tel qu'il s'affirma à l'époque du VIIIe concile œcuménique de Constantinople (869/870), puis au temps de Nicolas le Mystique, de Basile II et d'Othon III, des dernières impératrices de la dynastie macédonienne et de Constantin Monomaque. Le premier tiers du livre rappelle la situation des Églises aux siècles précédents, notamment lors de l'iconoclasme, que l'auteur considère comme un mouvement nettement progressiste, qui joua également un rôle remarquable dans le développement artistique du VIIIe siècle et des siècles suivants. Nous sommes du même avis que M. Jurewicz en

ce qui concerne l'essor de la première « renaissance » byzantine, qui eût été impensable sans le retour bénéfique aux traditions réalistes et « naturistes » de l'art alexandrin et qui enregistra — grâce aux disputes spéculatives suscitées par la querelle des images — un renouveau considérable de la littérature polémique, épigrammatique, hymnique, que les auteurs appartinssent au clan des iconoclastes ou à celui des iconodules (v. p. 100 et suiv.). Les trois derniers chapitres résument les destinées de l'Église d'Orient à partir des Croisades et telles qu'on les vit se différencier au sein des Églises nationales : russe, bulgare, roumaine, ruthène, etc. En toute objectivité, l'auteur définit les diverses tentatives d'union, dont celle de 1438/1439 reste la plus spectaculaire et dont l'échec, à tout prendre, doit être attribué aux tenants de l'orthodoxie byzantine. Des reproductions, des cartes, un tableau chronologique, un index des personnages et un lexique des termes théologiques et institutionnels complètent la monographie de M. Jurewicz et en rendent l'utilisation plus aisée. Nous nous permettrons toutefois de signaler quelques menues erreurs pour qu'on les rectifie lors d'une seconde édition : il n'y eut pas de « Teodoret z Cypru » (p. 58, 277), qu'il faut remplacer par « Théodoret de Cyr » ; « Tarezjusz » (p. 93, 105, 276), est, à vrai dire, Tarasios, Taraise, le patriarche d'Irène ; la mère de Michel III, sœur de Bardas et impératrice-régente, ne se nommait pas Eudocie (p. 109), mais Théodora ; Eudocie était la femme de cet empereur. Après la mort de Constantin IX, le patriarche Michel ne pouvait pas conseiller « un quatrième mariage » à l'impératrice Théodora (p. 177), attendu que cette princesse sortait du couvent et ne doit pas être confondue avec son aînée, la trop célèbre Zoé, qui convola plusieurs fois en justes noces. Enfin, il n'y a, en Roumanie, aucune « petite ville » (*miasteczko*) du nom d'« Aleszt » (p. 235). Nous espérons que l'auteur ne nous en voudra pas de lui avoir signalé ces coquilles insignifiantes, mais qui déparent un texte, somme toute, plein de mérite. Car si l'héritage de feu Kazimierz Zakrzewski a été repris et remis en valeur par la nouvelle école polonaise de byzantinologie, M. Jurewicz est, à notre avis, un de ses représentants les plus méritants.

R. Ciocan-Ivanescu.

« Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies »

Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies. Vol. VI. Londres, Warburg Institute, Univ. of London, 1968, in-8°, 209 pp.

Le présent volume contient huit études d'un intérêt non négligeable pour notre connaissance du Moyen Âge occidental, et plusieurs concernent directement les études byzantines.

La première étude, de Mary Dickey, est consacrée à « Some Commentaries on the *De inventione* and *Ad Herennium* of the eleventh and early twelfth Centuries » (pp.1-41). Ces deux traités ont servi à l'enseignement de la rhétorique au Moyen Âge. Les commentaires en question sont des gloses dites « Laudiennes » (*Oxford, Bodl. Laud. lat.* 49 ; *in primis* : *York, Minster*, XVI 14.7 et *Durham Cath.* C.IV.9), le commentaire de Manegold, ceux de Thierry de Chartres et l'*Ars Rhetorica*. L'auteur compare les différents commentaires.

A. B. Scott (« The Poems of Hildebert of Le Mans : a new examination of the Canon » (pp. 42-83)) compare les contenus des manuscrits qui donnent les poèmes (fort courts) de Hildebert avec l'édition faite par Beaugendre, pour rétablir l'ordre et l'authenticité des différentes pièces.

J. C. Jennings parle des « Origins of the Elements Series of the Miracles of the Virgin » (pp. 84-93), compilation de Dominique de Eversham (±1130). On nous retrace ici l'histoire du traité et les origines des différents miracles.

Une étude posthume de Enya Macrae (« Geoffrey of Aspall's Commentaries on Aristotle » (pp. 94-134)) examine d'abord la vie de ce docteur anglais. Il semble que Geoffrey ait été attaché à la cour d'Édouard Ier vers la deuxième moitié du XIIIe s. L'auteur décrit ensuite les manuscrits qui contiennent les œuvres de Geoffrey et parmi elles un commentaire consacré au *De Anima* et à la *Physique*, qui sont comparés ici.

J. I. Catto livre le fruit de ses investigations concernant les dernières recherches faites sur Thomas Docking, un franciscain de la fin du XIVe s., dans : « New Light on Thomas Docking ofm » (pp. 135-149).

Le regretté V. Zoubov, de Moscou, nous introduit dans le domaine de la géométrie avec son étude : « Autour des *Quaestiones super*

Geometriam Euclidis de Nicole Oresme » (pp. 150-172). A la page 150, l'auteur nous décrit la manière d'enseigner d'Oresme en disant que « au lieu de démonstrations à la façon des « Éléments » d'Euclide, il traite son sujet *disputative*, en examinant successivement les *pro* et les *contra* pour n'aboutir à une solution qu'à la fin de chaque *quaestio* ». En somme, c'est déjà une sorte d'enseignement analogue à celui de la scolastique pour faire réfléchir sur le sujet, ce qui permet non seulement d'apprendre les thèses d'Euclide, mais avant tout de les comprendre « par l'intérieur ».

L. Labowsky édite un « Unknown Treatise by Theodorus Gaza. Bessarion Studies IV » (pp. 173-198), qui se trouve dans le manuscrit Venise, *Bibl. Marc. graec. class.* IV, 52 (collocatio 1366). On sait que Bessarion et Théodore ont échangé une correspondance assez importante. On est heureux de cette découverte, car il s'agit d'un traité où, répondant à la demande du cardinal, le savant humaniste critique les théories douteuses (pour ne pas dire hérétiques) de Georges Trapezuntios. Le texte est édité pp. 194-198 et expliqué de façon pénétrante.

La dernière étude de ce recueil est consacrée à « An Autograph of Niccolo Perotti in the Biblioteca Marciana ». Bessarion Studies V (pp. 199-205). Elle est également de la main de L. Labowsky. Il s'agit du *Marcian. lat. class.* VI, 210 (oollocatio 2677), que l'auteur examine et compare aux autres témoins des écrits de Perotti. Le texte de l'autographe est donné aux pages 202-205.

Eug. Manning.

NOTICES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES (*)

BATES (George E.), *Archaeological exploration of Sardis*, 1. *Byzantine coins*. Harvard University Press, 1971, x + 159 pp., pll. et cartes. — Depuis 1958, le site de Sardes fait l'objet de fouilles systématiques sous les auspices du Fogg Art Museum de Harvard et de Cornell University, et du Corning Museum of Glass depuis 1960.

La publication sera faite dans des *Reports* qui contiendront la description des fouilles et des « major categories of excavated materials » ; des *Monographs* réservées à certaines catégories d'objets qu'il est préférable de présenter dans leur ensemble ; et dans des *Supplements*.

La première monographie est consacrée aux monnaies trouvées à Sardes de 1958 à 1968. Elles sont datées de 491 de notre ère à 1282.

Sardes fut détruite dans les premières années du VIIe s., et plus de 80 % des pièces trouvées datent d'avant cet événement, qu'elles permettent, dit l'auteur, de dater avec quelque précision. Des traces d'incendie s'étendant à toute la ville, la présence dans le niveau incendié de nombreuses pièces datées de 491 à 616 (uniquement de cuivre), avec le manque de tout signe de reconstruction, suggèrent l'année 616 comme *terminus post quem*. Il se fait que deux types de monnaies furent frappés pendant l'année 615/6. C'est la dernière année d'un type Héraclius avec Héraclius-Constantin et la première d'une série Héraclius, Martine et Héraclius-Constantin. Les deux types sont présents dans le niveau brûlé (toutes les pièces sont frappées à CP). Or l'apparition de troupes de Chosroès II en face de CP est signalée pour l'année 615. Les ateliers de Nicomédie continuent à fonctionner pendant toute cette période, mais l'absence de pièces

(*) Les notices qui suivent ont été rédigées par Mme Patricia KARLIN-HAYTER (P. K.-H.).

frappées à Cyzique pour une longue période après 614 semble indiquer, dit B., des circonstances anormales. Vraisemblablement, la destruction de Sardes serait le fait d'un raid des troupes perses.

Le groupe de monnaies du niveau brûlé présente un intérêt exceptionnel du fait qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une cachette, mais de la monnaie de cuivre qui se trouvait en circulation dans cette ville à un moment donné.

Après le désastre, il y a une lacune d'un quart de siècle. Comme il n'y a nulle trace de reconstruction, la présence d'un grand nombre (87) de *folles* de Constant II semble témoigner d'un campement militaire ou encore, suggère B., de cantonniers.

Les pièces postérieures proviennent de cachettes.

L'auteur indique avec précision, se référant à un plan de la ville, la distribution des trouvailles. La plus grande partie du livre est, évidemment, consacrée au catalogue descriptif.

Le volume est d'une présentation somptueuse. P. K.-H.

Bibliographie. — *Cinq ans de bibliographie historique en Grèce (1965-1969), avec un supplément pour les années 1950-1964.* Offert à l'occasion du deuxième Congrès international des Études du Sud-Est européen. Athènes, 1970, 133 pp. — *Bibliographie de l'art byzantin et post-byzantin, 1945-1969.* Publié à l'occasion du IIe Congrès international des Études balkaniques et Sud-Est européennes à Athènes, mai 1970. Athènes, 1970, 115 pp. (Comité Nat. hell. de l'Ass. internat. d'Études du Sud-Est européen).

Bibliographie, voir aussi Z. V. Udalcova, *Sovetskoe vizantinovedenie za* 50 *let.*

Βυζαντινά. Ἐπιστημονικὸν ὄργανον Κέντρου Βυζαντινῶν Ἐρευνῶν Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς Ἀριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου, 1, Thessalonique, 1969. — Cette nouvelle revue, bien présentée, contient des articles et des comptes rendus, ces derniers en petit nombre, mais approfondis (signés de K. Mitsakis, Sp. Vryonis Jr., I. E. Karayannopoulos, H. Belting et A. Stauridou-Zaphraka). Pour les articles, voir : E. Kriaras, *Ἐτυμολογικὰ καὶ σημασιολογικά* ; K. Mitsakis, *Ἕνας λαϊκὸς κρητικὸς Ἀκάθιστος τοῦ ΙΕ' αἰώνα* ; S. Trojanos, *Καστροκτισία* ; B. Hendrickx, *Les chartes de Baudouin de Flandre comme source pour l'histoire de Byzance* ; V. A. Georgesco, *Contribution à l'étude de la réception du «Nomos Geor-*

gikos» dans les principautés danubiennes ; G. Tsaras, *Τὸ νόημα τοῦ « γραικώσας » στὰ Τακτικὰ Λέοντος Στ' τοῦ Σοφοῦ* ; I. A. Papadrianos, *Ἡ πρωτοστρατόρισσα Καντακουζηνή* ; P. Ş. Năsturel, *Valaques, Coumans et Byzantins sous le règne de Manuel Comnène* ; Eud. Th. Tsolakes, *Ὁ Μιχαὴλ Ἀτταλειάτης ὡς κριτικὸς τῶν ἐπιχειρήσεων καὶ τῆς τακτικῆς τοῦ πολέμου.*

P. K.-H.

Darrouzès (Jean), *Georges et Dèmètrios Tornikès, Lettres et discours*, introduction, texte, analyses, traduction et notes, Paris, Éditions du C.N.R.S., 1970 (*Le Monde byzantin*, publié sous la direction de Paul Lemerle), 381 pp. — Précieuse édition de textes inédits ou partiellement édités, ou dans des revues peu accessibles. Les textes les plus importants s'accompagnent d'une traduction, les autres sont précédés d'une analyse (solution qui me paraît particulièrement heureuse). L'introduction est surtout axée sur la chronologie et la prosopographie. Le document principal, l'Éloge d'Anne Comnène, est intéressant à divers points de vue, la contribution qu'il apporte à l'histoire de la philosophie au XIIe s. a surtout retenu l'attention, mais est loin d'épuiser les enseignements à en tirer. Pour les lettres, D. renonce à l'ordre du ms pour en proposer un autre, chronologique. Un index bibliographique et des citations et un index grec rendront de grands services.

P. K.-H.

Droit, voir : V. A. Georgesco, *Contribution ...* ; D. Gkines, *Περίγραμμα...* ; Spyridon N. Troïanos, *Ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ...* ; J.T. Visvizes, *Τινὰ περὶ ...*

Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Κέντρου ἐρεύνης τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ δικαίου, 13 (1966), Athènes, *Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν*, 1969 ; 14 (1967), 1970. Voir Spyridon N. Troïanos, *Ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ διαδικασία...*

Georgesco (V. A.), *Contribution à l'étude de la réception du «Nomos Georgikos» dans les principautés danubiennes*, *Βυζαντινά*, 1, 1969, 83-129. — Après une introduction, avec de précieuses notes, sur les travaux récents concernant ce document célèbre, G. aborde ce qui est proprement son thème : la Loi Agraire (et, dans une certaine mesure, le droit byzantin en général) dans la Moldavie-Valachie.

P. K.-H.

GIGNOUX (Philippe), *À propos de l'inscription pehlevie d'Istanbul*, (*Le Muséon*, LXXXII, 1969, 443-449). — Réponse à l'article de H. S. NYBERG, *L'inscription pehlevie d'Istanbul*, publié dans *Byz.*, XXXVIII (1968), 112-22. « M. H. S. Nyberg propose à son tour une lecture ingénieuse des termes non traduits par le premier éditeur et qui modifie considérablement le sens de la deuxième ligne de l'inscription. Son interprétation nous paraît cependant contestable et erronée ... Mais l'intérêt de l'article de M. Nyberg est d'avoir jeté un nouvel éclairage sur l'origine de cette inscription. Son défaut est d'avoir un peu forcé cet éclairage, contribuant par là à rendre le texte un peu plus opaque. Il semble, en effet, très probable que le sarcophage soit celui d'un chrétien ... Mais l'auteur nous semble forcer la note, en voulant faire de la deuxième ligne de l'inscription le mémorial d'un prêtre marqué du sceau de Jésus-Christ ». L'auteur réexamine le texte et en propose une lecture complète et une traduction. P. K.-H.

GKINES (Démétrios S.), *Περίγραμμα ἱστορίας τοῦ μεταβυζαντινοῦ δικαίου*, (*Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, t. 26, 1966), Athènes, *Γραφεῖον δημοσ. Ἀκαδ. Ἀθ.*, 1966, 418 pp. —Le droit post-byzantin varie plus selon les lieux qu'avec le temps, sous l'influence des différents conquérants, Francs, Vénitiens et Turcs. Cette particularité ressort clairement des Régestes ici présentés.

Le premier acte est constitué par les exemptions accordées aux moines dans le « Testament » de Mahomet, le dernier est un firman de 1809.

Le n° 100 reproduit *in extenso* un *Νομοκριτήριον* inédit en 121 chapitres, daté par l'auteur de 1600-1700, conservé dans le ms 2764 de l'*Ἐθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*. P. K.-H.

GRIERSON (Philip), *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks collection and in the Whittemore collection*, ed. by A. R. BELLINGER and P. GRIERSON, vol. II, *Phocas to Theodosius III, 602-717*, by P. GRIERSON, parts I and II, Dumbarton Oaks, 1968, VIII—728 pp., tables et pll. — C'est ici bien plus que le catalogue d'une collection, si riche fût-elle. Les chapitres introductifs (pp. 3-129) constituent une étude remarquable de la numismatique byzantine sous tous ses aspects pour la période 602-717.

Les titres des chapitres donneront un aperçu de la richesse du volume. *I. Background to the coinage* — II. *The monetary system* :

A) *Values and denominations* ; B) *The gold coinage* ; C) *Silver* ; D) *copper* — III. *Mints and mint activity* (avec quelques pages intéressantes consacrées aux imitations) — IV, *Types and inscriptions*. Sous cette rubrique sont groupées une série d'études du plus vif intérêt, notamment : *Imperial costume* ; *Imperial insignia* (des dessins accompagnent le texte et permettent, mieux que la photographie des pièces, de suivre les modifications des insignes) ; inutile d'insister sur l'intérêt de cette étude, en dehors de la numismatique ; *Portraiture*. L'auteur retrace avec minutie l'oscillation entre la recherche d'une certaine ressemblance et le graphisme le plus schématique ; *Religious and miscellaneous types* ; *Inscriptions* ; *Epigraphy* (Latin, Greek and numerals) ; *Monograms* ; *Accessory symbols* (classifiés d'après les ateliers d'origine-Tables) ; *Dates*.

Vient alors, à la suite de la Bibliographie, le catalogue proprement dit. L'auteur prévient qu'il a fallu l'élaborer par rapport au tome précédent, à cause des changements fréquents de type et de la « proliferation of varieties and privy marks » caractéristiques du VIIe s.

Pour terminer, une *Table of regnal years, indictions and dates* et des *indices*, surtout le *General index including types*.

L'historien se trouve ainsi en possession d'une somme impressionnante de matériaux admirablement préparés pour l'utilisation.

Déjà, l'auteur le rappelle, on a vu naître à partir du dossier numismatique des hypothèses variées et des controverses. « L'interprétation dans le contexte général de la vie byzantine économique et sociale est difficile ». Les résultats des fouilles, basés sur des sites urbains, ne doivent pas, estime-t-il, donner une image exacte des conditions rurales. Il se risque néanmoins à quelques conclusions assez audacieuses : « A strong case can be made for the view that Byzantine rural society in the late seventh century was less differently organized from that of the Germanic states in western Europe than we are accustomed to think ». « Much of its [the empire's] economic life concentrated in villages and in the great center of Constantinople itself ».

A côté de cela, le dossier apporte des faits qui ne doivent rien à l'hypothèse, dont certains, d'une grande portée, étendent et approfondissent notre connaissance de ce siècle critique et pauvre en sources. Telle l'inflation qui se lit dans la chute constante du poids des *folles* et le fait que les pièces de valeur inférieure cessent d'être frappées. La disparition des ateliers de frappe est un autre fait qui

retient l'attention. Certes, beaucoup sont tombés aux mains des Arabes, mais ceux qui restent sont apparemment encore trop nombreux pour les besoins : à la fin du siècle, il n'y a plus en activité que ceux de Constantinople, de Syracuse et quelques petits ateliers en Sardaigne et en Italie continentale.

Inutile d'ajouter que la présentation matérielle de l'ouvrage est superbe. P. K.-H.

HARRISON (R. M.), *The Long Wall in Thrace*, (*Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, vol. XLVII, 1969, 33-38, pll., dépliant). — « The Long Wall ... runs from Eveik Iskelesi on the Black Sea to a point just west of Silivri (*Selymbria*) on the Marmara. The southern half, in rolling agricultural land, has left few traces ; the northern, in desolate hill country ... is extraordinarily well preserved. This has long been, and still is, a military area, but restrictions have recently been relaxed ». En juillet 1968, l'auteur, accompagné du Dr. Nezih Firath, du Musée archéologique d'Istanbul, et de membres de l'équipe de Sarçhane, put s'y rendre à trois reprises et prendre des notes et des photographies. P. K.-H.

HENDRICKX (B.), *Les chartes de Baudouin de Flandre comme source pour l'histoire de Byzance*, *Βυζαντινά*, 1, 1969, 61-80.

KRIARAS (E.), *Ἐτυμολογικὰ καὶ σημασιολογικά*, *Βυζαντινά* 1, 1969, 1-22.-1. *Μαρτυρίες τοῦ « τσακίζω » καὶ σημασίας του*. 2. *Παλαιότερες ἐτυμολογικὲς ἀναζητήσεις καὶ κριτική τους ἀντιμετώπιση*. 3. *Παρατηρήσεις στὸ « τσακρίζω », τὸ « τσάκρα » καὶ τὰ συγγενικά*. 4. *Παρατηρήσεις στὸ « τσακώνω »*. Collection d'exemples extrêmement riche. P. K.-H.

LEMERLE (P.), *Élèves et professeurs à Constantinople au Xe siècle* (Institut de France, Acad. Inscr. et Belles-Lettres, lecture faite dans la séance publique annuelle du 28 nov. 1969), 14 pp. — Après une brève allusion à la Vie de S. Nicéphore Studite (« cas typique d'un fils de la bourgeoisie de province à qui on veut assurer un avenir, c'est-à-dire donner de l'instruction »), qui montre, estime l'auteur, que seulement dans la capitale existaient alors des écoles d'enseignement moyen, P. L. aborde deux documents exceptionnellement riches en informations sur un sujet peu connu.

Le premier document est constitué par les 122 lettres du Brit.

Mus. Add. 36749 dont la publication se répartit entre *Ἀθηνᾶ*, *Byzantion* et l'*Ἑ.Ἑ.Β.Σ.* Elles furent écrites par un professeur qui exerçait son métier à CP à l'époque de Romain Lécapène, et apportent des renseignements sur l'organisation interne de l'école et les méthodes de travail. L'épistolier est à la fois « le propriétaire, le maître unique et l'unique professeur ». L'enseignement cependant est prodigué à des élèves de tous les âges et de tous les niveaux : ce sont des élèves plus avancés qui sont chargés de l'instruction de ceux qui les suivent. « Ceux à qui est confié ce rôle sont appelés les *ekkritoi* de l'école, « ce qui proprement signifierait « les élèves choisis » ou « de choix », mais avec une nuance qui ne serait pas simplement laudative, car il s'agit bien d'une institution ». On peut également saisir à travers ces lettres quelque chose du programme (grammaire, poésie et rhétorique) et des méthodes d'enseignement. Un exemple amusant des devoirs littéraires : notre professeur écrit à un haut personnage laïque pour lui annoncer « qu'il va faire composer par les élèves des iambes en son honneur, et qu'il va les faire placarder dans les rues et sur les places de CP ». « Ingénieux moyen », ajoute l'auteur, « d'obtenir à la fois la faveur du mystikos, et de faire de la publicité pour l'école ».

La Vie de S. Athanase de Lavra apporte par contre des renseignements sur l'organisation externe et vis-à-vis de l'État, renseignements du plus grand intérêt. A la tête de l'école qu'il fréquenta se trouvait un homme qui avait le titre de *προκαθήμενος τῶν παιδευτηρίων*, que Lemerle traduit par «président des collèges», qui avait donc, en plus de la direction de sa propre école, affaire aux autres écoles de la capitale. « C'est une charge conférée par l'empereur (comme toutes celles de *προκαθήμενος*) ». Et l'intérêt porté à l'enseignement moyen par l'empereur, qui se réserve les nominations principales, est un des faits les plus remarquables attestés par cette Vie.

Athanase se montra, bien entendu, un élément brillant, et au bout d'un certain temps, « par un vote unanime de ses compagnons, maîtres et élèves ensemble », fut jugé digne de la *συνεδρία τοῦ διδασκάλου*, « c'est-à-dire, explique aussitôt la Vie, qu'il fut « maître après le maître », professeur adjoint, professeur en second ». La promotion suivante ne sera plus une simple mesure interne : « Au bout de peu de temps, par un nouveau vote commun des mêmes ... *et avec l'approbation impériale*, il fut promu au trône professoral », pas dans la même école, puisqu'elle avait son professeur, mais

dans une autre. « Nous apprenons donc ... que l'autorité impériale intervient désormais pour approuver la désignation d'un professeur titulaire ... Cela suppose qu'a été mise sur pied une organisation ... un régime commun aux divers collèges existant à CP, ce qui ne peut être que le fait de l'empereur ».

L'auteur des lettres et le maître de S. Athanase n'ont pas exercé simultanément leur profession, mais cependant à peu de temps l'un de l'autre, puisqu'il s'agit dans les deux cas du règne de Romain Lécapène. L'auteur estime néanmoins que des changements très importants étaient intervenus : en premier lieu, l'intérêt personnel de l'empereur (ou d'un empereur) s'était porté sur l'enseignement moyen, et le reste avait suivi. Notamment la création du *προκαθήμενος τῶν παιδευτηρίων* qui,nulle part mentionné dans les lettres, doit par conséquent être postérieur. L'apparition de ce titre témoigne, estime l'auteur, à la fois du développement des écoles à CP et de l'intérêt que l'État commençait à leur porter. L'enchaînement logique est irréfutable. Mais il me reste un certain doute : peut-on être sûr que le *προκαθήμενος τῶν παιδευτηρίων* n'existait pas quand les lettres furent écrites, même si elles ne le mentionnent pas?

Quoi qu'il en soit, cette étude apporte des clartés dans la nuit de notre ignorance en matière d'enseignement moyen à Byzance. Comme le dit l'auteur, nous ne savons rien des études d'un Photius ou d'un Aréthas, à aucun niveau. P. K.-H.

K. Mitsakis, *Ἕνας λαϊκὸς κρητικὸς Ἀκάθιστος τοῦ IE' αἰώνα*, *Βζαντινά*, 1, 1969, 25-38.

Năsturel (P. Ş.), *Valaques, Coumans et Byzantins sous le règne de Manuel Comnène*, *Βυζαντινά*, 1, 1969, 169-186. — « La politique de Manuel Comnène envers les peuples habitant les territoires qui s'étendent au nord du Danube représente l'affirmation de la présence byzantine le long du fleuve et dans une certaine mesure sur la rive gauche aussi ». L'auteur s'attache notamment à tirer parti d'un poème de Constantin Manassès. P. K.-H.

Nyberg (H. S.), *L'inscription pehlevie d'Istanbul*, *Byzantion*, XXXVIII (1968), voir : Ph. Gignoux.

OSTROGORSKI (Georg), Света гора после маричке битке. *Der Athosberg nach der Schlacht an der Maritza*, (Zbornik Filosofskog Faculteta, Belgr., X, 1970, 277-282). Renseignements fournis par deux Vies de saints. La Vie de S. Romylos décrit la panique qui s'empara des moines à la nouvelle de la défaite. La Vie de S. Niphon raconte comment un escadron turc qui s'avançait contre la Sainte Montagne fut défait par trois vaisseaux vénitiens venus au secours du Grand Primicier, que l'auteur identifie avec le Grand Primicier Jean Paléologue. P. K.-H.

PAPADRIANOS (I. A.), *Ἡ πρωτοστρατόρισσα Καντακουζηνή*, *Βυζαντινά*, 1, 1969, 161-165. — L'auteur aboutit aux mêmes conclusions que NICOL, dans *The Byz. family of Kantakouzenos* (n° 64). P. K.-H.

THIRIET (Fr.), *Quelques réflexions sur les entreprises vénitiennes dans les pays du Sud-Est européen*, *Revue des Études Sud-Est européennes*, VI, 1968, 395-405. — L'auteur définit ainsi le but de cet article : « Saisir l'unité du monde balkanique ... et voir comment Venise a tenté de le pénétrer, là de le dominer, ici de le contrôler », et, d'autre part, saisir les raisons de cette tentative.

Au XIIIe siècle et au siècle suivant, Venise ne dispose encore que de ressources bien réduites : petite cité, sans arrière-pays, relativement peu peuplée, entourée de voisins hostiles (Padoue, Vérone, le Patriarche d'Aquilée, les petits seigneurs du Frioul), les Vénitiens « ne recherchent pas seulement le profit sur mer ; d'une façon plus nécessaire et contraignante, ils y quêtent le pain quotidien ». Les études récentes ont montré que l'intérêt des marchands vénitiens allait aux produits alimentaires ; ils achètent « avant tout des grains, de l'huile, des vins forts et sucrés ; les opérations portant sur d'autres marchandises, comme le bois, l'alun, le coton ou la soie, sont beaucoup plus rares ».

À partir de 1204, les Vénitiens disposent d'une totale liberté d'accès à la Mer Noire, que les empereurs byzantins avaient toujours refusée. Malgré cela, « condamnés, par la précarité et la modicité de leurs moyens, à l'essentiel, ils délaissent pratiquement la Mer Noire, où leur action sera toujours secondaire, pour s'accrocher au triangle Constantinople-Crète, Iles Ioniennes ».

L'auteur examine alors de façon plus détaillée les deux périodes : 1332-1345 (immédiatement avant la Peste Noire) et 1400-1410 (celle-ci marquée par le ralentissement de la conquête ottomane).

Parmi les conclusions qu'il tire des données qu'il a rassemblées, notons la suivante : « les Vénitiens ne sont vraiment actifs que dans les territoires où ils se sentent maîtres du jeu ... Les transactions avec la Mer Noire, de Maurocastro à Caffa et de la Tana à Trébizonde, n'ont jamais joué un rôle de premier plan ... En revanche se dégagent le rôle majeur de Candie et de Nègrepont-Chalcis, le trafic de cabotage entre ces deux ports et l'Archipel, la Thessalie, la Macédoine. Ce trafic revêt un caractère de continuité qu'affectent peu les vicissitudes politiques et les aléas de la conjoncture ».

P. K.-H.

Troïanos (Spyridon N.), *Ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ διαδικασία μεταξὺ* 565 *καὶ* 1204 (*Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Κέντρου ἐρεύνης τῆς ἱστ. τοῦ ἑλλ. δικαίου τῆς Ἀκαδ. Ἀθηνῶν*,13 (1966),Athènes, 1969, 2-146). Cette étude repose sur une utilisation directe des sources, ce qui lui confère d'emblée un intérêt considérable et une grande solidité. Son sujet essentiel est la procédure dans le droit ecclésiastique, mais chaque trait est illustré en note de nombreux exemples. Ces notes sont extrêmement intéressantes, et on regrettera l'absence d'un index des noms propres.

L'auteur met à contribution, dans l'espace de 150 pages, une masse imposante de documents, mais il lui arrive de n'être pas assez critique, surtout à l'égard de certains textes historiques. P. 10, n. 7, trois des exemples me paraissent hors de propos. L'accusation de Méthode auprès de « Théodora et des autres *ἐπίτροποι* de Michel » provient d'un passage extrêmement suspect. Bien sûr, des faits imaginaires peuvent être révélateurs d'une procédure réelle. Cela ne paraît pas être le cas ici : cette historiette ne doit pas être née sous la plume de quelqu'un versé dans le droit, mais sur la place publique. Deuxièmement, l'accusation portée contre Basile Skamandrénos fut, à peine voilée, celle de haute trahison. C'est un cas particulier où l'intérêt de l'empereur est naturel. Enfin, pour ce qui est du clerc à qui Constantin VII fit revêtir l'habit monastique, l'affaire est loin d'être claire. Si, effectivement, l'homme était clerc avant d'être fait moine, l'exemple est probablement valable, mais Glykas comme garant n'arrange rien, et s'il n'était pas clerc, il appartient à la catégorie intéressante de ceux auxquels l'empereur imposait l'habit sacré comme *ποινάλιον κόλασιν*, comme Léon VI se l'entendit reprocher avec tant de véhémence par le futur patriarche Euthyme. Nul doute qu'il fallait retenir ces

trois cas, mais peut-être sous une autre rubrique. On voit que deux, au moins, suggèrent des développements intéressants du point de vue juridique, mais posent de sérieux problèmes.

Mais, le plus souvent, les exemples me paraissent bien choisis et il faut souhaiter le plus possible d'études de ce genre, basées, je le répète, sur les textes. P. K.-H.

TROJANOS (S.), *Καστροκτισία, Einige Bemerkungen über die finanziellen Grundlagen des Festungsbaues im byzantinischen Reich, Βυζαντινά*, 1, 1969, 41-57.

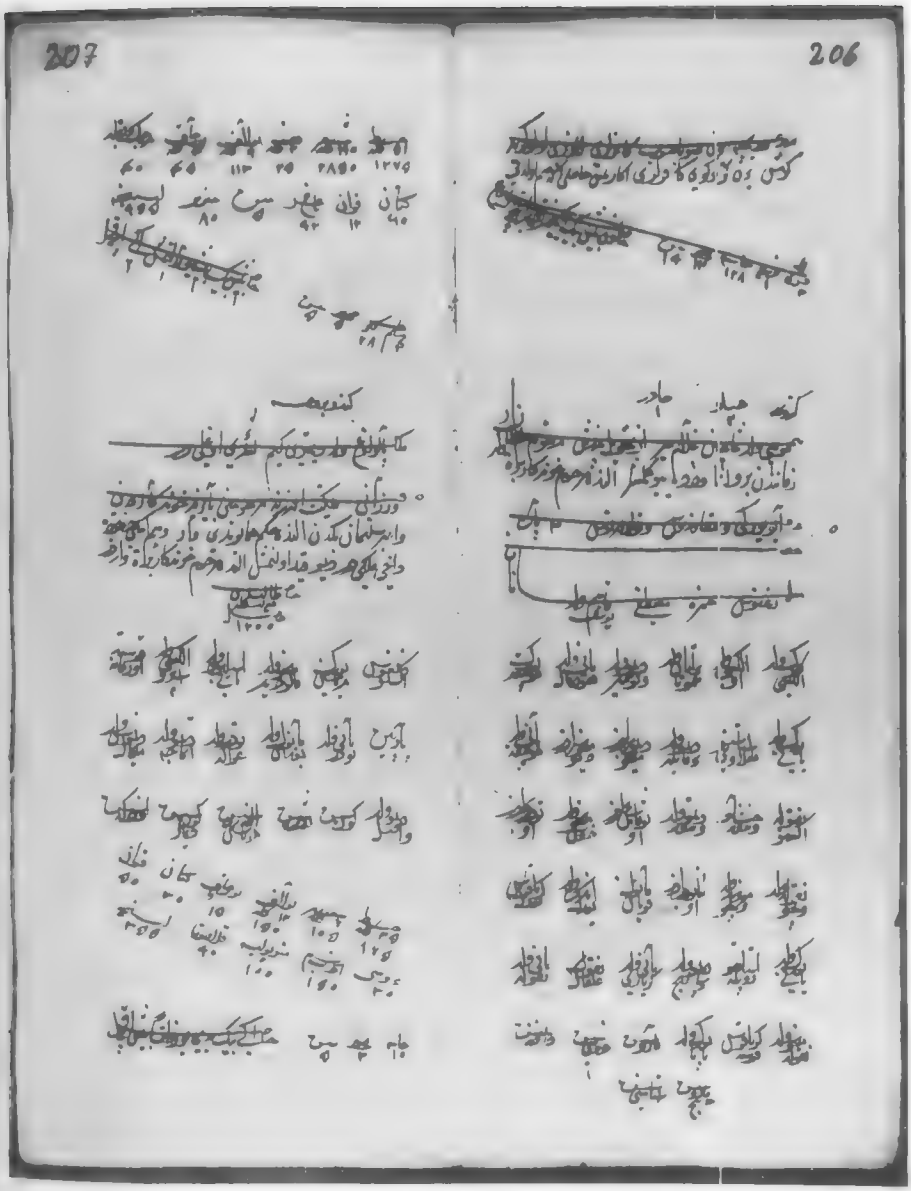
TSARAS (G.), *Τὸ νόημα τοῦ γραικώσας στὰ Τακτικὰ Λέοντος ΣΤ' τοῦ Σοφοῦ, Βυζαντινά* 1, 1969, 137-157.

TSOLAKES (Eud. Th.), *Ὁ Μιχαὴλ Ἀτταλειάτης ὡς κριτικὸς τῶν ἐπιχειρήσεων καὶ τῆς τακτικῆς τοῦ πολέμου, Βυζαντινά*, 1, 1969, 189-204. — Pour lecteurs ayant un peu fréquenté Attaliate. P. K.-H.

UDALCOVA (Z. V.), *Sovetskoe vizantinovedenie za* 50 *let*. Moscou, 1969, 360 pp.

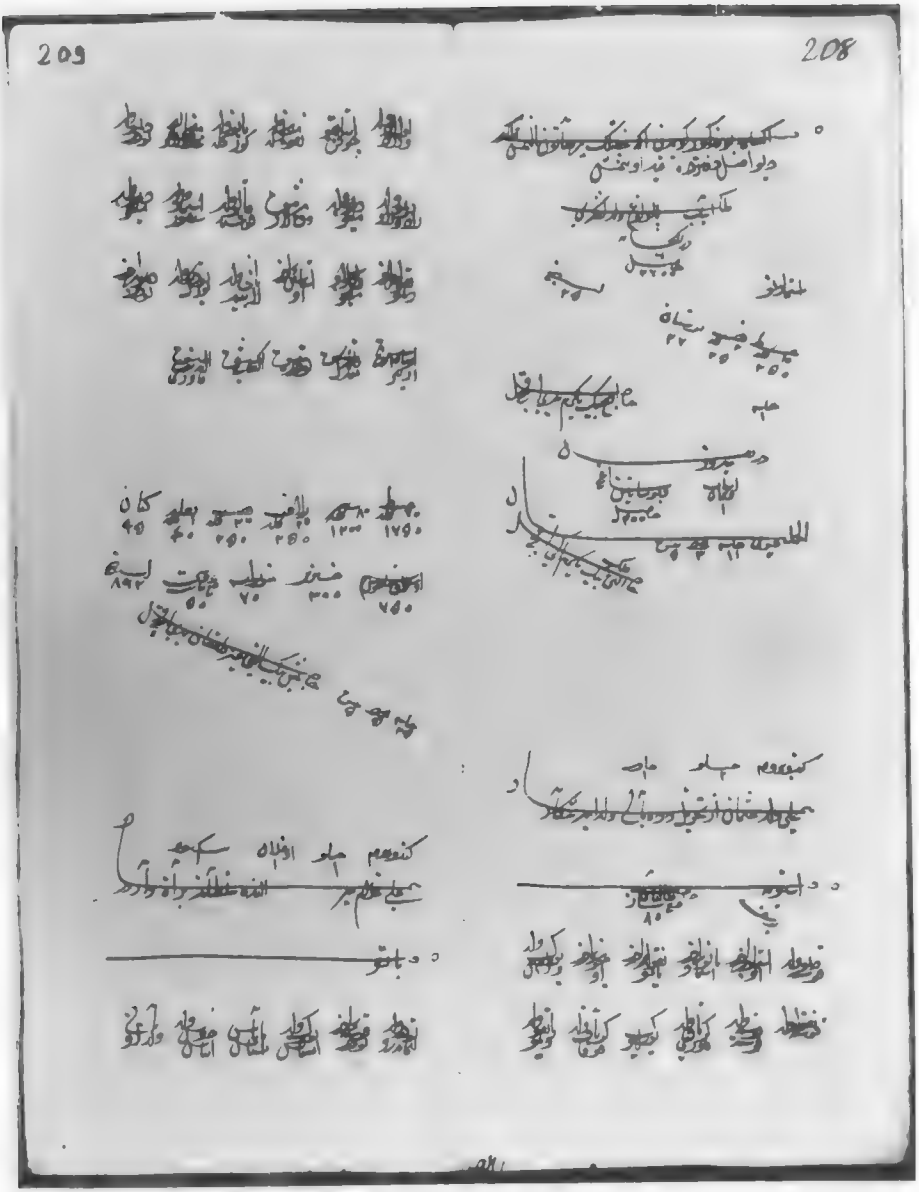
Varangian Problems, Scando Slavica, Supplementum 1, Report on the first International Symposium on the theme « The Eastern connections of the Nordic Peoples in the Viking Period and Early Middle Ages » (7th-11th October 1968), 216 pp., figg. — Voir, dans le prochain fascicule de *Byzantion*, notre article : *Où en est la question varègue?* P. K.-H.

VISVIZES (J. T.), *Τινὰ περὶ τῶν προκιῴων ἐγγράφων κατὰ τὴν Βενετοκρατίαν καὶ τὴν Τουρκοκρατίαν* (t. à p. de l'*Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Κέντρου ἐρεύνης τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ δικαίου τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, τ. 12, Athènes, 1968, 128 pp.).



Başvekalet arşivi, Istanbul Tapu ve Tahrir, nº 3.

PLANCHE II



Başvekalet arşivi, Istanbul Tapu ve Tahrir, nº 3.

Dessin schématique de la peinture murale de l'église des Saints Théodore à Kafiona (abside).

PLANCHE I

PLANCHE II

Grande Remeta, Fruska Gora (d'après G. Millet, «Broderies Religieuses», pl. CLVIII).

Email Strogannof
(d'après G. Schlumberger, « Mélanges », pl. XI).

Peinture murale de l'église de Dečani
(d'après V. Petković, « Le Monastère de Dečani », pl. XCV).

Peinture murale de l'église princière de S. Nicolas d'Argès
[d'après O. Tafrali, *op. cit.*, pl. 83 (1)]

Peinture murale de la chapelle ouest de l'église de S. Sabbas, à Trébizonde
(d'après G. Millet et T. Rice, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXI).

Peinture murale de l'église du monastère de S. Paul (Athos)

PLANCHE VIII

Patène de Xéropotamou
(d'après N. Kondakoff, « Monuments de l'Athos », pl. XXX).

Peinture murale de l'église royale de Studeniča
(d'après V. Petković, « Manastyr Studeniča », fig. 94).

PLANCHE X

Peinture murale de l'église de Kafiona
(photo : Ed. Iliopoulo).

Fig. 1. — Tour-pilier de Kacchi, v^e-vi^e s. (d'après Beridze, *Gruzinskaja Architectura*, pl. 39).

Fig. 2. — Tour-pilier de Martvili, xie s. (Phot. J. L.-D).

Fig. 3. — Tour-pilier d'Ubisi, 1141
(d'après [illegible] *Architektura*, pl. 112).

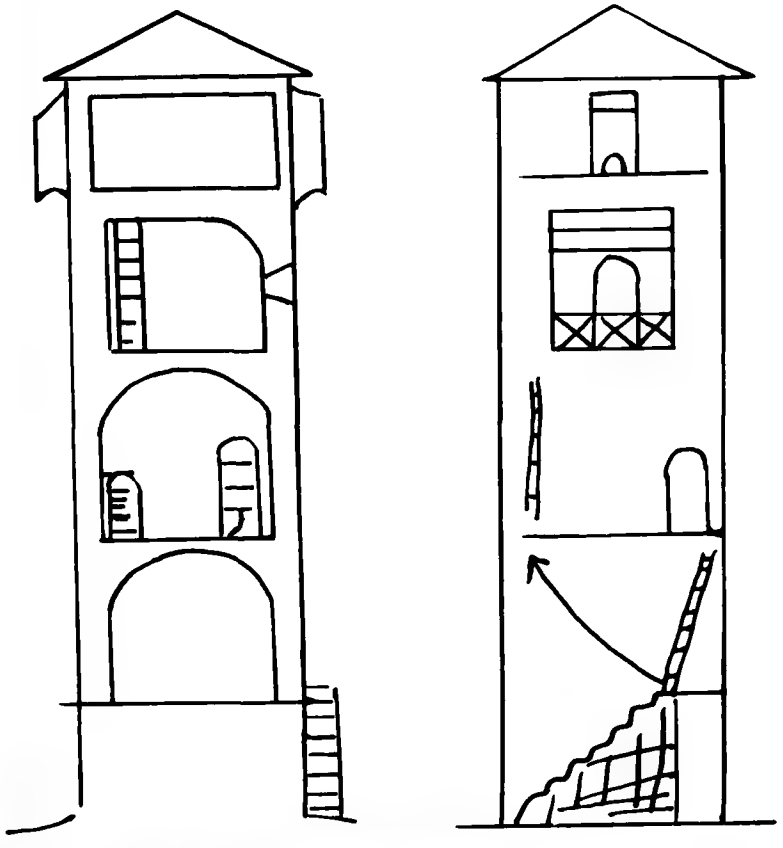


Fig. 4. — Coupe et élévation, côtés sud et est
(d'après un croquis de base de V. Cincadze).

FIG. 5. — Plaque de chancel de Šiomgvime représentant l'ermite Šio, 1re moitié du XIe s. (d'après Šmerling, *Malye formy v architecture*, pl. 47).

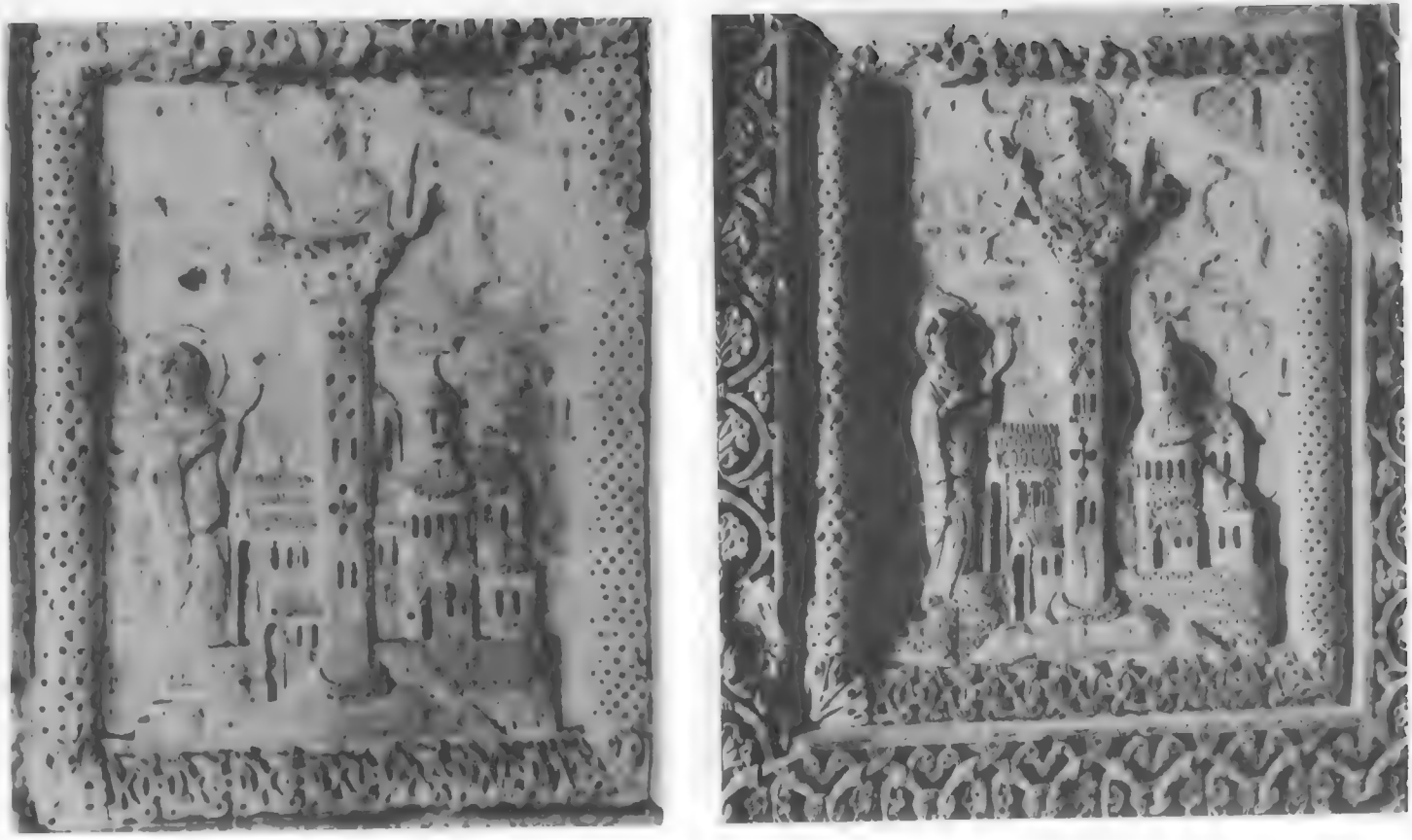


Fig. 6. — Plaque de chancel de Šiomgvime représentant S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune et sa mère Marthe, 1re moitié du xie s.
(Phot. Institut d'histoire de l'art *georgien*, *Tbilisi*).

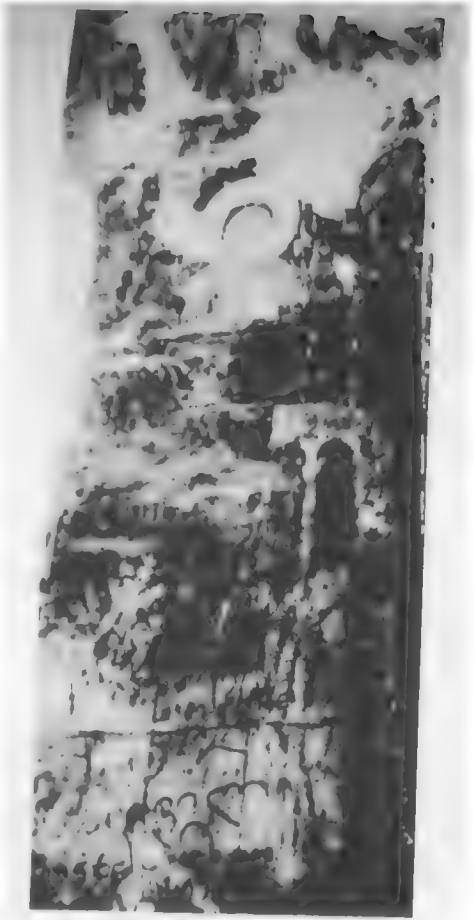


FIG. 7. — Fresque de Šiomgvime, XIIIe s., représentant S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune (Phot. Inst. hist. art géorgien, Tbilisi).

FIG. 8. — Copie partielle (phot. Inst. hist. art géorgien, Tbilisi).

FIGG. 9 et 10. — S. Syméon Stylite l'Ancien et S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune, fresques de la façade du réfectoire d'Udabno à David-Garedža, début du XIe s.
(Phot. J. L.-D.).

FIG. 11. — Ubisi, fresque de l'église représentant S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune, XIVe s.
(Phot. J. L.-D.).

Fig. 12. — Icone d'argent de Lagami représentant S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune et l'évêque Antoni de Tsageri (vers 1015) (Phot. Inst. hist. de l'art géorgien, Tbilisi).

Fig. 13. — Plaque de chancel de Zedazeni représentant S. Syméon Stylite (le Jeune ?), 1re moitié du xie s., Musée archéologique de Tbilisi (Phot. Inst. hist. de l'art géorgien, Tbilisi).

PLANCHE VII

La rivière de Pessinonte.

PLANCHE II

Monnaies de Pessinonte frappées sous Antonin le Pieux.

Statue d'Attis couché, découverte à Ostie.

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